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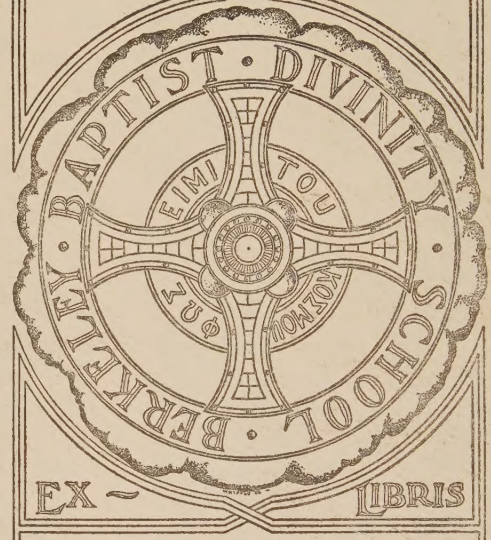

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DR. KURTZ'S

TEXT-BOOK OF CHURCH HISTORY.

TEXT-BOOK

OF

CHURCH HISTORY.

BY

DR. JOHN HENRY KURTZ,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DORPAT: AUTHOR OF "A MANUAL OF SACRED HISTORY," "THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY," ETC., ETC.

Two Volumes in One.

Revised, with Corrections and Additions from the Seventh German Edition.

VOL. I.

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REVISER'S PREFACE.

THE present revision is in no sense either a new translation or a recast of an old one. The chief labor has been directed to correcting in part the oversights or errors not unfrequently common to translations. Generally these corrections have been simply verbal, including, however, when it seemed necessary, the remodelling of whole sentences, and in a few cases even more than this. But, in the main, only such alterations were attempted as could be made without destroying the plates from which the American translation was printed. Many of the corrections, though involving very slight changes, are of considerable importance, the translation in some cases having quite reversed the statements of the author. Examples of this first part of the revision may be found by carefully comparing the translation and the revision on the following pages: Vol. I., on pages 45, 54, 67, 83, 92, 97, 98, 104, 135, 143, 212, 228, 236, 299, 344, 371, 379, 387, 392, 400, 432, 447, 491, 513, and Vol. II., on pages 57, 101, 105, 123, 133, 139, 207, 209, 212, 225, 229, 247, 252, 261, 265, 282, 298, 307, 318, 319, 324, 336, 342, and 359.

In addition to the above, several hundred minor corrections were made, in large part merely of typographical errors, errors of dates, names and references, and in part, though in small part, corrections aiming to modify Germanized forms of expression. It will, however, be readily observed that to completely expurgate the foreign idioms would involve a greater number of changes than the limits of the present task permit.

The other principal aim of the revision was to introduce new material from the seventh German edition. Where it could be easily accomplished, this was done by modifying the text, as will be seen by referring, as above, in Vol. I., to pages 64, 65, 215, 232, 279, 340–2, and in Vol. II., to pages 150, 304, 343 and 376. The paragraph on page 341, relating to *The Forged Decretals of Isidore*, has been almost entirely retranslated from the last German edition. But this new matter has

19611

been annexed, for the most part, in registered *Addenda* at the close of the volume. References to the Addenda are made in the small figures printed just above the lines in which they occur, through the body of the work. The Addenda embrace generally abstracts of what was thought to be most important and interesting in the new material. Those parts not included relate largely to the strictly local history of the Author's own land. Owing, however, to the limits to which the volume had to be confined, some of the results of the Author's later researches were passed by with regret. Here and there the references to the later German literature have been inserted, but the mass of these, as they are of interest chiefly to those who will use the original text, were left untouched.

What Dr. Kurtz has said, on page 350, Vol. II., relating to the Lutheran Church of the United States, is so entirely incorrect, that the whole paragraph has been cut out and a very brief statement of the present condition of this church supplied from reliable American authorities. Save one or two foot-notes, easily distinguished, nothing has been attempted beyond the limits here indicated.

August 20th, 1876.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The author of the following work was born Dec. 13, 1809, at Montjoie, in the district of Aix-la-Chapelle, Rhenish Prussia. In early life he contemplated becoming a merchant; but as the desire to study theology soon became predominant, he entered (1839), after a five years' course at the Gymnasia of Dortmund and Soest, the University of Halle. Ullmann and Tholuck were then lecturing there, and the latter especially exerted a decidedly favourable influence upon our author's theological training. He subsequently completed his studies at Bonn, and then went as a private teacher to Courland. He would soon, however, have returned to his native country, but for an appointment in 1835 as chief teacher of Religion in the Gymnasium at Mitau. Whilst occupying this post, he produced several works which laid the basis for his present reputation: "The Mosaic Sacrifice," Mitau 1842; "The Bible and Astronomy," Mitau 1842—3d ed. Berlin 1853 (transl. by T. D. Simonton, and publ. by Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1857); "Suggestions in vindication and proof of the Unity of the Pentateuch," Königsb. 1844; "The Unity of Genesis," Berlin 1846; "Symbolical Signification of the Tabernacle," Leipsic 1851; "Text-book of Church History," Mitau 1849, 3d ed. Mitau 1853, 4th ed. Mitau and Leipsic 1860; "Manual of Sacred History," Königsb. 1843, 6th ed. 1853

(transl. by Chas. W. Schaeffer, D. D., publ. by Lindsay & Blakiston, Philad. 1856); "Biblical History illustrated," Berlin 1847, 3d. ed. 1853; and "Manual of Church History," Mitau 1852, 2d ed. 1853.

His literary labours soon gained for him flattering attention; the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred upon him, and in 1850 he was called to the chair of Church History in the evangelical University of Dorpat, Livonia (founded in 1632 and revived in 1802), which he continues to occupy. He has also been appointed to the honorable post of Counsellor of State to the Emperor.

The present edition of the "Text-book of Church History" is, to a large extent, a reprint of the Edinburg translation. But as that translation, avowedly, tampered with the original work, care has been taken, in this edition, to make the rendering conform strictly to the author's sense. This proved to be a more serious task than was anticipated, in some cases requiring an entire reconstruction of the plan of the work, and in others the translation of whole pages of matter omitted in the Edinburg issue. The number of pages thus added amount to about fifty, including pp. 371–82, 387–99, and the whole of the section treating upon Hus. The verbal alterations necessary are too many to be enumerated, although in making these no mere private taste was indulged. Wherever the translation fairly conveyed the author's sense, it was allowed to stand; and it is due to the Edinburg edition to say, that this was very largely the case. It is probable that no book, original or translated, was ever issued, in which the author, or editor, did not see room for improvement. But the verbal changes made in the present instance, were required in justice to the theological stand-point of Dr. Kurtz. Mr. Erdesheim (the translator of the Edinburg edition), by omitting a qualifying word, or substituting one of a different import, has kept Dr. Kurtz from saying, in many in-

stances, what he desired to say, or has made him utter something which he would be unwilling to endorse. This is especially true of statements relating to Predestinarianism, the Sacraments, and the Church. As an illustration of the injustice thus done to the author, the reader is referred to § 119, 6, (2), where, in reference to *John Ruchrath of Wesel*, Dr. K. says: "In opposition to transubstantiation he advocated the doctrine of impanation." The Edinburg translation has it: "His views were certainly not Romish." Indeed it became very evident, upon comparing the Edinburg issue with the original, that the alterations were designedly made, for the purpose of adapting a *Lutheran* work to a *Puritan* market.

This is not only doing great injustice to the author, but to the Church at large. One of the best apologies for denominationalism is, that it is overruled for the more manifold development of the excellencies of Christianity. And this benefit, so far as it may hold in fact, must exhibit itself no less in the literary than other labours of Christians of different confessions. Why then should not a Puritan or Presbyterian be allowed to speak or write as a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian as an Episcopalian, a Reformed as a Reformed, and a Lutheran as a Lutheran? The truth is not all on one side. And no one mind, imbued with true moral earnestness, is capable at once of appreciating and presenting fairly, the various sides of truth. Instead, therefore, of distorting a work like the present, by forcing it into the pattern of a foreign mould, it should be permitted to set forth facts in its own way. Doubtless Dr. Kurtz is fallible, and will find many to dissent from some of his statements. But he is a responsible man, and ready, it is to be presumed, to make corrections whenever convicted of errors. We say this the more unreservedly for not being of the same Church with the respected author.

The merits of this work which the reader will please notice is

the author's *Text-book*, not his *Manual* (the latter being a much larger work) of Church History, are so obvious, that they need not be pointed out in detail. It combines lucid conciseness with full comprehensiveness to a rare degree. And although it cannot, of course, supply the place of larger works on the subject, already issued, or in course of publication, it will tend to satisfy a great want in this department of literature.

It is proper to add, that whilst the Edinburg translation was made from the third edition of the original work, the edition now offered to the public contains all the improvements of the fourth edition of the original, which was published within the last three months.

J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 1. Idea of Church History ..... Page 25

§ 2. Division of Church History 26

1. Different Tendencies apparent in Church History. 2. The Several Branches of Church History. 3. Principal Phases in the Historical Development of the Church.

§ 3. Sources and Auxiliaries of Church History 32

§ 4. History of Church History 33

THE PREPARATORY HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH;

OR, THE WORLD BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRIST IN ITS RELATION TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 5. Survey of the History of the World 42

§ 6. Primeval Preparation of Salvation 42

§ 7. Different Purposes which Judaism and Heathenism were intended to serve 43

§ 8. Heathenism 45

1. Religious Life among the Heathen. 2. Moral Condition of the Heathen. 3. Intellectual Culture of the Heathen. 4. Greek Philosophy. 5. Social Condition.

§ 9. Judaism 51

1. Judaism under Special Divine Discipline. 2. Judaism after the Retirement of the Spirit of Prophecy.

§ 10. The Samaritans 53

§ 11. Points of contact between Judaism and Heathenism 54
1. Influence of Heathenism on Judaism; 2. of Judaism on Heathenism.
§ 12. The Fulness of Time 56

HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH BY CHRIST; ITS CONSTITUTION IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

(First Century.)

§ 13. Characteristics of this Primitive History 57

I. THE LIFE OF JESUS.

§ 14. Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World 59

II. THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

§ 15. Feast of Pentecost — Activity of the Apostles before the calling of Paul 61
§ 16. Labours of the Apostle Paul 62
§ 17. Labours of the other Apostles 64
1. Peter's Bishopric at Rome. 2. Two or Three James's? 3. John's Exile.
§ 18. Constitution, Life, Discipline, and Worship of the Church 66
1. The Charismata. 2. Bishops and Presbyters. 3. Other Church Offices. 4. Life and Discipline. 5. Worship.
§ 19. Apostolic Opposition to Sectarians and Heretics 71
1. The Convention of the Apostles. 2. The Basis of Apostolic Teaching.

FIRST SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH IN ITS ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL FORM.

§ 20. Character and Boundaries of this Phase of Development 79

FIRST PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY UNDER THE ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL FORM OF CULTURE (100–323).

I. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH, THE SYNAGOGUE, AND HEATHENISM.

§ 21. Hostilities and Persecutions by the Jews 82
§ 22. Attempts at Restoration and Reaction on the part of the Synagogue and the Samaritans 84
1. Dositheus. 2. Simon Magus. 3. Menander.

§ 23. Persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire 84
1. To the Time of Trajan. 2. To the Time of Marcus Aurelius. 3. To the Time of Septimius Severus. 4. To the Time of Decius. 5. To the Time of Diocletian. 6. Diocletian. 7. Constantine.

§ 24. Intellectual Reaction on the part of Heathenism 92
1. Apollonius of Tyana. 2. Neo-Platonism. 3. Lucian. 4. Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles.

§ 25. Spread of Christianity 94

II. DANGERS ACCRUING FROM A LEAVEN OF JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM REMAINING IN THE CHURCH.

§ 26. Survey 95
Gnosticism.

§ 27. Ebionism and Ebionite Gnosis 97
1. The Nazarenes. 2. The Ebionites. 3. The Elkesaites. 4. The Pseudo-Clementine System.

§ 28. Christo-Gentile Gnosticism 101
1. Cerinth. 2. The Gnosticism of Basilides. 3. The Gnosticism of Valentine. 4. The Gnosticism of the Ophites. 5. The Gnosticism of Carpocrates. 6. The Antitactes. 7. Saturninus. 8. Tatian. 9. Bardesanes. 10. Marcion. 11. Hermogenes.

§ 29. Manichæism 108
1. Person and History of the Founder. 2. The System and Sect.

III. DEVELOPMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT, WORSHIP, LIFE, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

§ 30. Internal Organization of the Church 111
1 Ordines Majores et Minores. 2. Synods. 3. Unity and Catholicity of the Church. 4. The Primacy of Rome.

§ 31. Celebration of Public Worship 116
Disputes about the Observance of Easter.

§ 32. The Administration of Baptism 118
1. Catechumens. 2. Discussion about the Baptism of Heretics. 3. The Dogma concerning Baptism.

§ 33. The Administration of the Lord's Supper 121
1. The Liturgy of the Supper. 2. The "Disciplina Arcani." 3. The Dogma of the Lord's Supper. 4. The Sacrificial Theory.

§ 34. Reading, Sermon, Prayer, and Singing 123
1. The Doctrine of Inspiration. 2. The New Testament Canon. 3. Translations of the Bible. 4. Hymnology.

§ 35 Places of Public Worship and Influence of Art 126

§ 36. Life, Manners, and Discipline 127

1. The Christian Life. 2. Ecclesiastical Discipline. 3. Asceticism. 4. Beginning of the Worship of Martyrs.

§ 37. The Montanistic Reformation 131

1. Phrygian Montanism. 2. Montanism in the West. 3. Doctrine and Practice.

§ 38. Ecclesiastical Schisms 135

1. The Schism of Hippolytus at Rome. 2. Of Felicissimus at Carthage. 3. Of Novatian at Rome. 4. Of Meletius in Egypt.

IV. DOCTRINAL AND APOLOGETIC LABORS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 39. Theological Schools and their Representatives 135

1. The Apostolic Fathers. 2. The Apologetical Writers of the Second Century. 3. The School of Asia Minor. 4. The School of Alexandria. 5. The School of North Africa. 6. The School of Antioch. 7. Apocryphal and Pseudo-Epigraphic Works.

§ 40. Development of Doctrine and Dogmatic Controversies 141

1. The Trinitarian Question. 2. The Dynamistic Monarchians. 3. Praxeas and Tertullian. 4. Noetus, Callistus, and Hippolytus. 5. Beryllus and Origen. 6. Sabellius and the Two Dyonisii. 7. Paul of Samosata. 8. The Millennarian Controversy.

§ 41. Theological Literature 147

1. Apologetics. 2. Polemics. 3. Dogmatics. 4. Criticism and Exegesis. 4. Historical Theology. 6. Practical Theology.

SECOND PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY UNDER THE ANCIENT CLASSICAL FORM (323–692).

I. STATE AND CHURCH.

§ 42. Fall of Heathenism in the Roman Empire 151

1. Constantine the Great and his Sons. 2. Julian the Apostate. 3. Final Destruction of Heathenism. 4. Resistance and Apologies of the Heathen.

§ 43 The Christian State and the State Church 155

1. The Emperors. 2. General Synods. 3. Ecclesiastical Law.

II. MONASTICISM, THE CLERGY, AND HIERARCHY.

§ 44. Monasticism 158

1. St. Antonius. 2. Nunneries. 3. Monasticism in the East. 4. The Acoimetes and Stylites. 5. Sectarian and Heretical Monasticism.

§ 45. The Clergy 162

1. Training of the Clergy. 2. Canonical Age. 3. Ordination. 4. Injunction of Celibacy. 5. Ecclesiastical Functionaries.

§ 46. The Patriarchal Office and the Primacy 165

1. The Rivalry between Rome and Byzantium. 2. Pretensions of Rome to the Primacy.

III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND ITS LITERATURE.

§ 47. Theological Schools and Tendencies 170

1. The School of Antioch. 2. Of Edessa. 3. Of Alexandria. 4. New Alexandrian School. 5. Theology of the West during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. 6. The Theology of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries.

§ 48. Theological Literature 181

1. Exegetical Theology. 2. Historical Theology. 3. Apologetics. 4. Polemics. 5. Dogmatics. 6. Ethics and Asceticism. 7. Practical Theology. 8. Christian Poetry.

IV. DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES AND HERESIES.

§ 49. General Development of Doctrine 186

§ 50. The Trinitarian Controversy (318–381) 187

1. First Victory of Homoousian Principles (318–325). 2. Ascendancy of Homoiousianism (326–356). 3. Homoiism (357–361). 4. Final Ascendancy of the Nicene Creed (361–381). 5. The Pneumatomachoi. 6. Literature of the Controversy. 7. Later Development of Nicene Views.

§ 51. Origenistic Controversies (394–438) 194

1. The Monks of the Scetian and Nitrian Desert. 2. Controversy in Palestine and Italy (394–399). 3. Controversy in Alexandria and Constantinople (399–438).

§ 52. Discussions about the Person of Christ (428–680) 197

1. The Apollinaristic Controversy (362–381). 2. Antagonism between the Different Theological Schools (381–428). 3. The Nestorian Controversy (428–444). 4. The Monophysite Controversy—(A.) Eutychianism (444–451). 5. (B.) Imperial Attempts to bring about a Union (451–519). 6. (C.) The Decrees of Justinian I. (527–553). 7. (D.) The Monophysite Churches. 8. The Monothelete Controversy (633–680).

§ 53. Controversies connected with the Doctrine of Redemption (412–529). 207

1. Preliminary History. 2. Doctrinal Views of Augustine. 3. Pelagius and his System. 4. The Pelagian Controversy (412–431). 5. The Semi-Pelagian Controversy (427–529).

§ 54. Revival of former Sects. 214

1. Manichæism. 2. Priscillianism.

V. WORSHIP, LIFE, DISCIPLINE, AND MANNERS.

§ 55. Worship in general 216

§ 56. Times of Public Worship and Festivals 217

1. The Weekly Cycle. 2. Horæ and Quatember. 3. The Calculation of Easter. 4. The Easter Cycle of Festivals. 5. The Christmas Cycle of Festivals. 6. Festival of the Transfiguration. 7. The Ecclesiastical Year.

§ 57. The Worship of Saints, of Relics, and of Images 221

1. Saints' Days. 2. The Worship of Mary. 3. The Worship of Angels. 4. The Worship of Images. 5. The Worship of Relics. 6. Pilgrimages.

§ 58. Administration of the Sacraments 226

1. Administration of Baptism. 2. Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. 3. Sacrifice of the Mass. 4. The Dispensation of the Supper.

§ 59. Administration of Public Worship 230

1. Use of the Scriptures. 2. Hymnology. 3. Psalmody and Hymnody. 4. The Liturgy. 5. Symbolical Rites.

§ 60. Places of Worship and Works of Art 236

1. Basilicas, &c. 2. Side Buildings. 3. Ecclesiastical Furniture. 4. The Fine Arts.

§ 61. Life, Discipline, and Manners 239

1. Ecclesiastical Discipline. 2. Christian Marriage. 3. Sickness, Death, and Burial.

§ 62. Heretical Reformers. 242

§ 63. Schisms 243

1. Schisms in consequence of the Arian Controversy. 2. The Donatist Schism. 3. The Concilium Quinisextum.

VI. THE CHURCH BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

§ 64. Christian Missions in the East. 247

1. The Abyssinian Church. 2. The Persian Church. 3. The Armenian Church. 4. The Iberians, Lazians, and Abasgians; the East Indies and Arabia.

§ 65. The Mohammedan Counter-Missions. 250

1. Fundamental Idea of Islamism. 2. Service performed by Mohammedanism.

THIRD PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN ITS ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL FORM.

(692–1453.)

I. MOVEMENTS IN THE EASTERN CHURCH, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SIMILAR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

§ 66. Iconoclastic Controversy in the East (726–842) 253

1. Leo the Isaurian. 2. Constantinus Copronymus. 3. Irene. 4. Theodora.

§ 67. Schism between the Greek and the Roman Church, and Attempts at Union (857–1453). 256

1. Commencement of the Schism (867). 2. Leo the Philosopher and Basilius II. 3. Completion of the Schism in 1054. 4. Attempts at Re-union. 5. Andronicus III. and Johannes V. Palæologus. 6. Johannes VII. Palæologus.

II. INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

§ 68. Theological Science and its Literature 261

1. Revival of Classical Studies. 2. Aristotle and Plato. 3 Scholasticism and Mysticism. 4. Theological Sciences 5. Distinguished Theologians.

§ 69. Dogmatic Controversies (the Hesychastic Controversy) 266

§ 70. Government, Worship, and Manners 268

1. The Arsenian Schism. 2. Public Worship. 3. Monasticism. 4. Reformatory Efforts.

§ 71. Gnostic and Manichæan Heretics 270

1. The Paulicians. 2. The Children of the Sun. 3. The Euchites and Bogomiles.

§ 72. The Orthodox Slavonic-Greek Churches 274

1. Greece. 2. The Chazars. 3. The Bulgarians. 4. The Russians.

§ 73. The Heretical Churches of the East 277

1. The Nestorians. 2. The Monophysites. 3. The Maronites.

SECOND SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

§ 74. Character and Extent of this Phase of Development 284

1. Its Character. 2. Its Periods.

FIRST PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Cent. 4–9.)

I. ESTABLISHMENT, SPREAD, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE GERMAN CHURCH.

§ 75. Christianity and the Germans 287

1. Predisposition. 2. Profession of Christianity. 3. Mode of Conversion.

§ 76. Victory of Catholicism over Arianism 290

1. The Goths in the Countries along the Danube. 2. The Visigoths. 3. The Vandals. 4. The Suevi. 5. The Burgundians. 6. The Rugians and St. Severinus. 7. The Ostrogoths. 8. The Langobards. 9. The Franks.

§ 77. Victory of the Romish over the British Confession 296

1. British Confession. 2. Ireland. 3. The Picts and Scots. 4. Romish Mission among the Anglo-Saxons. 5. British Mission among the Anglo-Saxons. 6. Victory of the Romish over the British Confession.

§ 78. Conversion of Germany 302

1. South-Western Germany. 2. South-Eastern Germany. 3. North-Western Germany. 4. St. Boniface. 5. The Saxons.

§ 79. The Slavonians within the Boundaries of Germany 311

1. The Moravian Church. 2. Introduction of Christianity into Bohemia.

§ 80. The Scandinavian Nations 313

§ 81. Christianity and Islamism 316

II. INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMANIC CHURCH.

§ 82. The Papacy and the Carolingians 318

1. Origin of the States of the Church. 2. The Carolingian Dynasty. 3. The Papacy till the Time of Nicholas I. 4. Nicholas I. and Hadrian II. 5. John VIII. and his Successors.

§ 83 The Papacy and the Metropolitan Office 326

§ 84. State of the Clergy 329

1. The Higher Clergy. 2. The Inferior Clergy. 3. Injunction of Celibacy. 4. The Canonical Life.

§ 85. Monasticism 333

1. Benedict of Nursia. 2. Benedict of Aniane. 3. Nunneries. 4. Large Monasteries. 5. Stylites, Recluses, and Anchorites.

§ 86. Ecclesiastical Property 337

Benefices and Secularization.

§ 87. Ecclesiastical Legislation 339

1. Collections of Ecclesiastical Law. 2. The Forged Decretals of Isidore.

§ 88. State of Intelligence, Ecclesiastical Usages, and Discipline 342

1. Religious Education of the People. 2. Popular Christian Poetry. 3. Social State. 4. Administration of Justice. 5. Ecclesiastical Discipline and Penances.

§ 89. Public Worship and the Fine Arts 348

1. Liturgy and Preaching. 2. Church Music. 3. The Sacrifice of the Mass. 4. The Worship of Saints, Relics, Images, and Angels; Pilgrimages. 5. Ecclesiastical Seasons and Places. 6. The Fine Arts.

§ 90. State of Science and of Theological Literature 353

1. Monastic and Cathedral Schools. 2. Celebrated Theologians before the Time of the Carolingians. 3. During the Reign of Charlemagne. 4. Under the Reign of Louis the Pious. 5. During the Reign of Charles the Bald. 6. Theological Sciences: Exegesis. 7. Systematic Theology. 8. Practical Theology. 9. Church History.

§ 91. Development of Doctrine and Dogmatic Controversies 361

1. The Adoptionist Controversy. 2. Controversy about the Procession of the Holy Spirit. 3. Controversies of Paschasius Radbertus. 4. Controversy about Predestination.

§ 92 Reformatory Movements 367

1. Opposition of the Carolingians to Image Worship 2. Agobard of Lyons and Claudius of Turin.

SECOND PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Cent. 10–13.)

I. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 93. Missionary Operations during that Period 370

1. The Scandinavian Mission. 2. The Slavonian Magyar Missions. 3. Missions among the Fins and Letonians. 4. Missions among the Mongols. 5. Missions in Mohammedan Countries.

§ 94. The Crusades 382

§ 95. Islamism and the Jews in Europe 386

1. Islamism in Sicily. 2. Islamism in Spain. 3. The Jews in Europe.

II. HIERARCHY, THE CLERGY, AND MONASTICISM.

§ 96. The Papacy and the Holy Roman German Empire 389

1. The Papacy to the Death of Sylvester II. (904–1003). 2. To the Synod of Sutri. 3. To Gregory VII. (1046–1073). 4. Gregory VII. 5. To the Settlement of the Dispute about Investiture. 6. To Innocent III. (1123–1198). 7. Innocent III. (1198–1216). 8. To Boniface VIII. (1216–1294).

§ 97. The Clergy 407

1. Political Influence. 2. The Pataria.

§ 98. The Religious Orders 410

1. Of Clugny, Camaldoli, and the Vallambrosians. 2. The Cistercians. 3. New Orders. 4. The Mendicant Orders. 5. The Beguins and Beghards. 6. The Knightly Orders.

§ 99. Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence 419

III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND CONTROVERSIES.

§ 100. General View of Scholasticism 420

1. Nurseries of Scholasticism. 2. Metaphysical Basis. 3. Object and Method of Scholastic Theology.

§ 101. The Seculum Obscurum (Tenth Century) 424

§ 102 Division among the Dialecticians (Eleventh Century) 426

1. Authors. 2. Eucharistic Controversy. 2. Controversies of Anselm.

§ 103. Separation and Re-union of Dialectics and Mysticism 430
1. The Separation. 2. Reconciliation. 3. Renewed Controversies.

§ 104. Highest Stage of Scholasticism (Thirteenth Century) 435
1. Celebrated Scholastics. 2. Raimundus Lullus. 3. Biblical and Practical Opposition. 4. A German Mystic. 5. Historians.

IV. THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

§ 105. Public Worship and the Fine Arts 439
1. The Sacraments. 2. New Festivals. 3. Worship of Images, Relics, and Saints. 4. Hymnology. 5. Ecclesiastical Music. 6. Ecclesiastical Architecture. 7. The Plastic Art and Painting.

§ 106. Popular Life and National Literature 445
1. Popular Life. 2. Popular Culture. 3. National Literature.

§ 107. Ecclesiastical Discipline and Indulgences 450

V. OPPOSITION TO THE PREVAILING SYSTEM OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

§ 108. Active Opposition to Prevailing Ecclesiasticism 451
1. The Cathari. 2. Sect of the Holy Spirit. 3. Revolutionary Reformers. 4. Prophetic and Apocalyptic Opposition. 5. The Waldenses.

§ 109. Reaction in the Church 461
1. Crusade against the Albigenses. 2. The Inquisition.

THIRD PERIOD OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Cent. 14 and 15.)

I. THE HIERARCHY, THE CLERGY, AND MONASTICISM.

§ 110. The Papacy 463
1. Boniface VIII. (1294–1303). 2. The Papacy in its Babylonish Exile (1309–1377). 3. The Papal Schism and the Reforming Councils (1378–1443). 4. The Last Popes before the Reformation (1443–1517).

§ 111. The Clergy 471

§ 112. The Monastic Orders 472
1. The Benedictines and Olivetans. 2. The Dominicans. 3. New Orders. 4. Hermits. 5. The Brethren of the Common Life.

II. THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

§ 113. Public Worship and the Fine Arts 478
1. New Festivals in Honour of the Virgin. 2. Preaching. 3. Catechization. 4. Hymnology. 5. Church Music. 6. Architecture, the Plastic Art, and Painting.

§ 114. Popular Life and National Literature 482
1. Religious Associations. 2. The Friends of God. 3. The Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit. 4. National Literature.

§ 115. Ecclesiastical Discipline 487
1. The Inquisition. 2. Procedure against Witches.

III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

§ 116. Scholasticism and its Opponents 490

§ 117. German Mysticism 492

IV. REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS.

§ 118. The Reformation in Head and Members 495
1. French Reformers. 2. German Reformers. 3. An Italian Reformer.

§ 119. Attempts at Evangelical Reformation 498
1. Wycliffe and the Wycliffites. 2. Bohemian Reformers before Hus. 3. Hus and Jerome of Prague. 4. The Husites. 5. The Bohemian and Moravian Brethren. 6. Netherland Reformers. 7. An Italian Reformer.

§ 120. The so-called Revival of Learning 510
1. The Italian Humanists. 2. The German Humanists. 3. Erasmus. 4. Humanism in England, Scotland, France, and Spain. 5. The Study of the Scriptures.

1737

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 1. IDEA OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The Christian Church is that Divine institution for the salvation of man, which Jesus Christ has founded on earth. Its aim is to have the salvation wrought out by Christ communicated to, and freely appropriated by, every nation and every individual. Outwardly, the Church manifests itself in the religious fellowship of those who, having become partakers of this salvation, co-operate in their own places, and according to the measure of their gifts and calling, towards the extension and development of the kingdom of God. Christ the God-man, who is exalted to the right hand of power, is the sole *Head* of the Church; the Holy Spirit, who is sent by Christ in order to guide the Church to its goal and perfection, is its Divine *Teacher;* — the Word and the Sacraments are the ordinary *means* through which the Holy Spirit works in and by it. As the Church has originated in time, and has passed through a certain development, it has also a History. But its course is not one of continual progress. For, side by side with the holy government of its Divine Head, and the sanctifying influences of the Paraclete, we also descry in its administration a merely human agency. From the sinfulness of our nature, this agency may prove unholy and perverse, and thus resist, instead of co-operating; obstruct, instead of advancing; disturb the progress by introducing impure elements, instead of preserving it in, or restoring it to, its purity. But even amidst all this error and perverseness attaching to human agency, the guidance and care of Christ and of His Spirit have

manifested themselves in this, that Divine truth has not been suffered to perish in human error, Divine power through human weakness and rebelliousness, or the Divine salvation by man's iniquity. Nay, amid all hindrances, the Divine has developed and progressed; and even these temporary obstructions have been made subservient for preparing, procuring, and manifesting in the Church the complete triumph of Divine power and truth From these remarks, it will be gathered that it is the task of Church History not only to exhibit proper developments in the Church, but also all obstructions and aberrations, — at least so long as they have remained in some relation to the Church.

§ 2. DIVISION OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The many and extensive ramifications of Church History render it necessary to arrange its subject-matter, both as to length, — *i. e.*, into definite *periods*, during each of which some tendency, hitherto influential in the general development, reached its termination, and in turn gave place to new influences which commenced to affect the development, or to give it a new direction; — and as to *breadth*, — *i. e.*, with reference to the various elements of tendency and development, which made their appearance at any one stage. In the latter respect two points claim our attention: 1. The arrangement according to *national churches*, so far as these have followed an independent and distinctive direction; or according to *particular churches*, which may partly have owed their origin to some division in the Church universal, occasioned by marked differences, in doctrine, worship, or constitution. — 2. The arrangement according to *the grand object* towards which every movement recorded in ecclesiastical history tends. This common manifestation of ecclesiastical life, which appears in all national and particular churches, has, however, assumed in different churches a peculiar and distinctive shape. The idea of history, and especially that of a universal history of the Church, implies that it must mainly be arranged according to periods. But the question as to which of the other two classifications is to be prominently brought forward, depends partly on the course of history itself, and partly on the plan on which it has been constructed. In general, the arrangement according to national churches must remain subordinate, at least so long as their union and co-operation has not been interrupted,

either by following entirely different tendencies, or through a sundering of them into particular churches.

1. *Different Tendencies apparent in Church History.*—The Christian Church is intended to embrace all nations and tongues. Hence, it must always be its aim to enlarge its domain by the conversion of non-Christian nations and individuals. The History of the Extension and Limitation of Christianity, which exhibits either the progress or the various obstructions put in its way, must therefore form an essential part of Church History. Again, though the Church is under the invisible guidance and the unseen care of the Holy Spirit, as a visible and terrestrial institution, it requires, for its continuance and prosperity, a secure outward position, and a stable and consistent internal arrangement, constitution, and order. Hence, Church History has also to chronicle the history of Ecclesiastical Constitution, both in reference to the outward position of the Church towards the State, and to its internal organization, government, discipline, and legislation. The history of those ecclesiastical divisions (schisms) which had their origin only in different views about church government, and especially about the administration of discipline, belongs to this branch of the subject. — Of still greater importance for the prosperous progress of the church, was it to develop and establish the doctrine of salvation. The Holy Scriptures are, indeed, the sole source and rule of faith, and a sufficient directory in all that concerns the knowledge of salvation. But the words of Scripture are spirit and life, living seed-corn of knowledge, which, under the superintendence of the Spirit, who sowed it, must unfold into a glorious harvest; that so the fulness of truth which they contain may be increasingly understood, and become adapted to all stages and forms of culture — to faith, science, and life. It is, therefore, also the task of Church History to follow the Development of Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Science, in all the ways and by-ways (heresies) over which it has passed. — The Church also requires public worship, as the necessary expression of the feelings and aspirations of the faithful towards their Lord and God, and as a means for edification, instruction, and strength to the congregation. In the Word and the sacraments, the Church indeed received from its Lord the immovable ground-work of all worship; still, it had to seek out and to adopt the most suitable and effective form, under which these Divine powers and gifts might be perfected and applied. Hence the History of Worship must also form an essential element in Church History.— Lastly, the Church had to introduce the leaven of that new life, of which it is the depositary, into practical life, and into the manners and customs of the people. This, then, implies another element in Church History, — that *of Christian life* among the people. — It is impossible to determine the historical succession of these varied manifestations of the life of the Church, according to abstract and logical principles,

or to arrange them in the same manner at all periods. It will therefore be necessary, in each case, to adopt a division which at every period will first present those elements which appeared most prominently, and exercised a decisive influence upon all the others.

2. *The several Branches of Church History.*—The above branches of Church History are severally of such importance, that they have frequently been treated as independent sciences. This method renders it possible to enter into fuller details, and, what is even more important, to treat each science according to its own peculiar principles, and in the most satisfactory manner.—The history of the spread of, or of the obstructions to Christianity, is then viewed as *the History of Missions*. That of ecclesiastical government (*ecclesiastica politia*), of worship and of Christian manners, is called *Ecclesiastical Archæology* — a name inaptly chosen, since it confines the range of inquiries to ancient times, and groups together heterogeneous elements. Let us hope that writers on this subject will in future separate these different elements, and follow the development of each to the present time, treating of them as of the history of Ecclesiastical Constitution, of Christian Worship, and of Christian Culture. The history of the development of doctrines may be arranged into—*a*) *the History of Dogmas*, in which the genetic development of the doctrines of the Church is traced; *b*) *Symbolics*, in which the established doctrinal views of the Church universal, and of individual churches, as laid down in their *confessions* (or symbols), are presented in a systematic manner (in "Comparative Symbolics," these confessions are critically examined, and placed side by side with each other); *c*) *Patristics*, which treats of the subjective development of doctrine, as it appears in the teachings of the most eminent ecclesiastical authorities (the Fathers — limiting that expression chiefly to the first six or eight centuries of the Church); lastly, *d*) *the History of Theology* generally, or of individual branches of theological science, which details the scientific treatment of theology, or of its individual branches, in their historical course of progress. *The History of Theological Literature* exhibits and criticises the literary activity of the Church generally; *Patrology*, that of the Fathers. Lastly, the science of *Ecclesiastical Statistics* presents a general view of the results of universal Church History during a definite period, and describes the state of the Church in all its relations, as it appeared at every period of its history, furnishing, "as it were, a cross-section of history."

Literature. 1. History of Missions: *Blumhardt*, allgemeine Missionsgeschichte (Universal History of Missions). 3 vols. Basle 1828.—*W. Brown*. Hist. of the Propagation of Christ. among the Heathen since the Reform. 3d Ed. 1854.—For Protest. Missions, comp. also *J. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. Evang. Mission, 1847; for Rom. Cath. Miss. the work of *Henrion*, translat. into German by Wittmann. Schaffh. 1847. 3 vols.

2. History of the Papacy: *Bower*, Hist. of the Popes. London,

1749; transl. into German, and contin. by *Rambach*. 10 vols. Magd. and Leipz. 1751. — *Chr. W. Fr. Walch*, Entw. einer vollst. Gesch. d. Papstth. (Sketch of a complete history of the Papacy). Gött. 1756; *Spittler*, Gesch. d. Papstth.; *C. J. Weber*, Papstth. u. Päpste. Stuttg. 1836: *Artaud de Montor*, Hist. des Papes. Augsb. 1848.

3. History of Monastic Orders: *H. Helyot*, Gesch. aller Klöster u. Ritterorden. Aus d. Franz. (History of all Monastic and Knight Orders). Leipz. 1753. 8 vols. — (*Musson*), pragm. Gesch. d. vornehmsten Mönchsorder, im Ausz. von *Crome* (pragm. Hist. of the Principal Monastic Orders, condensed by *Crome*). Leipz. 1774. 10 vols.—*J. Fehr*, Gesch. d. Mönchsorden. Nach d. Franz. des Baron *Henrion* (Par. 1835), (Hist. of the Monastic Orders, after the French of Baron *Henrion*). Tübing. 1845. 2 vols.

4. History of Councils: *E. Richerii*, hist. concill. gener. Ll. IV. Paris 1680. 3 Voll. 4.— *C. J. Hefele*, Conciliengesch. nach d. Quellen (Hist. of Councils, from the original sources). 7 Vols. Freib. 1855. — *Chr. W. F. Walch*, Entw. einer vollst. Gesch. d. Kirchenversammll (Sketch of a Complete History of Ecclesiastical Councils). Leipz 1759.

5. Ecclesiastical Law: *J. W. Bickell*, Gesch. d. K.-R. (Hist. of Eccles. Law, continued by *Röstell*), fortgesetzt v. *J. W. Röstell*. 2 vols. (incomplete). Giessen 1843. 49.—*Ferd. Walter* (Rom. Cath.), Lehrbuch d. K.-R. aller christl. Confessionen (Manual of the Eccles. Law of all Christ. Churches). 14th ed. Bonn. 1871.— *G. Philipps*, K.-R. (Eccl. Law). 5 vols. Regensb. 1845. — *Eichhorn*, Grunds. d. K.-R. (Principles of Eccl. Law). Göttg. 1831. 2 vols.—*A. L. Richter*, Lehrb. d. K.-R. (Manual of Eccl. Law). 7th ed. Leipz. 1871.

6. Archæology: by Protestant writers: *Jos. Bingham*, Antiquities of the Church, 10 vols.; *Augusti*, Denkwürdigk. aus. d. chr. Arch. (Memorabilia in Christ. Archæol.). 12 vols. Leipz. 1816; *Dessen* Handb. d. christl. Arch. (Augusti's Manual of Christ. Arch.). 3 vols. Leipz. 1836; *Rheinwald*, die kirchl. Arch. (Eccles. Arch.). Berlin 1830; *Böhmer*, die chr. kirchl. Alterthumswissch. (Chr. Eccles. Archæol.). 2 vols. Bresl. 1836. 39; *Guericke*, Lehrb. d. chr. kirchl. Arch. (Manual of Chr. eccl. Arch.). Leipz. 1859; *Siegel*, Handbuch d. chr. kirchl. Alterthümer in alphab. Ordnung (Manual of Christ. and Eccles. Antiq. in the alphab. order). 4 vols. Leipz. 1836; *C. Schöne*, Geschichtsforschung über d. kirchl. Gebräuche (Histor. Invest. on Eccles. Usages). 3 vol. Berlin, 1819; *Planck*, Gesch. d. chr. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. (Hist. of the Social Constit. of the Chr. Church). 5 vols. Hann. 1803; — by Roman Catholic writers: *Mamachii* origines et antiq. chr. 5 voll. 4. Rom. 1749; *Pellicia*, de chr. eccl. politia. 3 voll. Neap. 1777, newly edited by *Ritter*, Col. 1829; *Binterim*, Denkwürdigk. d. chr. kath. K. (Memorabilia of the Roman Cath. Ch.). 17 vols. Mayence 1825.

7. History of Dogmas: *Petavius* (Jesuit), de theologicis dogmatt. e not. *Theoph. Alethani* (J. Clerici). 6 Voll. fol. Amst. 1700.—*Manuals:*

by *Engelhardt* (2 vols. Erlang. 1839); *Baumgarten-Crusius* (Compendium 2 vols. Leipz. 1840. 46); *W. Münscher* (3d ed. by *Cölln* and *Neudecker*, Cassel 1832); *K. F. Meier* (2d ed. by *G. Baur*, Giessen 1854); *Fd. Chr. Baur* (3d ed. Leipz. 1867); *K. R. Hagenbach* 3. A. Leipz. 1867. (the 2d ed. translated by Buch. Edinb. T. and T. Clark); *J. C. L. Gieseler* (Prelections. Bonn 1855); *Neander* (edited by *Jacobi*. 2 vols. 1857, transl. by J. E. Ryland).—*Chr. W. F. Walch*, vollst. Historie d. Ketzereien, bis zum Bilderstreite incl. (Complete Hist. of Heresies, to the Controversy about Images). 11 vols. Leipz. 1762.

8. Symbolics: *Marheineke*, chr. Symbolik. Vol. I. Heidelb. 1810; *Köllner*, Symb. aller christ. Confess. (Symbolical Books of all Chr. Churches). 2 vols. Leipz. 1846; *Winer*, comparative Darstellung d. Lehrbegriffe d. verschied. chr. Kirchenpart. (Comparat. View of the Dogmas of the various parties in the Chr. Ch.). 2d ed. Leipz. 1837; *Guericke*, allg. chr. Symbolik (Universal Chr. Symb.). 3d ed. Leipz. 1861; *Marheincke's* Vorless. über die Symbolik (Prelections on Symb.). Berlin 1848; *K. Matthes*, compar. Symbolik. Leipz. 1854; *A. H. Baier*, Symb. Vol. I. Greifsw. 1854.—By Roman Catholic writers; *J. A. Möhler*, Symbolik. 7th ed. Mayence 1864; *Hilgers*, symb. Theol. Bonn 1841;—against *Möhler: Baur*, der Gegens. d. Kath. u. Protestantismus (the opposition between Roman. and Protest.). 2d ed. Tüb. 1836; *Nitzsch*, protest. Beantw. (Reply of Protest.). Hamb. 1835. Comp. also; *Thiersch*, Vorless. über Protestantism. u. Kath. (Prelections on Protest. and Roman.). 2 vols. 2d ed. 1848.

9. Patrology and History of Literature: *Ellies du Pin*, nouv. biblioth. des auteurs eccl. 47 voll. Paris 1686; *R. Ceillier*, hist. des auteurs sacrés et eccl. des six prem. siècles. Par. 1693. 16 Voll. 4; *J. A. Möhler*, Patrologie, edited by Rheitmayer. Vol. I. Regensb. 1839; *J. Fessler*, Institt. patrol. Oenip. 1850. 2 T.—By *Protestant* writers: *W. Cave*, Scriptt. eccles. hist. literaria. 2 Voll. fol. London 1688; *C. Oudin*, Commentarii de scriptoribus ecclesiast. Lips. 1722. 3 Voll. fol.; *J. A. Fabricii* Biblioth. Græca. Hamb. 1705 ss. 14 Voll. 4., nova ed. cur. *Harless*. Hamb. 1790. 12 Voll. 4.; *Ejusd.* Bibl. mediæ et infimæ latinitatis aucta a *J. D. Mansi* Pat. 1754. 6 Voll. 4.; *Schönemann*, Biblioth. patr. latin. hist. liter. Lips. 1792. 2 vols.; *Oelrichs*, Comment. de script. eccles. lat. Lips. 1790; *J. C. F. Bähr*, Gesch. d. röm. Liter. (Hist. of Roman Liter.), Suppl. I.-III. Karlsr. 1836–40.—*Gesch d. theol. Wissensch.* (Hist. of Theol. Science): von *Flügge* (3 vols. Halle 1796, to the time of the Reform.);—*Stäudlin* (from the 15th cent.). 2 vols. Gött. 1810;—*J. G. Walch*, Biblioth. theol. sel. Jenæ 1757. 4 Voll.

10. Lives of the Saints: *L. Surius*, Vitæ Ss. Col. 1570. 6 Voll. fol. *Acta Sanctorum*, Ant. 1643 etc. 56 Voll. fol. (begun by the Jesuit *Bollandus*, hence known by the name of *Bollandists*).—*Mabillon*, Acta Ss. ordinis s. Benedicti. Par. 1666. 9 Voll. fol.—*Butler*, Lives of the Saints. New ed Dublin 1838.

3. *Principal Phases in the Historical Development of the Church.*—In the history of civilization we meet with three successive forms of culture: the Oriental, the Græco-Roman, and the Germanic. The kingdom of God was to penetrate, and unfold itself, in each of these, in a manner peculiar to each, and thus attain its most complete development. The earliest Church (the Israelitish theocracy) represents its development in the Oriental form; the ancient Christian Church its development in the Græco-Roman form; the modern Church its development in the Germanic form. The Middle Ages exhibit the struggle between the superannuated classic form of culture, and the modern; whilst the later development of the Church received its main impulse from the Germanic-Christian culture, which was matured by the genial influences of the Reformation. This division of the History of the kingdom of God on the earth, according to the different forms of civilization, seems to us so essential, that we derive from it the principle of our division of Church History, as follows:

I. *Antecedent History of Christianity:* Preparation for it in the Hebrew oriental form of culture; simultaneous adaptation of the universal form, for its manifestation in the Græco-Roman form.

II. *Primitive History of Christianity:* The perfect exhibition of the plan of salvation by Christ and his Apostles. Conflict between the Jewish and Greek forms of culture; victory of the latter. First century (Apostolic period).

III. *History of the Development of Christianity,* on the basis of its original character.

A. *In the Ancient Classic Form:*

First Period, from *a.* 100–323, or to the final victory of Christianity over Græco-Roman heathenism.

Second Period, from 323–692, or to the completion of the doctrinal development of the ancient Church (680) and the alienation between the Oriental and Occidental Churches (692).

Third Period, from 692–1453, or to the taking of Constantinople. Decline of the influence of the ancient classic form of culture on the history of the Church.

B. *In the Germanic Form.* 1. *In the Middle Ages:*

First Period, including the 4th–9th centuries, or from the founding of the Church among the Germans to the end of the Carlovingian period.

Second Period, from the 10th–13th centuries, to Boniface VIII., or the age of the papacy, monasticism, and scholasticism.

Third Period, embracing the 14th and 15th centuries, to the Reformation; decline of the factors prominent in the Middle Ages; frequent reformatory movements.

2. *In the Modern Germanic Form:*

First Period, embracing the 16th century, the period of the Reformation.

Second Period, the 17th century, the period of orthodoxy.

Third Period, the 18th century, the age of deism, naturalism, rationalism.

Fourth Period, the 19th century, the age of the revival of a Christian and Church life (unionism, confessionalism) in conflict with communism, pantheism, and materialism.

§ 3. SOURCES AND AUXILIARIES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

1. The sources of Church History are partly PRIMARY (original), such as monuments and original documents, — partly SECONDARY (derived), among which we reckon traditions, and reported researches of original sources which have since been lost. MONUMENTS, such as ecclesiastical buildings, pictures, and inscriptions, are commonly only of very subordinate use in Church History. But ARCHIVES, preserved and handed down, are of the very greatest importance. To this class belong also the *acts* and *decrees of ecclesiastical councils;* the *regesta* and official decrees of the Popes (*decretals, briefs*) and of Bishops (*pastoral letters*); the *laws* and *regesta* issuing from imperial chancellories, so far as these refer to ecclesiastical affairs; *the rules of monastic orders, liturgies, confessions of faith, letters* of personages influential in church or state; *reports* of eye-witnesses; *sermons* and *doctrinal treatises* of acknowledged theologians, etc. If the documents in existence are found insufficient, we must have recourse to earlier or later *traditions*, and to the *historical investigations* of those who had access to original documents which are now no longer extant.

a. COLLECTIONS OF COUNCILS: *J. Harduin*, concill. collectio regia maxima. Par. 1715. 12 vols. folio.—*J. D. Mansi*, concill. nova et ampliss. coll. 31 vols. fol. Flor. et Venet. 1759 ss.

b. ACTS OF THE POPES: *Ph. Jaffé*, Regesta pontiff. Rom. (to the year 1198). Berol. 1851. 4.—The decretals of the Popes are collected and treated of in the Corpus jur. Canon., ed. *Böhmer* (Hal. 1747. 2 vols. 4.) and *Richter* (Lps. 1833 ss. 4).—*L. Cherubini*, bullarium Rom. Ed. IV. Rom. 1672. 5 vols. fol. — *C. Cocquelines*, bullarum, privileg. ac diplomatum ampliss. collectio Rom. 1739. 28 vols. fol. — *Barberi*, bullar. Magn. (1758-1830), cont. by *R. Segretus* (to 1846). Rom. 1835–47. 14 vols. fol.

c. RULES OF MONASTIC ORDERS: *Luc. Holstenii* codex regularum monastic. et canonic. 4 vols. 4to. Rom. 1661, auctus a *Mar. Brockie.* 6 vols. fol. Aug. Vind. 1759.

d. LITURGIES: *J. A. Assemanni* Cod. liturgicus eccl. univ. 13 vols. 4 Rom. 1749.—*H. A. Daniel*, cod. lit. eccl. univ. 4 vols. Lps. 1847–53. 8

e. Confessions of Faith: *C. W. Fr. Walch*, biblioth. symbolica vetus. Lemg. 1770; *A. Hahn*, Biblioth. der Symb. u. Glaubensregeln der apost. kath. K. (Library of the Confessions and Rules of Faith of the Apostolic Catholic Church). Bresl. 1842.

f. Acta Martyrorum: *Th. Ruinart*, Acta primorum Martyrum. New edition by *B. Gallura*. Aug. Vind. 1802. 3 vols.—*Surius* and the *Bollandists* (§ 3, 10); *St. E. Assemanni*, Acta Sanctorum Mart. Orient. et Occid. Rom. 1748. 2 vols. fol.

2. *Auxiliary Sciences of Church History.*—Those sciences are *auxiliaries* of Church History which are indispensable in order properly to understand, critically to judge of, and to sift, the sources of ecclesiastical history. Among them we reckon, 1) *Diplomatics*, which teaches us to judge of the genuineness, the completeness, and the trustworthiness of documents; 2) *Philology*, which enables us to make use of sources in different languages; 3) *Geography*, and 4) *Chronology*, which respectively inform us about the scene, and the succession in time, of the different facts narrated. In a wider sense, we may also reckon among auxiliary sciences, general history, as well as that of jurisprudence, of civilization, of art, of literature, of philosophy, and of religion, all which are indispensable on account of their manifold bearing on the development of the Church.

a. Diplomatics: *J. Mabillon*, de re diplomatica. Ed. II. Par. 1709. fol.

b. Philology: *C. du Frèsne* (*Dominus du Cange*), glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ latinitatis. 6 vols. Par. 1733; edid. *Henschel*. Par. 1840 ss. 7 vols. 4.—*Du Frèsne*, gloss. ad scriptores med. et infim. græcitatis. 2 vols. fol. Lugd. 1688; *J. C. Suiceri* thesaurus ecclesiast., e patribus græcis. Ed. 2. 2 vols. fol. Amst. 1728.

c. Geography: *Car. a S. Paulo*, Geogr. s., cur. *J. Clerici*, Amst. 1703. fol.; — *Nic. Sansonis*, Atlas ant. sacer, emend. *J. Clericus*. Amst. 1705. fol.; — *J. E. Th. Wiltsch*, Handb. d. kirchl. Geogr. u. Statistik (Manual of Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics). 2 vols. Berlin 1846; the same author's, Atlas sacer s. ecclesiast. Goth. 1843; *C. F. Stäudlin*, kirchl. Geogr. u. Statist. (Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics), 2 vols. Tüb. 1804.—*Mich. le Quien*, Oriens christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus. Par. 1740. 3 vols. fol.

4. Chronology: *Piper*, Kirchenrechnung (Ecclesiastical Chronolcgy). Berlin 1841. 4.

§ 4. HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Comp. *C. F. Stäudlin*, Gesch. u. Lit. d. K. G. History and Literature of Church History). Hamburgh 1827. *F. Chr. Baur*, die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibg. (the Periods of the Literature of Church History). Tük 1852.

The Gospels and the book of Acts furnish us with an account of the commencement of ecclesiastical history. Next in order of time comes the work of *Hegesippus*, a native of Asia Minor, who, about the middle of the second century, collected the various traditions of apostolical time. Only fragments of this work have been preserved. *Eusebius*, Bishop of Cæsarea, claims to be the Father of Church history in the proper sense of the term. Leading men in the Greek Church continued his work in the 5th cent. At first the Eastern had, in this branch of study, the advantage of the Western Church, which only furnished translations, or at most re-cast the material furnished by the Greeks, instead of carrying on independent investigations. During the middle ages the Eastern as well as the Western Church furnished to Church History in its true sense, almost nothing. But considering the close connection between church and state in the Byzantine empire, we must not omit to notice the so-called *Scriptores historiæ Byzantinæ*, and the Latin national histories, biographies, annals, and chronicles, as important for the student of Church History. The Reformation first called forth really critical investigation, and opened the way for a scientific treatment of Church History. In carrying on their great work, the Reformers felt the need of reverting to those times when the Church appeared in its purer form. To investigate and to determine such questions, it was necessary to study ecclesiastical history; while the very attacks of their enemies obliged the Roman Catholic Church to follow them into these investigations. Both the Lutheran and Catholic Churches, however, contented themselves, until the middle of the 17th century, with their two great works of the period of the Reformation. Then, however, the spirit of rivalry was aroused in the pursuit of such studies, and during the 17th century the *Catholic* Church undoubtedly bore the palm. The more liberal spirit of the Gallican Church fostered this zeal, especially among the Maurines and Oratorians of France. The *Reformed Church*, especially in France and the Netherlands, did not keep far in the rear of these efforts. In the 18th century the contributions of the *Lutheran* Church again take the lead, the *Reformed* following closely after, whilst the zeal and learning of the *Roman Catholic* Church had decidedly declined. But as rationalism invaded the sphere of theology, so pragmatism invaded that of Church History, and made the ideal of it consist in regarding all events

as the result of chance and passions, of arbitrariness and calculation. Not until the 19th century was this conceited and dull spirit of pragmatism overcome.

1. *To the Reformation.* The History of Eusebius extends to the year 324. It was continued in the fifth century by *Philostorgius*, an Arian, and by *Socrates*, *Sozomenus*, and *Theodoret*, Catholic writers Early in the sixth century *Theodorus*, a *lector* of Constantinople, wrote an abstract of Theodoret's work, carried down to his own times; this abstract is, unhappily, all that remains. These works were followed in the sixth century by *Evagrius*. In the Latin Church, *Rufinus*, a presbyter of Aquileia, translated the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and brought it down to his own days (to 395). About the same time, *Sulpicius Severus*, a presbyter from Gaul, wrote his "Historia Sacra," in two books, extending from the creation of the world to the year 400. In the sixth century, *Cassiodorus*, a Roman official under Theodoric, condensed a translation of the Catholic continuators of Eusebius, which was designed to supplement the work of Rufinus. This compilation, well known as the Historia ecclesiastica tripartita, along with Rufinus, continued the common text-book in use up to the time of the Reformation. Of a Syrian Church History by the Monophysite bishop, John of Ephesus, in the sixth century, the second part, containing the history of his own times, has but recently become known. (Cf. *J. P. N. Land*, John of Eph., the first Syr. Ch. Historian. Leyden 1857.) Concerning other contributions of the ancient Church see § 41, 5, and § 48, 2; for the mediæval histories of the *Latins* § 90, 9, of the *Greeks* § 68, 4. *Gregorius, Bishop of Tours*, furnished a most valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the Franks up to the year 591, and the *Venerable Bede*, to that of England up to the year 731. The *Liber Pontificalis*, by the Roman librarian Anastasius (*ob.* 891) furnishes biographies of the Popes. The work of Bishop *Adam of Bremen* (extending to the year 1076) is of great value for the history of the northern churches. Among writers of universal Church history we name *Haymo* of Halberstadt (c. 850), who however only extracted from Rufinus and Casiodorus; the Abbott *Odericus Vitalis*, in Normandy (c. 1150); the Dominican *Bartholomew of Lucca* (c. 1300), and Archb. *Antoninus of Florence*, in the 15th century. Near the close of the 15th century the spirit of historical criticism was awakened, through the influence of humanism (§ 120). Besides the numerous *Scriptores hist. Byzant.*, *Nicephorus Callisti*, in the Greek Church, wrote a Church history proper (in the 14th century). The Melchite Patr. *Eutychius* of Alexandria wrote, in the 12th century, a Ch. hist. in Arabic, full of fables, and of value only for the condition of the Church under Mohammedan rule.

2. *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* As early as the middle of the sixteenth century, the *Madgeburg Centuria* (1559–74), a splendid work on ecclesiastical history, were compiled by an association of *Lu-*

theran divines, headed by *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, a clergyman at Magdeburg. It consisted of 13 folio vols., of which each described a century. The work may be described as the result of unwearied labor, and as bringing forward a great many documents till then unknown. The *Centuria* evoked (in 1588) the Ecclesiastical Annals of *Cæsar Baronius* (12 vols. folio, extending to 1198); a production specially important from the circumstance that it brings to light many documents, which have since then remained unknown. The author was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and had almost been elevated to the Chair of St. Peter. Of writers on general Church History of the 17th cent. in Catholic France were *Natalis Alexander*, a learned, but scholastic and stiff Dominican; *Seb. le Nain de Tillemont*, a conscientious Jansenist author; *Claude Fleury*, the mild, able, but somewhat diffuse confessor of Louis XV.; and the eloquent *Bishop Bossuet*. To the older REFORMED Church we are indebted for many excellent works on ecclesiastical history. Theodore Beza comes first with his History of the French Reformed Church. Its authors, however, attained the highest reputation in the 17th century, and became particularly distinguished by their learned *special* investigations (II. § 40, 4); though general Ch. hist. also received creditable attention. *J.H. Hottinger* combined a history of the Jews, of Heathenism, and of Mohammedanism, with that of Christianity. Of still greater importance were the productions of *Fr. Spanheim*, in Leyden. In his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, *J. Basnage* has replied to Bossuet, while the *Annales* of *Sam. Bosnage* were directed against *Baronius*.

3. *The Eighteenth Century*.— After the great work of the "Magdeburg Centuria," the study of ecclesiastical history was for a time neglected by the *Lutheran* Church. A century elapsed before *G. Calixt* (*ob.* 1656) revived the study of this science. Strange to say, it was again controversy which induced theologians to return to the subject. In 1699, *Gottfr. Arnold*, a learned Pietist and Mystic, composed his "Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics," — a work which throughout breathes a party spirit, and which describes genuine Christianity only among heretics and fanatics. Still, it gave a fresh impulse to historical investigation. Since that period, men like *Weismann* of Tübingen, the two *Walchs* (*George Walch*, the father, at Jena, and *Francis Walch*, the son, in Göttingen), *J. Lor. v. Mosheim*, Chancellor in Göttingen (*ob.* 1755), and *Sigism. J. Baumgarten* of Halle, have furnished able and valuable works on Church History. Among these Mosheim deserves the first place, both on account of his acuteness, of his practical sense, of his style, and of his pure Latinity. *J. Sal. Semler* of Halle (*ob.* 1791), the pupil of Baumgarten, attempted to throw doubt upon almost every conclusion in historical theology at which the Church had arrived. He was answered by *J. Matthew Schröckh*, whose work, in 45 vols., bears evidence of almost incredible labour and perseverance, although it is necessarily diffuse. Chevalier *Spittler*, a Wurtemberg Minister of State, next furnished a clever caricature of

Church History. He was followed in the same spirit by *Hencke* of Helmstädt, who, in vigorous language, attempted to sketch the history of the Christian Church in the light of a continuous succession of religious aberrations. *G. J. Planck* of Göttingen, a representative of the unhealthy supranaturalism of his time, wrote a number of ecclesiastical and other monographs, which display considerable research, but are tainted with the spirit of his school. — Theologians of the *Reformed* Church also compiled valuable treatises on ecclesiastical history. Among them we mention those of *J. Clericus*, an Arminian; of *Alph. Turretin*, of Geneva; of *Herm. Venema*, of Franeker; and of *Jablonsky*, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. The reforms introduced by the Emperor Joseph II. were not without effect on the study of ecclesiastical history among the members of the GERMAN branch of the *Roman Catholic Church*. Accordingly, *Casp. Royko* of Prague, and *Matthew Dannenmayer* of Vienna, wrote in a liberal spirit, — the former in language almost cynical, the latter in a more scientific and calm tone.

4. *The Nineteenth Century.* — A new era in the treatment of Church History opened with *Chr. Schmidt* of Giessen, in the commencement of the nineteenth century. Instead of the superficial or diffuse enumeration of facts, formerly current, he insisted on a thorough study of the sources and an objective estimate of events. But, unfortunately, in his case, the independent and objective treatment merely consisted in want of sympathy on the part of the historian with the subject of his investigations. His writings were, in consequence, cold, unattractive, and almost mechanical. *[But the fundamental principle to which he called attention was safe, and, if rightly applied, calculated to accomplish the object in view.] He was followed by *Gieseler* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1854), who elevated and improved this principle; and, in his History of the Church, has left a perfect storehouse of the most varied and comprehensive research. The text itself is terse; but the notes by which it is accompanied contain an exquisite selection from the sources from which he had drawn. The Manual of *Engelhardt* of Erlangen is an insipid but valuable arrangement of the subject, as derived from the sources; that of *K. Hase* of Jena is distinguished by its vivid sketches, its fresh and tasteful style, and its frequent though often enigmatical allusions to the sources whence his material had been drawn. In the prelections of *Schleiermacher*, we find, indeed, no more than the information ordinarily conveyed, but the leading outlines in the development of the Church are well traced. The work of *Niedner* claims special merit from the industry of the author, who furnishes much more than the common staple of text-books. The book affords evidence of most laborious study of the sources, and of discriminating tact; but its style is heavy, and somewhat scholastic. The Manual of *Fricke* (unhappily left incomplete), learned but stiff, is a production of the same school. In *Gfrörer's* work on Ecclesiastical History, Chris-

* Wanting in the German.

tianity is treated as the natural product of the time in which it originated. Clerical selfishness, political calculations and intrigues, appear the sole principles of ecclesiastical movements which this author can appreciate or discover. Still, the work is of importance; and those volumes especially which detail the history of the Middle Ages give evidence of original study, and contain much fresh information. Occasionally the writer is carried away by his ingenuity, which suggests combinations where, in reality, none had existed. In 1853, Gfrörer joined the Roman Catholic Church.

Almost at the same time with *Gieseler*, *A. Neander* commenced his great work on Church History, which formed a new phase in that branch of study. Sharing in the religious awakening which took place in Germany at the time of the French Wars, and deeply imbued with Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, he assigned to personal piety an important place in his treatment of Church History. In his view, ecclesiastical history furnished a grand commentary on the parable of the leaven which was destined to leaven the whole lump. The developments of the inner life are his favourite theme: he delights in tracing the Christian element even in persons and parties which had formerly been overlooked or disowned; while, on the other hand, the Church and churchliness appear to him generally as a mere ossification of Christian life, and a crystallisation of Christian dogma. Similarly, he overlooks the influence exerted by political causes, nor does he pay attention to the æsthetic and artistic bearings of history. If his treatment of the subject is too minute and monotonous, the reader is compensated by fervour and the continuous evidence of familiarity with the sources. Among the pupils whom this great man has left, *Jacobi* of Halle, and *Hagenbach* of Basle, have generally adopted his course, but avoided his errors. The Manual of *Jacobi* (which is not yet completed) breathes the same spirit as that of his teacher. Its tone is elevated; nor is the author content merely to imitate Neander. The prelections of *Hagenbach*, originally delivered to an educated audience, are somewhat diffuse, but clear and attractive. They breathe throughout a warm Christian spirit, nor is the judgment of the lecturer warped by narrow sectarian prejudices. *W. Zimmermann*, realizing the necessity, in writing Church History, of going back to the idea of life, wrote a "History of the Life of the Church" for educated persons, which, notwithstanding its new title, pursued the old track. What in the work of Neander had been wanting, from the subjectiveness of his "pectoral" piety, *Guericke* of Halle has attempted to supply, at least so far as the Lutheran Church, to which he is attached, is concerned. But in more respects than one the work is somewhat one-sided. Along with this production we rank the excellent Manual of *Bruno Lindner* of Leipsic. The author belongs to the same ecclesiastical party as Guericke; he traces more particularly the development of dogmas; and also takes notice of the operation of political influences,

as from time to time they were brought to bear on the history of the Church. Dr. Kurtz' Manual belongs to the class just named, but aims at furnishing fuller details, and more copious extracts from the sources, than the works of Guericke or Lindner. Students of Ecclesiastical History are also under manifold obligations to the conductors of the "Zeitschrift für historische Theologie" (Journal of Historical Theology), edited since 1832 by *Illgen*, and latterly by *Niedner*.

The Roman Catholic Church has latterly displayed fresh activity in prosecuting the study of Church History. A succession of able writers have followed the noble convert (to Popery), Leopold, Count of Stolberg. The work of *Katercamp* breathes a conciliatory spirit, and is at the same time distinguished by elegance of composition. A new era in the historical investigations of the Roman Catholic Church commenced with *Ad. Möhler*, whose labours were prematurely arrested by death (in 1838). The school which he inaugurated is decidedly ultramontane, but combines with this tendency the exhaustive diligence which characterises Protestant investigations. Incited by the example of Möhler, *Döllinger* of Munich, *Alzog* of Hildesheim, and *Ritter* of Breslau, have written valuable manuals.

a. J. E. Chr. Schmidt, Handb. d. chr. K. G. (Manual of Eccl. Hist.) fortgesetzt v. *F. W. Rettberg*. 7 vols. Giess. 1800–34.—*J. C. L. Gieseler*, Lehrb. d. K. G. (Manual of Ch. Hist.) Vols. I.–V. in 8 Parts (the first 2 volumes, forming 5 volumes in "Clark's series," have been translated into English). Bonn 1824–40. Vol. IV. Kirchen Geschichte d. 18ten Jahrhunderts (Eccl. Hist. of the 18th cent.), Vol. V. Kirchen G. d. neuesten Zeit (Eccl. Hist. from 1814), and Vol. VI. Dogmen-Gesch, (History of Dogmas), have, after the author's death, been edited by Dr. Redepenning (Bonn 1855–57.— *J. G. V. Engelhardt*, Handb. d. K. G. 5 vols. Erlangen 1832.— *K. Hase*, K. G. 9th Ed. Leipz. 1867.— *F. Schleiermacher*, Vorles. ü. d. K. G. (Lectures on Ch. H.) herausg. von *Bonell*. Berlin 1840.— *Chr. W. Niedner*, Gesch. d. chr. K. Berlin 1866.— *G. A. Fricke*, Lehrb. d. K. G. Vol. I. (to the 8th cent.) Leipz. 1850.— *A. F. Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. chr. K. Stuttg. 1840 etc. 7 vols. (to the year 1000.)

b. A. Neander, allg. Gesch. d. chr. K. (General Hist. of the Chr. Ch.). 6 Sections in 11 vols. Hamb. 1854–58 (to the year 1416); 3d Ed. in 2 large vols. 8vo. Hamb. 1857. (translated and published by Clark, Edinb.)— *Ph. Schaff*, History of the Chr. Ch. A. D. 1–311, Scribner, N. York, 1859.— *J. L. Jacobi*, Lehrb. d. K. G. Vol. I. to the year 590. Berlin 1850.— *K. R. Hagenbach*, Vorles. ü. d. K. G. New collected edition in 7 volumes. Leipz. 1868.— *E. H. F. Guericke*, Handb. d. K. G. 9 Ed. Leipz. 1866 3 vols.— *Br. Lindner*, Lehrb. d. chr. K. G. 3 vols. Leipz. 1848 etc.— *J. H. Kurtz*, Handb. d. allgem. K. G. I. 1. 2. 3. II. 1. (to the time of the Carolingians). Mitau 1858 etc.— *G. v. Polenz*, Gesch. d. franz. Calvin (Hist. of Fr. Calvin). Vol. I. (to 1560). Gotha 1857.

c. Leop. v. Stolberg, Gesch. d. Rel. Jesu Chr. (Hist. of the Rel. of Jesus Christ). Vols. 1–15 (to the year 430), fortges. von (continued by)

F. v. Kerz, Vols. 16–32 (to the year 1300). Mayence 1824–51, and by *Brischar*. Vol. 33 etc. 1851 etc.— *Th. Katercamp*, Gesch. d. Rel. bis zur Stiftung d. allg. K. (Hist. of Rel. to the found. of a univers. Ch.) Mayence 1819,— Kirchengesch. 5 vols. (to the year 1153), Münster 1823–34. —*J. Ign. Ritter*, Handb. d. K. G. 6th Ed. Bonn 1862 2 vols.— *J. Alzog*, Universalgesch. d. chr. K. (Universal Hist. of the Chr. Ch.) 6th Ed. Mayence 1872.

THE PREPARATORY HISTORY

TO THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND INTELLECTUAL STATE OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRIST.

Comp. 1. *J. J. Ign. Döllinger*, Heidenth. u. Judenth., Vorhalle zur Gesch. d. Christenth. Regensb. 1857.—*J. G. A. Lutterbeck*, die neutest. Lehrbegriffe, Bd. I. d. vorchristl. Entwickelung. Mainz 1853.

2. *J. Jac. Hess*, Gesch. d. Israel. vor d. Zeiten Jesu (History of the Jews before the time of Christ.) 12 volumes. Zurich 1776–88.—*J. H. Kurtz*, Geschichte d. alten Bundes (Hist. of the Old Covenant—transl. into Engl. by Eldersheim, Edinb., T. and T. Clark). Vols. I. II. 2d ed. Berlin 1853–58; — the *same author's* Lehrb. d. heil. Gesch. (Manual of Sacred Hist.) 12th ed. Königsb. 1871.—(*H. Ewald*. Gesch. d. Volkes Israel bis Christus [Hist. of the Jewish Nation to the Time of Christ]. Gött. 1864 etc. 7 vols.)—*Edersheim's* History of the Jewish Nation. 2d ed. Edinb. 1857.

3. *Herder*, Ideen zur Philos. d. Gesch. d. Menschh. (Thoughts on the Philos. of the Hist. of Man).—*H. Ritter*, Gesch. d. Philosophie. 2d ed. Hamb. 1836 etc.—*Meiners*, allgem. Gesch. d. Religg. (Universal Hist. of Religions). 1806.—*Creuzer*, Symbolik u. Mythologie. 3 ed. 1837 etc.—*Otfr. Müller*, Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaft. Mythol. (Proleg. to a scientific Myth.).—*Stuhr*, allg. Gesch. d. Religionsformen d. heidn. Völker (Universal Hist. of the Forms of Relig. among Heathen Nations). Berlin. 1836.—*A. Wuttke*, Gesch. d. Heidenthums (Hist. of Heathen.). Vols. I. II. Breslau 1852 etc.; —*J. Sepp*, das Heidenth. u. dess. Bedeutung für d. Christenth. (Heathen. and its import. for Christian.). 3 vols. Regensb. 1853.—*Tholuck*, das Wesen u. die sittl. Einflüsse des Heidenth. (the Character and Moral Infl. of Heathen.); in *Neander's* Memorials. Vol. I.—*Grüneisen*, d. Sittliche in d. bilden

den Kunst bei d. Griechen (the Moral Element in the Fine Arts among the Greeks). Leipz. 1833.

§ 5. SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The incarnation of God in Christ for the salvation of the human race, which had become subject to sin, death, and eternal misery, forms the central point in the history and development of mankind. With this event commences, and on it rests, "the fulness of time" (Gal. iv. 4). All former history served only as preparation for this great fact. But this process of preparation dates from earliest times, and appeared under the twofold form of *Heathenism* and of *Judaism*. In the former, the development was left to the unaided powers and capacities of man; in the latter, it was influenced and directed by a continuous course of Divine co-operation. These two series, which differ not only in the means employed, but also in the aim and goal of their respective developments, continued side by side with each other, until in the fulness of time they merged in Christianity, which they were mutually to serve by their appropriate fruits and results, and respectively peculiar developments; but with which, also, they would enter into a deadly conflict, by their ungodly and wicked fruits and results. And as, on the one hand, Christianity was thus fitted to become the Religion of the world, so by its conflict with evil it would be strengthened for victory, and confirmed in its divine powers.

§ 6. PRIMEVAL PREPARATION OF SALVATION.

When man came from the creative hand of God, he was upright and holy. He bore the Divine image, and was destined for, and capable of, a free development by which to attain perfect blessedness, glory, and communion with God. But instead of attaining that destiny by an act of free choice, he fell by an abuse of his freedom, and became subject to sin, death, and corruption. However, man was still capable of salvation; and immediately after his fall the eternal purpose of grace was announced, and henceforth became the great element in his history. This deliverance was to appear in the midst of the human race itself (by the seed of the woman, Gen. iii. 15), and thus to form the culminating point of a development carried on under the operation of God. But soon this development again took a direction so perverse and godless,

that unless it had been broken off by a general judgment (that of the flood), it would have terminated, not in salvation, but in absolute destruction. Only *one* man (Noah) was preserved amidst the general ruin, and now formed the commencement of a *new* development by which the great goal was again to be sought. Sin a second time marred this work,—not, indeed, so far as to render a second general judgment necessary in order to preserve the Divine purpose of salvation, yet so as to make it impossible that this development should become the medium for exhibiting the counsel of sovereign love. Salvation might indeed still be prepared in and by it, if not positively, at least negatively. But, in order positively to prepare the way of salvation, for the third time a new commencement required to be made.

§ 7. DIFFERENT PURPOSES WHICH JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM WERE INTENDED TO SERVE.

In Abraham and in his seed God chose and created, called and trained a people, in and by which salvation — in its positive aspect—was to be prepared, until, when fully matured, its benefits might be shared by all the nations of the earth. This new development commenced on the principle of strictest exclusion, although from the first it offered the prospect of finally embracing all nations. Everything connected with the history of this people bears reference to the coming salvation. Each revelation and dispensation, all discipline and punishment, every promise and threatening; their constitution, laws, and worship; every political, civil, and religious institution (so far as they were legitimate and proper), — all tended towards this goal. Meantime the Lord allowed the other nations to walk in their own ways (Acts xiv. 16). But, while leaving them to themselves, He did not wholly forsake them, but had a great purpose of His own in view, to which their development also was to be subservient. Their history also was preparatory for salvation, and that not only *negatively*, in so far as they learned to long for, and to become susceptible of, the salvation which was destined to be "of the Jews" (John iv. 22), but *positively* also, in so far as they were rendered capable of offering a nuptial gift which should prove of greatest importance for the spread of that salvation. In this respect pre-Christian heathenism is not without its Divine sanction.

In its fundamental principles, heathenism denies the existence of a living and personal God, despises the salvation which He has prepared, and embodies the idea that man is both able and obliged to deliver himself by his own strength and wisdom. Hence *the endeavour, with the means at man's command, to attain a salvation devised by man.* From the sinfulness and impotence of human nature, such endeavours could only lead to entire and felt ruin. Despite increasing worldly culture and political power, heathenism increasingly sank from its height of moral and religious strength and dignity, into a state of spiritual decay and moral laxity and helplessness. It became more and more evident that neither nature nor art, neither worldly culture nor wisdom, neither oracles nor mysteries, neither philosophy nor theosophy, neither political institutions nor industry, neither sensual indulgence nor luxury, could satisfy the cravings of the soul, created for the enjoyment of God, or restore to man that inward peace which he had lost. Experience such as this was calculated to humble the pride of heathenism, and to awaken in nobler spirits a sense of need—a longing and a susceptibility for the salvation to be manifested in Christ. *Thus Judaism was to prepare salvation for mankind, and heathenism mankind for salvation.* But the latter has also yielded not merely negative, but positive results. In its struggles after light, heathenism called every natural power and capacity of man into requisition, in order to attain the highest possible development of worldly culture and power. In this respect great results were attained, which in turn became the property of Christianity, and, in its hands, the form and the means by which its world-wide mission was to be realised and executed. In one sentence, *Judaism has supplied to the Church the substance, the Divine reality; heathenism, the human form, and the outward means for developing and carrying out the great work.*

It must not be imagined, however, that these results of the development of Judaism and of heathenism were either entirely or generally understood and applied, since human liberty might resist, and shut itself up against these methods which the Lord, in His grace, took for training mankind. A comparatively small portion only of the Jewish and heathen world, elevated above the generality, and feeling their need of salvation, from the first accepted the offer of the Gospel. All the rest shut their minds and hearts to its claims, *opposed it with more or less pertinacity*, and commenced a determined contest against the Church, as soon as it appeared formally constituted. *Judaism* opposed Christianity, because it attached exclusive value to the husk in which the fruit had ripened to maturity, while it rejected the fruit itself—and, because Jewish pride and exclusiveness could not brook the idea that the Gospel should place the Gentile on the same level with the Jew. *Heathenism* opposed the Church because it regarded Divine Wisdom as folly, Divine Power as deceit, and built itself up in the pride of its human wisdom, in the fanaticism of its unbelief or misbelief,

and in the selfishness of its power and wealth. This decisive contest, in which the Church was to display, and on which it brought to bear, the strength and the resources with which the Lord had endowed it, became the more bloody and desperate, as the Church spread and increased despite all persecutions and oppressions, and as both Judaism and heathenism could not but see the certain approach of their final doom.

§ 8. HEATHENISM.

Full of native vigor, and surrounded by a nature so lavish in her gifts, mankind soon denied the existence of a living, a personal, and a supra-mundane God. Nature, with her inexhaustible fulness of life and of enjoyments, seemed so near, and so much more worthy of devotion and worship than this Personal God, in His supra-mundane elevation. Thus originated heathenism — in its general character, a state of absorption in the great life of Nature, a deification, or, in one word, THE WORSHIP AND SERVICE OF NATURE (Rom. i. 21, ff.), which also conditioned the character of its *morality*. The *intellectual* culture of heathenism, especially through its *philosophy*, opened the way for the *intellectual* labors of the Church. The *political state* of heathenism, with its struggles after universal dominion, as well as its *industrial activity*, likewise proved accessory to the progress of Christianity.

1. *The Religious Character of Heathenism.* — Those hidden powers in the life of Nature, and of the soul, were not viewed abstractly, but regarded as revelations of the eternal spirit of Nature. Such ideas were further developed by speculation and mysticism, by natural magic and by divination, and applied to all the relations of human life. Under the influence of certain prominent individuals, or of geographical and ethnographical peculiarities, the various systems of the worship of nature arose in this manner. The common characteristics of all these systems, which, indeed, is connected with the very essence of heathenism, consists in a line of demarcation between the esoteric religion of the priests and the exoteric worship of the multitude. The former may be characterized as a speculative and ideal Pantheism; the latter, as a Polytheism full of myths and ceremonies.

Let it not be supposed that heathenism was entirely devoid of every element of truth. Not to mention those remains of original revelation in heathenism which, with various aberrations from pristine purity, lay at the foundation of, or were incorporated in, its systems, these

religions of nature have, in their unnaturally early development, anticipated some of those religious truths which, in the arrangement of Divine revelation, only unfolded gradually, and at a comparatively late period. At the same time, however, they have perverted and distorted these truths into falsehoods and caricatures. Among them we reckon, for example, the pantheistic theories concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, the dualistic perversion of the real existence of evil, traced back to an uncreated principle, etc. To the same class also belongs, more especially, the practice of offering human sacrifices, which prevailed under every form of the worship of nature — a dreadful, in some sense a prophetic, cry for help on the part of man, consciously forsaken by God, and which could only on Golgotha be resolved into hymns of praise and of thanksgiving.

The almost incredible deeds of self-devotion and renunciation, such as hecatombs, sacrifices of children, emasculation, prostitution, etc., attest the power and energy with which, in its high-day, the worship of nature had kept hold on the hearts of its adherents, and show the enthusiasm which it had called forth. Another evidence in the same direction is the almost irresistible charm which, during the whole course of the earlier history of Israel, heathenism seems to have had for the chosen race. Even this circumstance proves that heathenism was not merely a lie and a piece of imposition. The worship of nature could not have wielded such power if this lie had not concealed some elements of truth; the charm which it exercised lay in its anticipations of a future salvation, however Satan might have distorted them; while the mysterious manifestations of natural magic, and of the power of divination, appeared to confirm its Divine claim. But the fate reserved for every unnatural and premature development also befell the worship of nature. The remains of truth were swallowed up in the gigantic lie; the powers of life and the capacity of development, which had been forced on beyond their real strength, were soon used and consumed; the blossoms fell off without giving place to fruit. Mysteries and oracles, magic and divination, became either empty forms, or the means of gross imposition and low trickery. Ultimately, a haruspex could not meet his fellow without laughing. Among some, unbelief ridiculed everything; among others, misbelief assumed the most dissolute or extravagant shapes; while an unthinking religious eclecticism vainly endeavoured to infuse fresh life into decrepid and dying heathenism. Most miserable impotence and emptiness — such was the final issue of a worship of nature, once so vigorous and lively.

2. *Moral Condition of the Heathen.* — The morals of a people always keep pace with their religion. It was so with the heathen nations also, whose moral life was earnest, vigorous, and genuine, or weak, defective, and perverse in measure, as religious earnestness increased or decreased. The moral defects of heathenism sprang from its religious deficiencies. It was a religion adapted for *time*, not for eternity; and

the gods shared all those failings which are connected with our present state of existence. Thus religion lost all that power by which it elevates man above the defilements connected with our present state. Myths, which in part were exceedingly immoral in their tendency, sanctified or excused — by the example of the gods — even gross immorality. Voluptuousness, which symbolized the generating power in the divine life of nature, was not unfrequently made the centre and the climax of worship. Heathenism wholly ignored the great truths connected with the general idea of HUMANITY; it was only conversant with those connected with NATIONALITY, and the excellencies it cultivated were merely CIVIC VIRTUES. Eastern despotism, as well as Western conceit and pride of nationality, slighted the common rights and the dignity of *man*. A FOREIGNER or a SLAVE had neither position nor claims. As the value of an individual entirely depended on his political position, the place belonging to WOMAN was wholly ignored or misunderstood. Generally speaking, she was regarded only as the handmaid of man; while, in the East, polygamy degraded her to the lowest level. Still, notwithstanding these fundamental and great defects, in the high-day of its vigor, heathenism often displayed considerable moral earnestness and energy, at least in those departments of moral life (such as in the state and in civic relations) which the breath of Pantheism or of Polytheism had not laid desolate. But when the ancestral faith had become empty and powerless, when it ceased to animate and to pervade these departments of life, they also lost the moral dignity formerly attaching to them. The general decadence reached its climax during the degenerate times of the Roman Emperors. When the Church entered on its career of spiritual conquest, it found heathenism in a state of indescribable moral degradation.

3. *The Intellectual Culture of the Heathen.* — The intellectual culture of heathendom exercised a twofold and an opposite influence upon the Church. Partly heathen science and art prepared the way for, and formed a link of connection with, Christianity; partly, it obstructed its progress, and facilitated a relapse into heathenism. To the mental activity of the Greeks and Romans, mankind and the Church are indebted for general culture and for that *preparation* of the way to which we have already adverted. In this respect we would specially point to the philosophy, the poetry, and the historical productions of these nations. The philosophical investigations carried on in the East were chiefly of a theosophic character, and for the purpose of developing the esoteric worship of nature into the various speculative religious systems. Oriental poetry served the same purpose with reference to the exoteric religion of the people. Historical works — in the proper sense of that term — were not produced in the East. The mental culture of the Greeks and Romans, as expressed in their philosophical, poetic, and historical writings, prepared, in respect both of FORM and of SUBSTANCE, the way for the Christian Church. It furnished forms,

which, from their depth, distinctness, and correctness, their ready adaptation and general suitableness, proved most fit for presenting and developing the new truths which were to issue from the Holy Land. It also produced certain ideas and views, derived from a profound contemplation and study both of nature and of mind, of history and of life, which, in many respects, even opened the way and prepared a soil for the great realities of salvation. — On the other hand the East, not less than the classical West, contributed elements of culture which were to prove a *hindrance* to, and a corruption in, the Church. The hostile and antichristian, the distinctively heathenish SUBSTANCE of their philosophy and theosophy, as well as their study of mysteries, were by and by introduced into Christianity, along with the FORMS of culture under which these hostile elements had formerly appeared. Had such attempts against the purity of the Church proved successful, it would have become essentially Pagan. The mysterious depths of Christianity attracted, indeed, heathenism; but then, to those highly cultivated Gentiles who boasted in the conceit of their sublime wisdom, the Gospel appeared too simple, too void of philosophy and speculation, to meet the demands of the age. They deemed it necessary to enrich it with the accumulated stores of eastern and western wisdom, that so it might indeed lay claim to be an absolute and perfect religion.

Only *classical, i. e.*, Greek and Roman culture, *directly* prepared the way for the Church. The influences of *Eastern* forms of culture on the history of the kingdom of God were entirely confined to *Judaism*. The *symbols* of the East became the form in which the Divine substance, communicated by Old Testament prophets, appeared and developed. On the other hand, the *dialectics* of classical antiquity furnished an appropriate medium by which to present the truths of *Christianity* when the symbolic covering of Judaism had been laid aside, and the truths of salvation were to appear in their pure and spiritual character.

4. *Greek Philosophy.*—Our remarks about the form and the substance of heathen culture, and their preparatory or disturbing influences on Christianity when it entered on its world-mission, apply more particularly to Greek *Philosophy*. However, even where these speculations *prepared* the way for the truth, we must distinguish between their merely *negative* tendency, which served to destroy heathenism, and the *positive*, in so far as both in substance and in form they led the way towards Christianity. From the first this *negative tendency* appeared in Grecian philosophy. It undermined the popular creed, prepared the downfall of idolatry, and led to the self-despair of heathenism, which pointed to Christianity for deliverance. With SOCRATES (*ob.* 399 B. C.) commenced the *positive preparation* for the truth, accomplished by Greek philosophy. If, in deep humility, he confessed his ignorance, if he based all wisdom on "Know Thyself," if he traced his deepest

thoughts and motives to Divine suggestions (his Δαιμόνιον), if he willingly surrendered the enjoyments of this world, and expressed a confident hope in that which was spiritual and eternal,—we may be allowed to regard all such expressions as, in a certain sense, the faint echoes, or, rather, as the prophetic anticipations, of Christian doctrine and life. The speculations of PLATO even more closely and fully approximated Christian views. That philosopher (*ob.* 348) collected the scattered germs of his great predecessor's teaching. In his profound, speculative, and poetic mind, they sprung up and unfolded to a new mode of contemplating the world, which came nearer that of Christianity than any other system outside revelation. The philosophy of Plato spake of man as claiming kindred to the Deity, and led him beyond what is seen and sensuous to the eternal prototypes of the beautiful, the true, and the good, from which man had fallen; thus awakening in him a deep longing for the blessings he had lost. If the system of ARISTOTLE (*ob.* 322) was farther distant from Christianity than that of Plato, he rendered even greater service by presenting his views in a form of which Christian science afterwards made so large use in its inquiries and dogmatic statements. These two thinkers represent the climax of philosophic speculation among the Greeks, and the farthest limits within which inquiries like theirs could prepare the way for the Gospel. As, consciously or unconsciously, philosophy had formerly contributed to the decay of popular religion, it now entered on a process of self-destruction, and with increasing clearness disclosed the utter helplessness of heathenism. This phase appears most distinctly in the three forms of philosophy which, at the time when the Church appeared on the stage of the world, claimed the most numerous adherents: we mean, *Epicureanism*, *Stoicism*, and *Skepticism*. In the philosophy of EPICURUS (*ob.* 271), pleasure was considered the highest good. The world was left at the mercy of chance, the soul was represented as mortal, and the gods as enjoying their pleasures, entirely careless of this world. In opposition to Epicurean Deism, STOICISM (of which *Zeno*, *ob.* 260, was the founder) propounded a hylozoistic Pantheism, in which the affairs of the world were made to depend on the unavoidable necessities of fate. Meantime the world was hastening towards a great catastrophe, from the flames of which a new world was to issue, which, in turn, was destined to describe a similar cycle. To despise pleasure and pain, and, in case of necessity, to put an end to an existence which had missed its aim—such was the climax of wisdom. The sage, who had reached this elevation, from which he could command himself and the world, had become his own god, and found all satisfaction in himself. Lastly, SCEPTICISM (of which *Arcesilaus*, *ob.* 240, and *Carneades*, *ob.* 128, were the founders) appeared to controvert the principles of Stoicism. Since it was manifestly impossible to arrive at truth, this system placed the sum and substance of theoretical wisdom in refrain-

ing (ἐποχή) from every conclusion; and that of practical wisdom in abstaining from all passion, and from every strong emotion.

5. *Political Condition of Heathen Countries.* — The leading tendency in heathenism — to procure salvation by the unaided power of man — implied an endeavour to combine every force and capacity into a colossal unity (Gen. xi. 4, 6). When heathenism had renounced allegiance to the personal and living God, and rejected His method of salvation and of union, it was impelled, by a kind of inward necessity, to concentrate the mental and physical powers of mankind, and through them all powers of nature, and the products of the various zones and countries, and to subject them to *one* person, that so this person might be acknowledged as the personal and visible representative of the Deity. This felt necessity *gave rise* to, even as its perverseness *led to the ruin* of, one empire after the other, until, in the Roman Empire, the goal was reached, while, at the same time, this tendency was finally arrested and destroyed by the spiritual power of the kingdom of God (Dan. ii. 14; vii. 13, 24).

This aim after a UNIVERSAL EMPIRE has, as all the tendencies of heathenism, its twofold aspect; and we must distinguish between the ways of man and those of God, between the ungodly purposes of man and the happy results to which, in the Divine government, they were made subservient. Although we only refer to the Roman Empire, it should be borne in mind that all the great monarchies were only a repetition and a more vigorous continuation of one and the same tendency and endeavour. Hence our remarks about Rome equally apply to other empires. The universal domination of one power prepared the way for the Church, in so far as, by the union of nations into one empire, the various stages and elements of civilization, which otherwise might have remained isolated, were combined into a more universal civilization, which rendered it comparatively easy to circulate the fresh blood poured by the Church into the veins of nations. This union, which was first brought about by the conquests of Alexander the Great, was completed when Rome became the mistress of the world. Gradually the Greek language, which, when the Gospel was first preached, was understood and spoken throughout the Roman Empire, obtained universal domination, — as it were a temporary suspension this of the judgment by which languages were confounded, and which attended the rise of heathenism (Gen. xi.), — that thus the return to God, and the reception of His Gospel, might be facilitated.

Impelled by a principle similar to that which, in the state, led to attempts after concentration of power, INDUSTRY and COMMERCE sought to grasp all wealth. But while, for very different purposes than those of the Gospel, commerce opened ways through deserts and over seas, and joined the most distant countries and zones, without knowing or willing it, in the arrangement of God it served an important purpose for the diffusion of the glad tidings.

§ 9. JUDAISM.

Israel was made to dwell in a country which, like its people, occupied a central and yet isolated position in the Old World. There, in quiet seclusion, undisturbed by the traffic of the nations, should it, as the bearer and medium of the revelation of God's grace to mankind, abide in security against all the agitations of heathen conquest and oppression. Too often, however, did Israel forget its proper position and calling, too often mix in with affairs of the world which did not concern it; too often backslid from God, and stoop to the religion, worship, and manners of adjacent heathen tribes. Hence its frequent chastisements under the hard yoke of Gentile invaders. But the holy seed which continued faithful, even in times of the most general defection; and, above all, the patience and faithfulness of God, did not suffer its high vocation to be forfeited, but led the nation to a glorious end, notwithstanding the final rejection of salvation by the irreligious masses of the people.

1. *Judaism under Special Divine Tuition and Discipline.* — Abraham was chosen and called alone (Isa. li. 2). As Creator, God called the seed of promise from the dead body of Sarah; as Saviour, He delivered the chosen race from the oppressive bondage of Egypt. The patriarchal family was constituted in the Holy Land; while in order that the family might, unimpeded, develop into a great nation, it had to go down into Egypt. From this strange land *Moses* brought up the people, and gave them a theocratic *constitution*, *laws*, and *worship*, to serve as the means by which they were to fulfil their mission, and to be types of, and a schoolmaster unto, future perfectness (Gal. iii. 24; Heb. x. 1). The Exodus from Egypt constituted the birth of the nation; by the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, Israel was set apart to be a *holy* nation. When, under the leadership of Joshua, the Israelites took possession of the home of their ancestors — a *country* adapted for the purposes which the people were to serve — the last condition of their independent existence was fulfilled. Under the fostering care of a devout *priesthood*, the purely popular institutions of the theocracy should now have borne rich fruit; but, during the administration of the judges, it soon appeared that these appliances were insufficient, and two other agencies were called into operation. The *prophetical* office was a special but continuous institution, intended to serve as the mouth-piece of God, and to act as the conscience of the commonwealth; while the *royal office* was designed to afford external security, and to bestow internal peace upon the theocracy. Then followed the con-

quests of David, which gave the Jewish commonwealth a becoming political importance, while the temple of Solomon fully developed its typical worship. But, despite prophecy and royalty, the people became increasingly estranged from their peculiar destiny, and hence unable to maintain their high position. The division of the kingdom, continued internal feuds, improper alliances, growing apostasy, and conformity to idolatry, brought after them Divine judgments, in consequence of which the nation became subject to the heathen. These chastisements remained not altogether unimproved. *Cyrus* allowed the return of the captives, and their reorganization into a state; and prophets were again commissioned to direct the formation and the development of the community. — Amid these occurrences, prophecy served not only for present instruction, reproof, and admonition, but kept before the public mind the promise of a coming salvation, thus supplying comfort and hope even in the most troublous times. The happy periods, when David had conquered and Solomon exercised his glorious sway of peace, served as basis for depicting the future transcendent glory of Messiah's kingdom; while the aberrations, the sufferings, and the humiliation of the people, during the period of their decadence, led those who cherished such hopes to look for a Messiah who should suffer for the sins of the people, and take upon Himself all their misery. And when prophecy had done the work allotted, it ceased — to resume and complete its message when the fulness of time had come.

2. *Judaism after the Cessation of Special Divine Tuition.* — The period had now arrived when the immediate guidance of Divine revelation was to be withdrawn. Furnished with the results and experiences of former teaching, followed by the law as schoolmaster, and by prophetic prediction as by a lamp, the chosen race was now to give evidence of its calling. The annihilation with which the fanaticism of *Antiochus Epiphanes* threatened the Jewish commonwealth was happily averted, and under the *Maccabees* the nation once more obtained political independence. But, amid the increasing corruption of the Maccabean rulers, the intrigues of Rome again deprived the country of this boon. The religious persecutions of the Syrians, and, after them, the oppression of the Romans, transformed the national feeling of attachment to their ancestral religion into extreme exclusiveness, fanatical hatred and proud contempt of everything foreign, and changed the former longing for the Messiah to merely political, extravagant, and carnal expectations. True piety decayed into petty legalism and ceremonialism, into works and self-righteousness. The priests and scribes were zealous in fostering this tendency, by increasing external ordinances and perverting the sense of Scripture; thus rendering the mass of the people only more insusceptible to the spirituality of that salvation, which was now so near at hand.

The institution of SYNAGOGUES proved of great importance for the development of Judaism during the period succeeding the return from Babylon. They owed their origin to the consciousness that, after the cessation of prophecy, it was a most necessary duty, not only to continue the symbolical services of the temple, but also to seek edification by a careful study of the truths which God had revealed in the law and by the prophets. But in these synagogues the tendency to enlarge the Mosaic law, and to hedge it about by rabbinical enactments, the aim after an external legalism and work-righteousness, national pride and carnal anticipations of Messianic times were nursed, and from them they spread among the body of the people. On the other hand, the synagogues, especially those out of Palestine (among the *Diaspora*), proved, from their missionary influence, of great use to the Church. These meetings, in which the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament were, every Sabbath, read in the Greek version of the LXX. and explained, offered to the heathen, who felt their need of salvation, precious opportunities of becoming acquainted with the revelation and the promises of God under the Old Covenant; while to the first messengers of the Gospel they afforded an opportunity of announcing the Gospel to numerous assemblages, composed of Jews and Gentiles. The strict, traditional, legal, and carnal direction of Judaism after the exile developed specially in the sect of the PHARISEES. To them the SADDUCEES were opposed, who, estranged from the peculiar genius of the people and hostile to traditionalism, sympathized with the Romans and the Herodians — in theory Rationalists, in practice Epicureans. A third sect, that of the ESSENES, consisted of a close association of men, who retired from the world in order to carry out the original idea of Moses concerning the priesthood (Ex. xix. 5, 6), and whose direction was that of mysticism and ascetism. As each of these three parties (the orthodox, the rationalistic, and the mystical) represented more or less unhealthy aberrations from genuine Judaism, they could not prepare the way for the Church, but either occupied a position of antagonism, or else sought to introduce dangerous corruptions (§ 27). But with all these perverse and growing tendencies, a holy seed of genuine spirituality remained in obscurity and retirement (John i. 47; Luke i. 6; ii. 25, 38)—a soil this, prepared by the Lord for receiving the salvation offered by Christ.

§ 10. THE SAMARITANS.

COMP. *Th. Chr. J. Juynbol*, Comm. in hist. genti Samarit. Lugd Bat. 1846, 4to.- -*Jos. Grimm*, die Samariter u. ihre Stellung in d. Welt gesch. Münch. 1854.

The *Samaritans* originated upon the fall of the kingdom of Israel, from a mixture of Israelitish and heathen elements. After the

return from the Babylonian exile, they wished to amalgamate with the Jews; but their overtures were rejected on account of the heathen defilements which the Samaritans had contracted The reformatory labours carried on among them by *Manasse*, a Jewish refugee, who sought to purify their religion, and to base it on the Pentateuch (of which the text, however, was in some particulars purposely altered), and who gave them a temple and worship on Mount Gerizim, only served to increase the hatred of the Jews. The Samaritans kept by the Judaism which Manasse had brought among them, and remained equally strangers to the developments and the perversions of Rabbinism. Their Messianic hopes were consequently more pure and their exclusiveness less violent. These circumstances enabled them more impartially to examine the claims of Christianity; while the hatred and contempt with which Pharisaical Judaism treated them, disposed them more favourably towards the Gospel, which was likewise disowned and persecuted by the synagogue (John iv. 41; Acts viii. 5 etc.). On the other hand, Christianity also suffered from the attempts at change and reaction made by that party, in the spirit of the heathen principle of syncretism, which was inherent to Samaritanism from its commencement (§ 22).

§ 11. POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM.

The conquests of Alexander the Great brought the various elements of civilization in the ancient world into contact and connection. The Jews (of the Diaspora) who lived beyond the limits of Palestine, especially those who resided in Egypt, which was really the focus of this movement, were necessarily affected by the influences brought to bear upon them. The Jews of Eastern Asia maintained more intimate fellowship with the exclusive Rabbinism of Palestine; and the heathen (Chaldaic-Persian) elements which there invaded their religious views and customs, became, mainly through the *Talmud*, the common property of Judaism as it existed after Christ.— But the heathen, also, contemptible as the Jews seemed to them, having become convinced of the profound truths of the Israelitish system, and of the emptiness and impotence of their own religion yielded, in exceptional, but by no means rare, cases, to the better influences of Judaism.

1. *Influence of Heathenism upon Judaism.*—This operated most powerfully in *Egypt.* Thus the sect of the Essenes, which had found its way thither, underwent various modifications, and, under the name of *Therapeutæ*, occupied an influential position. The Jewish *Hellenism* of Alexandria embodied the main principles of this party; enlarged, however, by elements of Grecian culture, and reared on a broader basis, chiefly of Platonic philosophy. Of this school *Aristobulus* (ἐξηγήσεις τῆς Μωυσέως γραφῆς, about the year 175), the author of "the Book of Wisdom," and the Alexandrian Jew *Philo* (*ob.* 39, A. D.), were the principal representatives. His Platonism is peculiarly modified by Old Testament elements, and by Essene and therapeutic views. Hence his speculations have served as the ground-work of heathen Neo-Platonism, of the Jewish Cabbala, of Gnosticism, and even of the philosophy of some of the Fathers. He taught that originally all nations had obtained some knowledge of Divine truth, but that Moses alone had been the founder of true philosophy; that the legislation and teaching of Mosaism was the source whence Grecian philosophy and Grecian mysteries had drawn their inspiration. The deep things of Scripture could only be understood by means of allegorical interpretation. God was τὸ ὄν, and matter τὸ μὴ ὄν; the κόσμος νοητός was an intermediate world (corresponding to Plato's world of ideas), and consisted of innumerable spirits and potencies (angels and souls of men), which, viewed in their unity, and as proceeding from the Word of God — the λόγος ἐνδιαθετός which from all eternity had been in God — had in creation come forth from God — the λόγος προφορικός (thought and word). The visible world was an imitation of the κόσμος νοητός,—imperfect, however, on account of the physical incapability of the *Hyle*, etc.

2. *Influence of Judaism upon Heathenism.* — Generally speaking, heathen nations extended toleration to Judaism. Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, and in part the Seleucidæ also, accorded them the free exercise of their religion, and even certain privileges. Rome recognized Judaism as a "*religio licita.*" Still the Jews were, for the most part, despised and hated by the heathen (Tac. calls them, "*despectissima pars servientium,—teterrima gens*"); and even able writers, such as Manetho, Justin, Tacitus, etc., recited the most absurd fables and odious calumnies against them. *Flavius Josephus*, the Jewish historian, endeavoured to dispel the prejudices of the Greeks and Romans against his people, by presenting their history and institutions in the most favorable light. On the other hand, the Greek translation of the Old Testament (the *Septuagint*), and the great number of synagogues which, during the time of Roman domination, had sprung up all over the world, offered the heathen, who cared for it, an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the peculiar character and spirit of Judaism. Considering the decay of heathenism at the time, it could scarcely happen otherwise than that the high antiquity of Judaism, the sublime simplicity of its creed, the solemn import of its rites, and

its Messianic anticipations, should — despite the common contempt for the synagogue — have attracted many of the better and expectant heathen, whose cravings their degraded religion no longer could satisfy. Although comparatively few joined the Jewish nation by undergoing circumcision and becoming *proselytes of righteousness*, the number of those who, without observing the whole ceremonial law, became *proselytes of the gate*, abstained from idolatry and served Jehovah, was proportionally great. These adherents consisted of high and low, chiefly of females; and among them Christianity made its earliest converts.

§ 12. THE FULNESS OF TIME.

When the fulness of time had come, the dawn of a new era appeared on the mountains of Judæa. According to the Divine purpose, Judaism and heathenism had completed that cycle of positive and negative preparation for the coming salvation of which they were capable. The latter had now become perfectly conscious of its entire impotence and incompetency for satisfying the religious cravings of the soul; and where not sunk into dreary unbelief or wild misbelief, it earnestly longed and sought for something better. Thus, negatively, the way was prepared for the Church. Heathenism had produced great and imperishable results in the domains of science, art, and of human culture generally. However impotent it proved to restore to man the peace he had lost, and for which he sought, it could furnish important aid to the true salvation which the Lord had revealed. In this respect, heathenism served also as positive preparation for the Church. Among Jews and Gentiles there was a general presentiment that a great era in history was at hand. A deep-felt sense of want had become almost a prophecy of the approaching provision. All who were Israelites indeed, waited for the promised consolation — some even in the hope or expectation that they might live to see its advent. Among the heathen also the long-cherished hope of a return of the Golden Age was again prominently brought forward, and derived fresh support and a new object from what had been gathered from the Holy Scriptures, or learned in the synagogues of the Jews. Heathen *Polity* had also contributed its *quotum* of preparation for the Church. *One* empire and *one* language combined the whole world — universal peace prevailed, and most extensive commerce and intercourse facilitated the rapid spread of the new truths brought to light by the Gospel.

HISTORY

OF

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH BY CHRIST; ITS CONSTITUTION IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

TO ABOUT THE YEAR 100 A.D.

§ 13. CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS PRIMITIVE HISTORY, AND ITS RELATION TO THE OTHER PERIODS OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The distinctive peculiarities of the *Apostolic* Age (the first century) are our warrant for presenting it as an independent and separate branch of General Church History. The difference between the history of the primitive and that of the ancient Church, is based on the difference between *Apostolicity* and *Catholicity*. The former is the root, the latter the stem, of the Church. The position and the qualifications of the apostles were, in consequence of their immediate Divine enlightenment and assistance, so unique, that the results of their activity became the basis of all future development. What they taught, and what they instituted, *required* not any Divine law or warrant other than itself. Itself was the Divine law and warrant for every succeeding development or institution. Every later appearance in the Church must be judged by the model of apostolic teaching or practice, not, indeed, as if it had been quite complete and perfected, exhausting every future development; but as being the sole authentic germs and commencement of the Church. Hence, in all later developments of the Church, every organic

development and continuation of the Apostolic Church — not merely what, in the same form, had existed in the primitive Church — must be regarded as of genuine Christian origin. But this remark does not apply to the Church in its catholicity. Its organs neither required nor enjoyed immediate Divine enlightenment and assistance. It was their mission to superintend the natural development of the germs which the Lord had already planted, and to remove all spurious plants (sects and heretics). Both the parent stem and the wild branches laid, indeed, equal claim to genuineness, on account of real or supposed connection with the root. But even where prejudice, arbitrariness, or error, disabled or prevented from distinguishing between the genuine and the spurious, the Spirit of Christ has made a separation in the development of a history which God has *never* wholly left to its own course. The parent stem remained, while, sooner or later, the wild branches or the spurious plants withered and perished.

I. *The Life of Jesus.*

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§ 14. JESUS CHRIST THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

"When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal. iv. 4, 5). According to promise, the Son of David was born at Bethlehem. After *John the Baptist*, the greatest and last of the Old Testament prophets, had, by the preaching and the baptism of repentance, prepared His way, Jesus commenced, when about thirty years old, that glorious work in which He fulfilled the law and the prophets. Accompanied by twelve chosen disciples, He passed through Palestine, everywhere proclaiming the kingdom of God, helping, healing, and confirming by signs and miracles both His Divine mission, and the doctrine about His person, office, and kingdom. The Pharisees gainsayed and persecuted Him; the Sadducees discarded Him; while the people alternated between hailing and rejecting Him. After continuing in this work for three years, He made solemn entrance into the city of His royal ancestors amidst the acclamations of the people. But many days had not elapsed, when the same multitude, disappointed in their hopes of a political and temporal Messiah, cried out, "Crucify Him, crucify Him!" Thus, according to the good pleasure of the Father, He died on the cross, a sacrifice for the sins of the world. By His suffering, the God-man procured a righteousness of infinite and eternal value, in virtue of which, whosoever in faith appropriates it, has all his sins forgiven, and is justified before God. But death could not hold the Prince of life. He burst the gates of Hades and the bonds of the grave, and on the third day rose with glorified body. Thus has He brought life and immortality to light, that we also might in Him share the same. For forty days He still continued on earth, subject to the limitations of humanity. He promised to His disciples the gift of the Holy Ghost, and set them apart to preach the Gospel to all nations. Then He again took unto Himself His Divine form, which He had put off in His incarnation, ascended into heaven, where, as God-man, He now sitteth at the right hand of power—the Almighty and ever-present Head of the Church, the Lord of all, whether in heaven or on earth, and who at the completion

of all things, shall return to this earth, visibly, and in His own and His Father's glory.

1. Despite many learned and ingenious inquiries into the subject, it has as yet been impossible exactly to fix either *the year of Christ's birth, or that of* His DEATH. In the Christian era, which was proposed by *Dionysius Exiguus* in the 6th cent., adopted by Beda Venerabilis, and introduced into common use by Pepin and Charlemagne, the year 754 after the building of Rome is assumed as the starting-point. But this is manifestly erroneous, as Herod the Great died (750 or) 751 *p. U. c. Sanclementius* (de vulg. æræ emendatione, Romæ 1793) on historical grounds, and *Fr. Münter* (der Stern der Weisen—the Star of the Wise Men—Copenh. 1827) on astronomical grounds, fix on the year 7 before our era as that of Christ's birth; *Wieseler* (*ut supra*) on the year 4, *Seyffarth* (Chronol. s. Leipz. 1846) on the year 2, *Weigl* (theol. chronol. Abhandl. über d. wahre Geburts- u. Sterbejahr J. Chr., Sulzb. 1849) on the year 5, before the present era. Many of the Fathers, appealing to Isa. lxi. 1, 2, and Luke iv. 19, supposed that Christ had only taught during *one* year, and hence that (Luke iii. 23) He was crucified in the 30th year of His life. But although the synoptic Gospels speak of only one (the last) passover during the ministry of Christ, John (ii. 13; vi. 4; xxii. 23) refers to *three* such feasts, and besides (v. 1) to a ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

2. Among genuine NON-BIBLICAL TESTIMONIES ABOUT CHRIST, probably the most ancient is a Syriac letter of MARA, addressed to his son *Sera pion* (see *Cureton*, Spicil. Syriacum. Lond. 1855), written about the year 73. Mara, a man thoroughly versed in Greek philosophy, but not satisfied with the consolations it offered, writes from his place of exile a letter of comfort and instruction to his son, in which he ranks Christ along with Socrates and Pythagoras; he honours Him as a wise king; he charges the Jews with His murder, declares that thereby they had brought upon themselves the destruction of their commonwealth, but that Christ continued to live in the new law which He had given. From the same period dates the testimony of *Josephus*, the Jewish historian. In that portion of the passage of Josephus which is undoubtedly genuine, Christ is extolled as having wrought miracles, and been a wise teacher of truth; His death on the cross under the administration of Pilate, and the foundation of the Church, are also mentioned. *F. H. Schoedel*, (Vindiciæ Flavianæ, Lps. 1840) has contended for the genuineness of the *whole* passage in Josephus. The following, however, are spurious records: 1) the Syriac correspondence between Christ and *Abgarus*, King of Edessa, in which the latter entreats the Lord to come and heal him, while Christ replies by promising, after His ascension, to send one of His disciples (the genuineness of these documents has, however, of late been again maintained by *Rinck* in Illgen's Journal for 1843, and by *Welte* in the Tüb. Quarterly for 1842); 2) two letters

addressed by Pilate to Tiberius; 3) the letter of *Lentulus* (a friend of Pilate) to the Roman Senate, giving a description of the appearance of Christ. Since the fourth century, legends also circulated about a statue of Christ, which the woman who had been cured of the issue of blood had erected in *Paneas*, and about certain miraculous portraits of Jesus (such as that in the napkin of *Veronica*, perhaps originally = *vera icon*, εἰκών). For other legends and fables, see the apocrypha gospels.

II. *The Apostolic Age.*

Comp. *A. Neander*, History of the Planting of the Christian Church (translated by J. E. Ryland, Bohn's Series). 2 vols. 1851. — *J. B. Trautmann*, die ap. K. (the Ap. Ch.). Leipz. 1848. — *M. Baumgarten*, transl. by Morrison and Meyer, in Clark's For. Theol. Library. 3 vols. — *J. P. Lange*, Gesch. d. K. d. ap. Zeit. (Hist. of the Ch. in Ap. Times) 2 vols. Braunschw. 1852. — *Ph. Schaff*, Hist. of the Apostolic Church. Scribner, New York, 1853. — *H. W. J. Thiersch*, d. K. im ap. Zeit. Frkf. 1852. — *G. W. Lechler*, d. ap. u. nachap. Zeitalter (the Apost. and Post-Apost. Age). Stuttg. 1857. 4to. — *C. Reuss*, Hist. de la théologie au siècle ap. Strassb. 1852. — *H. Ewald*, Gesch. d. apost. Zeitalt. bis z Zerstör. Jerus. Göttg. 1869. — *K. Wieseler*, Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalt. Göttg. 1848.

§ 15. THE FEAST OF PENTECOST—ACTIVITY OF THE APOSTLES BEFORE THE CALLING OF PAUL (30–48 A. D.).

After the number of apostles had by lot been again made up to twelve, the Holy Ghost was poured out upon the assembled disciples who had waited for His coming. This event, which was accompanied by miraculous signs, took place on the feast of Pentecost (anno 30), ten days after the ascension of the Lord. It became the birth-day of the Church, whose first members were now gathered in large numbers, in consequence of a sermon by Peter. Through the exertions of the apostles (chiefly of Peter and of John), which, however, at first were confined to Jerusalem, the Church grew daily. But when a violent persecution, which commenced with the stoning of *Stephen*, scattered the faithful, the Gospel was carried all over Palestine to Phœnicia and Syria, although the apostles remained in the Jewish capital. The preaching of *Philip*, a deacon, was specially owned in Samaria (about the year 39 or 40). Soon afterwards Peter visited the churches in Judæa; and in consequence of a Divine command, received by baptism the first Gentiles (the family of Cornelius) into the Church. At the same time, and indepen-

dently of this event, the earnest inquiries of many Gentiles in *Antioch* led to the formation of a church composed of Jews and Gentiles. *Barnabas*, a Levite, and a man strong in the faith, was despatched from Jerusalem to Antioch, and undertook the care of this community, conjoining in this work with his own the labours of *Paul*, a converted Pharisee, whom some years before (about 40 A. D.) a revelation of Christ, on the way to Damascus, had transformed from a fanatical persecutor into a most devoted Christian and preacher. In consequence of these events, the missionary efforts of the apostles were henceforth divided into purely Jewish, with Jerusalem as the centre of operations, and into mixed, which had chiefly the Gentiles for their object, and issued from Antioch. A conference of the apostles, held at Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1–9), formally sanctioned this arrangement.

§ 16. LABOURS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL (44–64 A. D.).

Comp. *J. T. Hemsen*, der Ap. Paul. Göttg. 1830.— *C. Schrader*, der Ap. P. Leipz. 1830.—*Paley*, Horæ Paulinæ, in his collected works, and since often printed separately.—*Conybeare and Howson*, The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. 2 vols. 2d Ed. 1856.—(*F. Chr. Baur*, Paul. d. Ap. J. Chr. Ein Beitrag zu einer krit. Gesch. d. Urchristth.—Paul the ap. of J. Chr. A Contrib. to a crit. Hist. of orig. Chr. Tübg. 1845.)

Having been specially separated by the Holy Ghost for the work, and set apart by the Church by the laying on of hands, *Paul* and *Barnabas* left Antioch in the year 45, to make their *first missionary tour* to Asia Minor. The Lord, by signs and wonders, gave testimony to their preaching; and, notwithstanding the contradiction and persecution of hostile Jews, they founded at Antioch (in Pisidia), at Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, mixed churches, consisting chiefly of Gentile Christians; preaching also in many other places. Not long afterwards, Paul undertook a SECOND *missionary journey* (50–54). On this occasion *Barnabas* had separated from Paul, because he would take with him John Mark, his nephew, who on the first missionary tour had left the work. In company with his nephew, Barnabas now went to Cyprus, his own country; but no record of the success of this mission has been left. Accompanied by *Silas*, by *Luke*, and afterwards also by *Timothy*, *Paul* meantime passed again through Asia Minor, and was about to return to Antioch, when a call from the Lord, in a night-vision, induced him to

land on the shores of Europe. Here he founded Christian communities at Philippi, at Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth; and then returned to Syria through Asia Minor, touching at Ephesus by the way. During his stay at Jerusalem the conference with Peter, James, and John, to which Gal. ii. refers took place (fourteen years after Paul's conversion), and soon afterwards, in Antioch, the conflict with Peter, alluded to in the same passage. In the year 54, he undertook, in company with Luke, Titus, and Timothy, his THIRD *missionary expedition* (54–58). This time, Ephesus, where a numerous congregation was gathered, became the centre of his operations. An extraordinary success attended his labours, and the very existence of heathenism in Asia Minor seemed threatened. Driven from Ephesus in consequence of a tumult, Paul travelled through Macedonia, penetrated as far as Illyricum, then visited the churches in Greece, and returned to Jerusalem to fulfil a vow. In the Jewish capital his life was only preserved through the interference of the Roman tribune, who took him prisoner, and sent him to Cæsarea. An appeal to the Emperor, to which as Roman citizen he was entitled, led to his departure to Rome (in the year 60), where for some years he continued a prisoner in his own house, being still allowed to preach. The further course of his life and activity is involved in some uncertainty. Probably his imprisonment became more severe, either in consequence of increasing enmity on the part of the Emperor or of his favourites towards Christianity, or on account of the importunities of hostile Jews. In the year 64 he was beheaded, under the reign of Nero.

1. The very common opinion, first mooted by Eusebius, that about the year 64 Paul had been set at liberty, and undertaken a fourth missionary tour, in which he had penetrated as far as Spain, that thence he had *a second time been sent prisoner to Rome*, and been beheaded in that city about the year 67, owes its origin to manifest chronological mistakes. It has of late been again advocated (by Neander, Guericke, Credner, Gieseler, Huther, Wiesinger, etc.), from the erroneous supposition that some events noticed in the letters of Paul could not have occurred during the period preceding the (supposed first) imprisonment of Paul at Rome. What is regarded as a testimony of Clement to the journey of the apostle into Spain (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών) is by no means conclusive, even irrespective of the dubious particle ἐπί. The Muratori Canon refers indeed to a journey into Spain, but only as

an unsupported legend (Rom. xv. 24), on which the book of Acts is silent. Comp. especially *Wieseler, ut supra*, p. 521 etc.

§ 17. LABOURS OF THE OTHER APOSTLES (AFTER THE YEAR 48).

We only possess authentic data about the labours of the most prominent among the apostles. At an early period (about the year 44), *James the Elder*, the brother of John, suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem. During that persecution *Peter* was obliged for a time to leave Jerusalem. By inclination and calling he acted as apostle to the circumcision (Gal. ii. 7–9). In the course of his labours, which were shared by *Mark*, he penetrated, according to 1 Pet. v. 13, as far as *Babylon*. That he had also labored in Asia Minor and in Greece is doubtful. That he was crucified under the reign of Nero at Rome, A. D. 64, the same year when Paul was beheaded, may well be questioned, and the legend that for 25 years before his death he was Bishop of Rome is a certain fable. Indeed it is by no means clear that Peter was ever in Rome — *Philip* spent the last years of his life at Hierapolis in Phrygia. *John* betook himself to Ephesus. Ancient legends declare that *Thomas* preached in Parthia, *Bartholomew* in India, and that *John Mark* founded the church at Alexandria.—After the time of the apostolic conference, *James the Just*, the brother of the Lord, seems to have presided over the church at Jerusalem, having been specially commissioned to labour amongst the Jews. In Gal. ii. 9 Paul speaks of him, of Peter and of John, as being regarded "pillars" of the Church. He does not appear ever to have left Jerusalem. Soon after the imprisonment of Paul he was killed by fanatical Jews (64). After the martyrdom of Paul, *John*, who among the twelve disciples approximated most closely the mental direction of Paul, occupied the former field of labour of that apostle in Asia Minor. He took up his abode at Ephesus, a city which, at that period, was the focus and centre of ecclesiastical movements. Even during the time of Paul, the antagonisms peculiar to the apostolic age—that of Literalism, Phariseeism, and Legal Righteousness, on the one hand, and on the other, that of Antinomianism, Idealism, and Gnosticism—had appeared, and rapidly developed almost into antichristian tendencies. Circumstances like these rendered the presence of an

apostle, who was a pillar of the Church, all the more requisite in a city which otherwise also was so important. Of all the apostles none was so eminently adapted and qualified for such a post as John, who combined the most ready charity and mildness with the most strict and unbending earnestness, and whose spiritual tendency embodied in their purest and highest aspects the truths lying at the foundation of these antagonisms. Banished by *Domitian* to Patmos, an island in the Ægean Sea, he returned again to Ephesus, where he laboured for other thirty years (to his death under Trajan), his ministrations being greatly blessed to the church of Asia Minor.

1. The legend about *Peter's bishoprick at Rome* (according to Eusebius, from the year 42–67), is derived from the heretical, pseudo-epigraphic Clementines and Recognitions,—an authority entirely untrustworthy (*v.* § 27, 4). The silence both of the letter to the Romans (58) and of Acts xxviii. prove that Peter could not have labored in Rome before A. D. 60, when Paul arrived there as a prisoner.[1] Comp. *Wieseler ut supra*, p. 522 etc.

2. The question, whether the New Testament refers to TWO OR TO THREE JAMES' — *i. e.*, whether the apostle *James the Less*, the son of Alpheus and cousin of Jesus, was the same as *James the Just*, the brother of the Lord and president of the church of Jerusalem, or not—is one of the most difficult problems in New Test. History. The strongest argument in favour of their identity is derived from Gal. i. 19, where James the brother of the Lord is called an apostle (comp., however, Acts xiv. 14; Heb. iii. 1). But, on the whole, the balance of evidence is against this supposition. In John vii. the brethren of Jesus are represented as still unbelieving at a time when James the son of Alpheus was already one of the apostles; according to Matt. xxviii. 19, none of the twelve could be permanent Bishop of Jerusalem; Hegesippus represents James the Just as *μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων* the president of the church at Jerusalem, and he speaks of *πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι* (which, at any rate, implies more than two). The older Fathers regarded the "brothers and sisters" of the Lord as the children of Joseph by a former marriage (a view which leaves untouched the delicate question as to the interpretation of Matt. i. 25). Jerome and Chrysostom are the first of the Fathers to identify James the son of Alpheus with James the Just.—Regarding the death of *James the Just* ancient testimonies do not fully agree. According to *Hegesippus* the Jews asked him, at the feast of the Passover, to bear witness against Christ, from the pinnacle of the temple. But James earnestly testified in favour of Christ, and for this was cast down, stoned, and whilst praying for his enemies, was killed by a blow from the club of a tanner. *Clem. Alexander* corroborates this account. *Josephus* simply reports that after

the removal of Festus, and before the arrival of Albinus (anno 64), the cruel high-priest *Ananus* procured a hasty condemnation of James, and of others to whom he bore enmity, and had caused the apostle — τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ — to be stoned.

3. Irenæus, Eusebius, and Jerome speak of the *banishment of John* as having taken place under the reign of *Domitian;* only obscure or later evidence (the superscription in the Syr. Book of Revel. and Theophylact) is in favour of placing it in the time of *Nero*. Tertullian records a legend, according to which he had, at the time of Nero, been put into a cask of boiling oil; and Augustin relates that he had drained a poisoned cup without deriving harm from it. These are manifestly apocryphal stories; but the narrative of Clement Alex. about the tender care with which the aged apostle had watched over a youth who had fearfully gone astray, appears to be authentic. The same remark applies to the account of Jerome, according to whom, when too old to walk, John had caused himself to be carried to the meetings of the Christians, and ever repeated to them only this admonition, "Little children, love one another;" and to the statement of Irenæus, that when, on one occasion, he happened to meet with Cerinthus, the heretic, in a bath, the apostle immediately left the place so as to avoid even outward communion with him.

§ 18. CONSTITUTION, LIFE, DISCIPLINE, AND WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH.

Cf. *K. Lechler*, die N. T. Lehre von h. Amte Stuttg. 1857.

The institution of a special human priesthood, characteristic of Old Testament times, had now merged in the One only and Eternal Mediatorship of the God-man; at the same time, the Gospel distinctly laid down the principle, that all Christians formed part of the Universal Priesthood (Heb. iv. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6). Connected together into an organism under Christ, as its only Head, the Church was to edify itself and to grow by the co-operation of all its members, according to their respective calling, gifts, and position (Eph. i. 22 etc.; 1 Cor. xii. 12 etc.). The natural talents and the inward calling in apostolic times were in special cases quickened and enlarged by the *extraordinary gifts* of the Holy Spirit (the Charismata). With the natural exception of females (1 Cor. xiv. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 12), every Christian was allowed to teach and to exhort in the Church. But from the commencement regularly appointed officials were set apart, in order that this process of contributing to the edification of the Church, on the

part of all its members, might not degenerate into arbitrariness, presumption, and anarchy, and that, amidst the changes of time, the government and edification of the Church might continue uninterrupted. On them the preservation of order, the prevention of abuses, the direction of public worship, the preaching of the word, the dispensation of the sacraments, the cure of souls, the exercise of discipline, and the outward representation of the Church, devolved as their peculiar and fixed calling. The need of such an order of men must have been all the more felt, when the extraordinary qualifications of charismata gradually ceased. It became now more than ever necessary, by means of a regular outward call, to assign proper limits, and to give a settled character to the inward call. So long as the apostles laboured in the churches which they had founded, the duty of teaching and of governing devolved upon them.

1. *The Charismata.*—According to 1 Cor. xii. 8 etc., 28 etc., the *special and extraordinary gifts* of the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic Church were of twofold character, as they manifested themselves either in word or in deed. The first were in part temporary, such as the gifts of speaking in tongues and of prophecy; and again, supplementary to these, the gift of interpreting tongues and trying the spirits. And in part they were lasting, such as the gift of teaching—*i. e.*, either the speculative gift of wisdom and of knowledge (Gnosis), or the practical and didactic gift of faith (Pistis). Of the second class of charismata strictly practical were the gift of directing and administering the affairs of a church, and the gifts of performing miracles and of healing the sick.

2. *Bishops and Presbyters.*—To aid them in their work, or to supply their places in their absence (Acts 14: 23), the apostles ordained rulers in every church, who bore the common name of *Elders* (πρεσβύτεροι) from their dignity, and of *Bishops* (ἐπίσκοποι) from the nature of their office.

That originally the πρεσβύτεροι were the same as the ἐπίσκοποι, we gather with absolute certainty from the statements of the New Testament and of *Clement* of Rome, a disciple of the apostles (see his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chaps. xlii. xliv. lvii.). 1) The presbyters are expressly called ἐπίσκοποι — comp. Acts xx. 17 with ver. 28, and Tit. i. 5 with ver. 7. — 2) The office of presbyter is described as next to and highest after that of apostle (Acts xv. 6, 22). Similarly, the elders are represented as those to whom alone the rule, the teaching, and the care of the Church is entrusted (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Pet. v. 1 etc.); on account of which the apostles designate themselves also as συμπρε-

πρεσβύτεροι (1 Pet. v. 1, 2, and 3 John 1).—3) The various offices of the Church are summed up under the expression ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι (Phil. i. 1; Clem. Rom. l. c. ch. xlii. comp. 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8).—4) In the above quoted passages of the N. T. and of Clement we read of *many* bishops in one and the same church. In the face of such indubitable evidence, it is difficult to account for the pertinacity with which Romish and Anglican theologians insist that these two offices had from the first been different in name and functions; while the allegation of some, that although, originally, the two designations had been identical, the offices themselves were distinct, seems little better than arbitrary and absurd. Even *Jerome*, Augustin, Urban II. (a. 1091), and Petrus Lombardus admit that originally the two had been identical. It was reserved for the Council of Trent to convert this truth into a heresy.

3. *Other Church Offices.*—(Comp. *R. Rothe*, die Anfänge d. christl. Kirche und ihrer Verfass. (Commenc. of the Chr. Ch. and of its Constitut.). Wittemb. 1837. Vol. I.—*J. W. Bickell*, Gesch. d. Kirchenrechtes (Hist. of Eccl. Law). Frankf. 1849. I. 2, p. 62 etc.)—Conjoined with, but subordinate to, the office of presbyter or bishop, of which the apostles themselves for so considerable time discharged the duties at Jerusalem, was the office of *Deacon*. It was first instituted by the apostles, with consent of the people, for the purpose of caring for the poor and the sick at Jerusalem (Acts vi.). Thence it spread to most other Christian communities; the number of deacons being always seven, until the original functions of the office were enlarged, and the deacons called to assist in the cure of souls and in preaching the word. Functions corresponding to those of the deacons—but only so far as the original design of the diaconate was concerned (according to 1 Cor. xiv. 34, and 1 Tim. ii. 12)—devolved on the *Deaconesses* (Rom. xvi. 1), who took charge of Christian females. From 1 Tim. v. 9 we gather that, commonly, only widows above the age of sixty were admitted to this office. The presbyters and deacons were set apart by the laying on of the hands of the apostles, or of their delegates (Acts vi. 6; 1 Tim. iv. 14 etc.). Individual churches were also in the habit of employing special *evangelists*, whose duty it was to travel about in order to preach to the heathen (Eph. iv. 11; Acts xxi. 8). When, one after another, the apostles, who even when absent, were regarded as concentrating in themselves the supreme guidance of the churches, were called to their rest, gradually and almost necessarily one of the elders obtained prominence over the rest, though at first only as the *primus inter pares*, and with it the distinctive title of Bishop, in contradistinction to the other presbyters. The relation of James to the church at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 13; xxi. 18), and the full powers which Paul claimed for his assistants (Timothy, Titus, and others) in individual churches, may have served as a commencement and a type of the later Episcopate (Cf. § 30).

4. *Christian Life, and Ecclesiastical Discipline.*—(Comp. *G Arnold*, erste Liebe, d. i. wahre Abbildung d. ersten Christen. (First Love, *i. e.*, Faithful Portraiture of the first Christians) Frkft. 1696.—In accordance with the command of the Lord (John xiii. 34, 35), brotherly love, in opposition to the selfishness of the natural heart, became the principle of the new Christian life. In the church at Jerusalem, the power of first love, stimulated by the expectation of a speedy return of the Lord, manifested itself in a voluntary community of goods—an experiment this, which, without denying its internal value, was soon found to be impracticable, and hence neither repeated nor even prolonged. But the more wealthy Gentile Christian churches continued to show their brotherly affection by making collections for the poor saints at Jerusalem, whom providential dispensations (such as famine) rendered still more dependent.—According to the direction of the apostle in Gal. iii. 28, the threefold evil under which the old world laboured—contempt of foreign nationalities, degradation of woman, and slavery—was removed by a gradual and internal renovation of the world, carried on without any violent infringement of existing rights. At the same time, a deep consciousness of the fellowship subsisting between the members of the Church in their subordination to the *One* Head in heaven, pervaded and sanctified all the relationships of life.—However, even in apostolic times pristine Christian purity and simplicity occasionally gave place to other feelings. In the Mother Church, hypocrisy (Acts v.) and dissension (Acts vi.) appeared at a very early period. But the former was visited by a dreadful judgment; the latter removed by charity and mutual forbearance. Among the more wealthy Gentile Christian churches (such as in Corinth and Thessalonica) the spirit of the world manifested its presence by luxuriousness, selfishness, pride, etc.; but it was broken or removed, partly in consequence of the admonitions and the discipline of the apostles, and partly in consequence of the early persecutions which sifted and purified the churches. Any member who had caused public scandal by a gross violation of pure doctrine or of Christian duty, and who persisted in his sin despite the admonitions of pastors and elders, was expelled from the Church. But if sufficient proof of genuine repentance had been given, the offending brother was gladly welcomed back. The account about the incestuous person at Corinth affords an example of the apostolic arrangements in this respect (1 Cor. v. 1 etc.; 2 Cor. ii. 5 etc.; comp. also 1 Tim. i. 19, 20; Gal. i. 8, 9; 1 John ii. 19 etc.). Cf. § 36.

5. *Christian Worship.*—(Comp. *Th. Harnach*, der chr. Gemeindegottesd. im apost. u. altkath. Zeitalter (Chr. Congregat. Worship in the Apost. and Anc. Cath. Ch.). Erl. 1854.—*Th. Kliefoth*, Liturg. Abhandl. IV. A. u. d. T.: Die urspr. Gottesdienstordn. &c., I. p. 175, &c., 2 Aufl. Schwerin. 1858).—Even in Jerusalem, where Christians con

tinued their attendance on the temple, the religious wants of the Church rendered distinctively Christian and common worship necessary. But as Jewish worship was twofold in its character, consisting of instruction and edification by the word in the synagogues, and of the typical and sacramental service of symbols in the temple, so, in the Church also, Christian worship was, from the first, either *homiletico-didactic*, or else *eucharistico-sacramental*. (Cf. § 33.) The former, like the service of the synagogue, was not only intended for the edification of the congregation, but for missionary purposes, on which ground non-Christians also were allowed and invited to attend. At first the church at Jerusalem held these (*morning*) services in the halls of the temple, where the people were wont to assemble for prayer (Acts iii. 11); afterwards, in private houses. They consisted of reading certain passages and sections from the Old Testament — at a later period, also apostolic letters and portions from the Gospels — of addresses for the purposes of instruction and exhortation, of prayer and of singing of psalms. The *sacramental* portion of public worship took place within the circle of the Church alone. The main part and object of these (evening) services was to *celebrate the Lord's Supper*, which, after the model of the institution, was accompanied by prayer and the singing of hymns, and taken along with a common meal, called the ἀγάπη, to denote that its purpose was the expression of brotherly love. The elements were set apart for sacramental purposes by prayer, in which thanks and praise were offered up (εὐχαρίστια, 1 Cor. xi. 24; or εὐλογία, 1 Cor. x. 16). This prayer was probably followed by the "*holy kiss*" (φίλημα ἅγιον, Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20). In public worship, besides the psalms, distinctly Christian *hymns* and doxologies were probably in use even in apostolic times (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16), of which Eph. ii. 14, 1 Tim. iii. 16, 2 Tim. ii. 11–13, possibly contain specimens and fragments. See also 1 Tim. iii. 1, 16; James i. 17; Rev. i. 4 etc.; iv. 11; v. 9 etc.; xi. 15 etc.; xv. 3 etc.; xxi. 1 etc.; xxii. 10 etc. At first, both the homiletic and eucharistic services took place daily (Acts ii. 4, 6). But even in apostolic times, *besides* the Sabbath — among Gentile Christians *instead* of it — the *Lord's Day* was observed as a day of special solemnity, being that of Christ's resurrection (John xx. 26; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10). But we cannot discover that any other feast days had been observed at that period. Equally impossible is it strictly to demonstrate that *infant baptism* had been practised by the apostles, although this is probable (Acts ii. 39; xvi 33; 1 Cor. vii. 14). Baptism was administered by complete immersion, in the name of Christ, or else of the Triune God (Matt. xxviii. 19). The charisma of healing the sick was applied along with prayer and anointing with oil (James v. 14, 15). The practice of confessing sins one to another, and praying for each other, was recommended without having, however, any necessary connection with public worship (James v. 16). The Holy Ghost (as a charisma), and ordination (Acts vi. 6; xiii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 14), were imparted by prayer and laying on of hands.

§ 19. APOSTOLIC OPPOSITION TO SECTARIANS AND HERETICS.

Comp. *Thiersch*, Versuch zur Herstell. d. Hist. Standp. für. d. Kritik d. Nel. Schriften. Erlg. 1845.—*W. Mangold*, d. Irrlehre d. Pastoralbriefe. Marb. 1856.

From the first, when, by the preaching of the apostles, Christianity entered on its mission of conquering the world, the intellectual powers of the old world occupied one of three relations with reference to the Gospel. Either their representatives entirely gave themselves up to the truth, or they prepared as enemies to resist it, or they admitted certain of the elements of Christianity, retaining, however, along with these, their old and unchristian views. This combination and commingling of heterogeneous elements gave rise to many heresies. — The first enemy which appeared, even in the midst of the Christian camp itself, was the well-known *pharisaical Judaism*, with its traditionary ossification of doctrine, its righteousness of dead works, its narrow-minded pride of nationality, and its carnal and perverted views about the Messiah. It was the shibboleth of that party, that the Gentiles should be constrained to observe the ceremonial law (of the Sabbath, of meats, of circumcision), as being the necessary condition of salvation. This tendency had first appeared in the Church at Jerusalem, where, however, the resolutions agreed to at the *conference of the apostles* condemned the peculiarities of the party. Still it continued to follow Paul in his missionary labours, attacking him with the weapons of malice, enmity and calumny. To his contest with these sectaries we owe the most precious of his Epistles (especially those addressed to the Romans, the Galatians, and the Corinthians). Traces of *Sadducean* and *sceptical* opposition may perhaps be discovered in the objections to the doctrine of the resurrection to which Paul replies in 1 Cor. xv. On the other hand, *Grecian Philosophy* also, at an early period, mingled itself with Christianity. *Apollos*, a Jew from Alexandria, who had received a philosophical training, viewed Christianity mainly in its speculative aspect, and in this manner eloquently and successfully expounded its doctrines at Corinth. *Paul* did not oppose this method of presenting the Gospel. He rather left it to the judgment of history (1 Cor. iii. 11–14); but he warned

against laying excessive value on human wisdom (1 Cor. ii. 1–10) Still, among some of the lovers of philosophy at Corinth, the simple and positive preaching of *Paul* in consequence declined in authority, although this result had not been intended by *Apollos*. This circumstance was perhaps the first occasion of the split in the church at Corinth, where four parties appeared under different names (1 Cor. i.). The Judaising Christians appealed to the authority of the Apostle Peter (οἱ τοῦ Κηφᾶ), while the Gentile Christians called themselves either the followers of *Apollos* or of *Paul*, or refusing to own the authority of any apostle, assumed the boastful designation of οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This split was effectually opposed by *Paul* in his two Epistles to the Corinthians.—Much more dangerous than the heretical tendencies to which we have above adverted was a kind of Jewish-Gentile *Gnosis*, which began to intrude into Christianity during the latter years of Paul's labours, being probably imported by the Essenes and Therapeutæ, who had formed a connecting medium between the synagogue and the heathen. Asia Minor was the principal focus of this ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις. To it Paul first directed attention in his farewell address at Miletus (Acts xx. 29, 30). Afterwards he expressly opposed it in the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, and especially in his pastoral letters, even as Peter combated it in his First Epistle. Still it assumed many and varied forms. It appeared in the shape of Oriental Theosophy, Magic and Theurgy, in voluntary ascetism with reference to meats and marriage, in fancied mysteries about the nature and subordination of heavenly powers and spirits, and in the transformation of certain doctrines of Christianity (such as that of the resurrection, 2 Tim. ii. 18) into a mere idealism. These seeds of evil had already borne abundant fruit, when John came to take up his residence in Asia Minor. Accordingly, in his First Epistle the apostle opposed the growing heresy, and more especially that form of Gnosis in which, under the garb of *docetic* views, the incarnation of God in Christ was denied. The Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude are more particularly directed against the *antinomian* excesses of Gnosticism—its unbounded immorality, and its infamous licentiousness under guise of magical and theurgic services.—According to the statement of the Fathers, the *Nicolaitans* of the Book of Revelation (Rev. ii. 6, 15) were a distinct sect, which originated with *Nicolaus* the deacon (Acts vi. 5), who taught that it was lawful

to yield to the lusts of the flesh, since this could not affect the spirit. Traces of an antinomian and Gnostic sect of Nicolaitans are found so late as the second century.

1. *The Apostolic Conference.* — The Lord had commanded His disciples to preach the Gospel to all nations (Matt. xxviii. 19). They could not, therefore, doubt that the whole Gentile world was destined to become the inheritance of the Church. But, apparently following the Old Testament statements about the eternal obligation of the law of Moses, and as yet unable fully to understand the utterance of the Lord (Matt. v. 17 etc.), they deemed it necessary by circumcision to make the Gentiles Jews before admitting them into the kingdom of Christ. The views of *Stephen*, who was a Hellenist, seem, however, to have been more liberal (Acts vi. 14). *Philip*, also a Grecian, preached among the Samaritans, and the apostles owned and completed his labours through Peter and John (Acts viii. 14 etc). Still, a direct revelation was necessary before *Peter* could feel convinced that a Gentile who felt his need of salvation could as such enter the kingdom of God (Acts x.). Even this revelation, however, exercised no decisive influence on the common mode of carrying on missionary operations. Grecian Jews in Antioch were again the first to take the bold step of addressing themselves directly to the work among the Gentiles (Acts xi. 19). To watch the movement in that city, the apostles commissioned *Barnabas*, who at once entered into it with all his soul, and conjoined with himself *Paul*, who was to prove a still more eminent labourer. After the success of their first missionary tour had proved their calling as apostles of the Gentiles, and the Divine sanction to their work, Jewish-Christian zealots raised discussions at Antioch, which issued in a journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, for the purpose of having the disputed questions settled (about the year 50). At a *meeting of the apostles* in that city, Peter and James the Just carried the resolution, that converted Gentiles should, from a regard to relations then existing (Acts xv. 20), submit to certain legal restrictions, analogous to those to which proselytes of the gate had hitherto been subject. A private conference between the two apostles of Antioch, and Peter, James, and John, led to their mutual recognition of one another as respectively the apostles of the Gentiles and of the Jews (Gal. ii. 1–10). Still, during his stay at Antioch, Peter was guilty of a practical inconsistency in weakly yielding to the fanaticism of some Jewish Christians, for which he was sharply reproved by Paul (Gal. ii. 11–14.) But the conclusions at which the meeting of apostles had arrived did not put a stop to this controversy, and the understanding that mutual toleration should be extended was sadly traversed, at least by one of the parties. During the whole course of his labours, *Paul* had continually to contend with sectarian Jewish converts, who tried their utmost to undermine his apostolic authority, and to introduce

elements of discord into the churches which he planted.—*James the Just* remained till his death the representative of the sound Judæo-Christian direction, whose adherents, from habit and personal liking, continued to observe the ceremonial law, but in nowise made salvation dependent on such conformity.—The destruction of the temple, and with it the cessation of Jewish worship, prepared the way for a gradual termination of the Jewish Christian, which henceforth merged in the Gentile Christian Church. To this result contributed also the labours of the Apostle *John* in Asia Minor,—a man whose every action seemed influenced by the love of Christ, and breathed the spirit of conciliation. The remainder of the party, who, despite the change to which we have adverted, continued their former principles and practices, assumed more and more the character of a sect, and in part became decidedly heretical. (cf § 27.)

2. *The Basis of Apostolic Teaching.*—(Comp. *Lutterbeck, Lechler, Reuss* ut supra, and the Sketches of the Teaching of Paul by *Usteri* (5th ed. Zurich 1834) and by *Dähne* (Halle 1835),—of that of John, by *Frommann* (Leipz. 1839), *Köstlin* (Berl. 1843), and *Hilgenfeld* (Halle 1849.—and of that of Peter, by *B. Weiss* (Berl. 1855). See also *H. Messner*, die Lehre d. Apostel. (the Teaching of the Ap.) Leipz. 1856.)—It was soon felt necessary to write down the apostolic and authentic accounts of the life of the Saviour, in order to give them a stable form. If in this manner the Gospels were compiled, the continuous intercourse between the missionary apostles and the churches which they had founded, or else the exercise of their general authority, led to the composition of the Apostolic Epistles. At an early period the mutual exchange of apostolic communications (Col. iv. 16) formed the commencement of a collection and diffusion of the New Testament writings; and, accordingly, Peter could assume (2 Pet. iii. 15, 16) that the contents of the epistles of Paul were commonly known. There was not at the time any creed to serve as a generally authentic test of orthodoxy, although a commencement had already been made in the profession of faith exacted from converts at their baptism (on the basis of Matt. xxviii. 19). In the age succeeding that of the apostles, this profession was enlarged into what is known as the *Apostolic Creed*. Already Paul had intimated that justification by faith alone (Gal. i. 8, 9) was one of the indispensable tests of a genuine Christian profession, while John had asserted the same with reference to the incarnation of God in Christ (1 John iv. 3). In the three principal apostles appeared the threefold fundamental tendency of Christian doctrine in apostolic times. *Paul* represented the pneumatico-theological direction; *John*, the religious and idealistic; and *Peter* (as also, in the main, *James* the Just), the practical and ethical. The views of *John* brought out prominently and most emphatically the Divine aspect of the appearance of Christ (John i. 14); those of *Peter*, its human aspect, as the ideal of holy walk and conversation (1 Pet. ii. 21); and those of *Paul*, being

more comprehensive than the others, the fulness in the God-Man (Col ii. 9; 2 Cor. v. 19). Faith was the central and moving point in the teaching of Paul, love in that of John, and hope in that of Peter. But while we admit this diversity, springing from the natural bias of different minds, and sanctified by the Spirit of God, it were quite erroneous to regard it either as implying an exclusive and one-sided peculiarity, or diversity. On the contrary, each of these directions admits of and presupposes the others as complementary to it. More especially do the teaching of John and of Peter fit into that of Paul, which was the most fully developed and comprehensive of all.

FIRST SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT

OF THE

CHURCH IN ITS ANCIENT CLASSICAL CULTURE

SOURCES.

Sources: 1. Church Fathers: *Maxima Bibliotheca* Patrum et ant Scriptt. ecclest. Lugd. 1677. 27 voll. fol.— *A. Gallandi*, Biblioth. vett. Patr. et ant. Scriptt. ecclest. Venet. 1765. 14 voll. fol.— *J. P. Migne*, Patrologiæ cursus completus, s. Biblioth. universalis ss. Pp. et Scr. ecclest. Series II.: Eccl. Lat. Par. 1844, etc. 217 vols. (Of the Greek series 104 vols. have appeared.)— *J. E. Grabe*, Spicilegium ss. P. et Hærett. Sec. I. II. Oxon. 1698. 2 voll. — *M. J. Routh*, Reliquiæ ss 1814. 4 voll.

2. Byzantine Writers (from 500 — 1500): Hist. Byzantinæ Scr. Par. 1645. 42 voll. fol. (Ven. 1729. 22 voll. fol.) — *Niebuhr*, corpus Scr. hist. Byz. Bonn. 1828, 48 vols.

3. *On* Eastern Antiquity: *Jos. Sim. Assemanus*, Bibl. Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana. Rom. 1719. 3 voll. fol.

4. Treatises on these Subjects: *Tillemont*, mémoires pour servir à l'hist. ecclest. des six prem. siècles. Par. 1693. 16 voll. 4to. — *J. F. Damberger*, synchr. Gesch. d. K. u. d. W. im Mittelalt. (Synchron. Hist. of the Ch. and the World in the Middle Ages). Regensb. 1850.

§ 20. CHARACTER AND LIMITS OF THIS PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT.

The universalistic spirit of Christianity had, even at the commencement of the Apostolic Age, broken through the narrow boundaries of Judaism; while towards the close of that period, what at first had been a natural antagonism between Jewish and Gentile Christianity had been wholly removed. The Divine truths of salvation had been stripped of the Jewish envelope in which the kernel had attained its full maturity. These truths were now committed to the Roman and Grecian world for their reception, that by means of those elements of culture which had there sprung up, they might be fully unfolded and applied. Hence the leading characteristics of this period in Church History are both *negative:* in so far as the spirit of Christianity was to overcome the ungodly heathenism of the old world—and *positive:* in so

far as Christianity was now to develop under the form of *Græco-Roman culture.* This development issued in a transition from apostolicity to that genuine and pure *catholicity*, which was to serve as the common basis for all later Christian churches. Such, then, was the task performed by the old Church of the Græco-Byzantine world; not, however, without exhibiting in the result a mixture of false ingredients, derived from the substitution of unevangelical for genuine evangelical catholicity. Thenceforth the Germanic-Sclavonic races became the centre of gravitation for the movements of the Church. The Roman Church preserved and increased her authority by making common cause with those races whose training she had undertaken, while the Byzantine Church, left to internal decay, and exposed to Mohammedan oppression, rapidly declined.

The history of this phase in the development of the Church may be arranged under three periods. The *first* of these reaches to the time of Constantine the Great, under whom Christianity and the Church obtained final victory over heathenism (323); the *second* extends to the close of the grand development of doctrine which the Church was to attain under the ancient classical form of culture, *i. e.*, to the close of the Monotheletic controversy by the 6th œcumenical Council of Constantinople (680). But as the *concilium quinisextum* (692) was in reality only a completion of the former two œcumenical Councils — so far as the constitution and worship of the Church were concerned — and as there the great split between the East and the West may be said to have commenced, we prefer closing our second period with the year 692. The difference obtaining between these two periods appears most distinctly in the outward position of the Church. Before the time of Constantine, the Church lived and grew in strength, despite the oppression of a heathen government. If its outward existence was continually threatened by an almost unbroken succession of bloody persecutions, the Divine power which sustained and gave it the prospect of ultimate victory, only appeared the more gloriously under these difficulties. Under the reign of Constantine the state became Christian, and the Church enjoyed all those advantages and that fostering care which earthly protection can afford. But with worldly glory came a worldly spirit; the state also speedily transformed its protection of, into autocratic domination over, the Church. In respect of the internal, and especially of the dogmatic development of the Church, also, these two periods materially differ. So long as the Church was engaged in the process of appropriating the *forms* of ancient heathenism, while setting aside its atheism and falsehoods, the latter too frequently made themselves felt by the introduction of dangerous admixtures of error with Christian truth. Judaism also, whose narrow bonds had so lately been

cast off, threatened similar dangers. Hence, during the first period, the Church was chiefly engaged in eliminating antichristian elements, whether Jewish or heathen. But during the second period, when the power of heathenism was broken, the Church was free to devote its entire energies to the development of distinctively Christian dogmas, and to the establishment of catholic doctrine in its fullest and most comprehensive aspects, in opposition to the limitations and mistakes of heretics. — This great work exhausted the capabilities of the ancient Greek and Roman world. The measure of development which it was capable of giving to the Church was full: henceforth the future of the Church lay with the Saxon and Sclavonic races. While the Byzantine empire, and with it the glory of the ancient Eastern Church, was exposed to *Mohammedanism*, a new empire, gifted with the full vigour of youth, sprang up in the West, and became the medium of a new phase of development in the history of the Church. While thus in the West the Church reached another height of development, in the East it sunk under outward pressure and internal decay. The split between the East and the West, which had commenced in a former period, became complete, and effectually prevented an accession of fresh political or ecclesiastical influences which might, perhaps, have been derived from the West. The fall of the Eastern empire removed the last prop of its splendour and activity. With this event closed the outward history of the Church under the ancient classical form of culture (1453). What of the Eastern Church still remained, was, under the pressure of Turkish domination, incapable of real history.

FIRST PERIOD

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

UNDER THE ANCIENT CLASSICAL FORM OF CULTURE.

TO THE YEAR 323.

Comp. *L. Moshemius*, Commentarii de reb. Christianorum ante Constant. M. Helmst. 1753. 4. — *A. Schwegler*, d. nachapost. Zeitalt. (the Post-Apost. Age). 2 vols. Tüb. 1846. — *F. Chr. Baur*, d. Christth. u. d. chr. K. d. 3 erst. Jahrh. (Christ. and the Chr. Ch. of the first 3 Cent,) Tüb. 1832. — *A. Ritschl*, die Entsteh. d. altkath. K. (the Rise of the Anc. Cath. Ch.) Bonn 1870. *Cave*, Primit. Christ. and Lives of the Fathers; *Burton's* Lect. upon the Eccl. Hist. of the First Three Cent.; *Kaye*, Eccl. Hist. of the Second and Third Cent.; *Jeremie*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch.; *Maurice*, Lect. on Eccl. Hist.; *Ph. Schaff*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch.

I. RELATIONS OF JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM TO THE CHURCH.

§ 21. HOSTILITY AND PERSECUTIONS BY THE JEWS.

Even in apostolic times the Synagogue was violently opposed to Christianity. To the Pharisees and to the mass of the people, who cherished expectations of a political Messiah, a Saviour who had been crucified by the Gentiles could only prove a rock of offence (1 Cor. i. 23). The position of equality assigned to the Samaritans, and ultimately even to the heathen, most deeply wounded their national pride, while at the same time the Gospel tried and rejected their work-righteousness and hypocrisy. On the other hand, the emphasis which Christianity laid on the doctrine of the resurrection excited the bitterest opposition of the Sadducees (Acts iv. 2; xxiii. 6). The same spirit prevailed generally among the Jews "of the dispersion." The men of Berea are expressly mentioned as forming an exception to this state of feeling (Acts xvii. 11). — At last, the fearful judgment of God burst over the covenant-people and the Holy City

(70 A. D.). In obedience to the prophetic warning of the Lord (Matt. xxiv 16), the Christians withdrew, and found a secure retreat in the little town of Pella, on the other side Jordan. But when *Bar Cochba* (the Son of a Star, called so in allusion to Num. xxiv. 17), the false Messiah, incited the Jews of Palestine to a general rebellion against the Romans (132), the Christians, who refused to take part in this rising, or to acknowledge the claims of the impostor, underwent a bloody persecution. In 135 Bar Cochba fell; and *Hadrian* founded, on the ruins of Jerusalem, Ælia Capitolina, a Roman colony, to which the *Jews* were forbidden all access on pain of death. From that time they were deprived of the power and opportunities of directly persecuting Christians. However, they shared in, and even excited the heathen to, persecutions of the Church. — In their schools — of which that of Tiberias was the principal — abominable calumnies about Christ and Christians circulated, and thence spread among the heathen (Celsus, see § 24, 4).

§ 22. ATTEMPTS AT RESTORATION AND REACTION ON THE PART OF THE SYNAGOGUE AND OF THE SAMARITANS.

In proportion as the fall of their commonwealth had rendered the Jews impotent, their opposition to the Gospel increased. They now sought safety against the advances of Christianity in fettering all inquiry by traditionary interpretations and human ordinances. This mental direction was fostered by the schools of Tiberias and Babylon. The *Talmud*, of which the first portion was compiled at that period, represents the antichristian tendency of Judaism, after it had fallen from its highest stage of development and become ossified as Traditionalism. — Some of the *followers of John* (Acts xviii. 24, etc.) also opposed Christianity, and, under the name of *Hemerobaptists*, formed a separate sect. The so-called *Sabæans* or *Mandeans* in Persia to-day, or disciples of John (compare § 27, 3) are probably the successors of that sect, which in course of time had admitted Gnostic elements. — While the first labours of the apostles were crowned with such eminent success, the Samaritans endeavoured to outstrip Christianity by introducing new forms of religion. *Dositheus*, *Simon Magus*, and *Menander*, whom the Fathers designate as Heresiarchs, disguised their Samaritan Judaism

under heathen and theosophic Gnosticism and goetic impostures, while each of them claimed to be the Messiah.

1. Dositheus pretended to be the Messiah promised in Deut. xviii. 18. He insisted on most rigorous Sabbath-observance, and is said to have at last miserably perished in a cave, in consequence of boastful achievements in fasting.

2. Simon Magus came from Gitton, in Samaria. He gave himself out to be the δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη,—was baptized by Philip, and solemnly warned and reproved by Peter, from whom he wished to purchase the power of giving the Holy Ghost. Afterwards he purchased, in a brothel at Tyre, *Helena*, a slave, to whom he assigned the part of the Ἔννοια who had created the world. In order to deliver *her* (who was held captive by the lower angels), and *with her* the world, held in bondage by these angels, he, the Supreme God, had come into the world in the form of a man, but without being really a man. He had, in appearance, suffered in Judea, and manifested himself to the Jews as the Son, to the Samaritans as the Father, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost. According to his teaching, salvation only depended on acknowledging him and his Helena as supreme gods: only *his* mercy, not good works, could save a man. The law had originated with the fallen angels, and was introduced for the sole purpose of reducing men to bondage. *The followers of Simon* developed the Gnostic system of their master, and gave themselves up to the utmost licentiousness. Irenæus speaks of Simon as the "magister ac progenitor omnium hæreticorum,"—and, in point of fact, his views embody the fundamental ideas of every later form of Gnosticism. Justin Martyr even imagined that he had seen at Rome a statue, bearing the inscription: "Simoni sancto deo"—a mistake this, explained by the excavation of a statue dedicated to the Sabinian god *Semo Sancus*. Of his discussion with Peter at Rome, we read only in the Clementines; of his projected ascension to heaven, in which he perished in the sea, in the Apostolic Constitutions.

3. Menander was at first a disciple of Simon, but afterwards preferred himself also to play the part of a Messiah. However, he remained sufficiently modest not to claim the honours of supreme deity, and only pretended that he was the Saviour whom God had sent. He taught that whosoever received his baptism should neither grow old nor die.

§ 23. PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Comp. Ad. Schmidt, Geshichte d. Denk- und Glaubensfreih. in den ersten Jahrh. der Kaiserherrschaft (Hist. of Intell and Relig. Liberty during the First Cent. of the Emp.). Berl. 1847.—*Fr. Münter*, die Chris-

tin im heidnischen Hause vor den Zeiten Konst. (The Chr. Female in the Heath. Family before the time of Const.) Copenh 1828.—H. G. Tzschirner, der Fall des Heidenthums (The Fall of Heathenism), edit. by *Niedner*. Vol. I. Leipz. 1829. — *H. Kritzler*, die Heldenzeiten des Christenth. I. Der Kampf mit d. Heidenth. (The Heroic Ages of Christ. I. The Struggle with Heathen.) Leipz. 1856.

A law of twelve tables had already interdicted throughout the Roman empire, the exercise of foreign rites of worship (religiones peregrinæ, collegia illicita). As religion was entirely an institution of the state, and most intimately pervaded all public and civic relations, to endanger the religion of the state was to endanger the state itself. But from political considerations, vanquished nations were allowed to retain their ancient peculiar rites. This concession extended not to the Church, as distinct from the Synagogue. Christianity had openly avowed its mission to set aside all other religions, and its rapid march of progress sufficiently showed that this was not an empty boast. The intimate connection subsisting between Christians, their closed meetings, which during times of persecution were held in secret, awakened and strengthened the suspicion that they were dangerous to the state. Their aversion to public and military service, mixed up as it was with heathen ceremonies; their refusal to offer incense to the statues of the emperors; the constancy of their faith, which equally resisted violence and persuasions; their retirement from the world, etc., were regarded by the state as indifference or hostility to the common weal, as hopeless stubbornness, as disobedience, rebellion, and high treason. The heathen, moreover, saw in the Christians daring enemies and despisers of their gods; and a religion which wanted temples, altars, and sacrifices, seemed to them no better than sheer atheism. The most shameful calumnies — such as that, in their assemblies, they practised abominable vices (concubitus Oedipodei), slaughtered infants and ate human flesh (epulæ Thyesteæ) — were industriously spread and readily believed. Besides, the most absurd stories, such as that they worshipped the head of an ass (Deus Onochoëtes), circulated about them. Every public calamity was imputed to the Christians, as being a manifestation of the displeasure of the gods whom they despised: "Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos!" The heathen priests, conjurers, and traffickers in idols, were also ever ready, for the sake of their own sordid interests, to excite the passions of the

populace. Even *Tacitus* speaks of the Christians as "odio generis humani," and "per flagitia invisos;" and Pliny the Younger, who knew so much that reflected credit on them, decries their religion as a "pertinacia et inflexibilis obstinatio," and as a "superstitio prava et immodica." Under such circumstances, we can scarcely wonder that for three centuries popular fury spent itself in a series of almost continual persecutions.

1. There may have been some historical foundation for the legend (however absurd at first sight it may appear), that TIBERIUS (14–37 A.D.), moved by the report of Pilate, had made a proposal to the senate to elevate Christ among the Roman deities, and when baffled in this, had threatened with punishment those who accused the Christians. At least, there is nothing in the character of Tiberius to render such a circumstance incredible.—At first the Christians were simply regarded as Jews; and therefore a number of them (Acts xviii. 2) were expelled from Rome when, in consequence of a tumult, the Emperor CLAUDIUS (41–54) banished the Jews from the capital. Much more serious were the persecutions of Christians (A.D. 64) which took place under NERO (54–68), on the occasion of a great fire which lasted for nine days, and which was commonly imputed to incendiarism on the part of the Emperor himself. Nero threw the whole blame on the hated Christians, and visited them with exquisite tortures. They were sewn into skins of wild beasts, and thrown to the dogs to be torn in pieces; they were covered with wax and pitch, nailed to sharp poles, and set on fire to illuminate the imperial gardens at night. The persecution was not confined to Rome, and lasted to the end of Nero's reign. Peter and Paul obtained at that time the martyr's crown. Among the Christians the legend spread that Nero had retired to the banks of the Euphrates, whence he would return as Antichrist.

In consequence of the suspiciousness and avarice of DOMITIAN (81–96), individual Christians had their property confiscated or were exiled. That monarch put a political interpretation on the kingdom of Christ, and accordingly summoned before him two relatives of Jesus from Palestine; but the marks of hard labour on their hands soon convinced him that there was no cause for his apprehensions. The humane Emperor NERVA (96–98) recalled the exiles, and refused to listen to accusations against Christians as such. Still Christianity remained a "religio illicita."

2. Under the reign of TRAJAN (98–117) commenced a new stage in the persecution of Christians. He renewed the former interdict against secret associations (the "Heteriæ"), which was soon applied to those of Christians. In accordance with this law, *Pliny* the Younger, when Governor of Bithynia, punished with death those who were accused as Christians and persisted in their profession. But, partly staggered by

/ Hetairiae
ἑταιρεία

the great number of persons accused, who belonged to every rank and age, and to both sexes—partly convinced by strict judicial investigation that the tendency of Christianity was morally pure and politically harmless, and that, as it appeared to him, Christians could only be charged with unyielding superstitiousness, the Governor applied for fresh instructions to the Emperor. Trajan approved both of his conduct and his proposals; and accordingly commanded that Christians should not be sought out, that no notice should be taken of anonymous accusations, but that if parties were formally accused and found guilty, they should be put to death if they obstinately refused to sacrifice to the gods. This persecution extended as far as Syria and Palestine. There *Symeon*, Bishop of Jerusalem, the successor of James and a relative of the Lord, after cruel scourging, died a martyr's death on the cross, at the advanced age of 120 years (107). *Ignatius* also, the excellent Bishop of Antioch, after an audience with the Emperor, was by his command sent in chains to Rome, and there torn by wild beasts (115).—Under the reign of HADRIAN (117–138), the people were wont, on occasions of heathen festivals, loudly to call for the execution of Christians. On the representation of *Serenius Granianus*, Hadrian addressed a rescript to *Minucius Fundanus* (the successor in office of Serenius), forbidding such irregular proceedings. But the legal prosecution for the profession of the Gospel continued as before. The legend—dating from the fourth century—that Hadrian had intended to build a temple to Christ, is destitute of all historical foundation. His dislike to Christianity and Christians appears even from the circumstance that he erected a temple to Venus on the spot where Christ had been crucified, and a statue of Jupiter over the rock where He had been buried, for the purpose of desecrating these localities.—Under the reign of ANTONINUS PIUS (138–161), the populace, excited in consequence of a number of public calamities, renewed its tumults against the Christians, from which, however, that mild Emperor sought to protect them. But the *rescript "ad commune Asiæ,"* which bears the name of Antoninus, is in all probability spurious and of Christian authorship.

3. Under the reign of MARCUS AURELIUS (161–180) the persecutions took a fresh turn. That Emperor, who otherwise was one of the noblest among the heathen, in the pride of his Stoic philosophy, looked with contempt on the enthusiasm of Christians. On this ground he gave full scope to the outbursts of popular fury, and introduced a system of espionage and of tortures in order to oblige Christians to recant. The result proved a great triumph to Christian heroism. We possess detailed accounts about the persecution at *Smyrna* (167), and those at *Lugdunum* and *Vienna* in Gaul (177). At Smyrna, the aged bishop Polycarp died on the stake, because he would not consent to curse that Lord whom for eighty-six years he had served. With his latest breath he offered thanks for having been deemed worthy of the martyr's crown.

More general and bloody than that of Smyrna were the persecutions at *Lugdunum* and at *Vienna*. Bishop *Pothinus*, a man ninety years of age, died in a loathsome prison in consequence of the sufferings to which he had been subjected. *Blandina*, a delicate female slave, was scourged in the most dreadful manner, roasted on a red-hot iron chair, thrown to the wild beasts, and then executed. But under all sufferings she continued her confession: "I am a Christian, and there are no evil practices among us." *Ponticus*, a lad fifteen years of age, showed similar constancy under like tortures. The dead bodies of the martyrs lay in heaps on the streets, till they were cast into the flames, and their ashes thrown into the Rhone.

The legend about the *legio fulminatrix* — to the effect that, in the war with the Marcomanni (174), rain and lightning had been sent in answer to the prayers of the Christian soldiers of that legion, whereby *Marcus Aurelius* had been delivered from imminent danger, and that in consequence the Emperor had issued an edict to punish all who accused the Christians — rests on some historical foundation, at least so far as the first part of it is concerned. However, the heathen traced this miracle to their prayers, addressed to Jupiter Pluvius. — Several of the succeeding emperors were favourable to the Christians; more especially did Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, show considerable favour for them, being influenced by the representations of *Marcia*, his concubine.

4. Septimius Severus (193–211), whom *Proculus*, a Christian slave, had healed from dangerous illness by anointing him with oil (James v. 14), was at first friendly to Christians. But political suspicions or the extravagances of Montanism changed this disposition. He forbade conversion to Christianity (203); and in *Egypt* and *North Africa* persecution again raged. In *Alexandria*, *Leonidas*, the father of Origen, was beheaded. *Potamiæna*, a virgin equally distinguished for moral purity and for beauty, suffered the most exquisite tortures, and was then to be given up to the gladiators for the vilest purposes. The latter indignity she knew to avert; but she and her mother *Marcella* were slowly immersed into boiling pitch. *Basilides*, the soldier who had been commissioned to lead her to martyrdom, himself became a Christian, and was beheaded on the day following. Not less searching and cruel was the persecution at *Carthage*. *Perpetua*, a lady of noble descent, and only twenty-two years old, with a babe in her arms, remained steadfast, despite the entreaties of her father, imprisonment, and tortures. She was gored by a wild cow, and finally despatched by the dagger of a gladiator. *Felicitas*, a slave, who in prison had become a mother, displayed equal constancy in suffering. In his mad attempts at combining all creeds, Heliogabalus (218–222) desired to amalgamate Christianity also with the others — a piece of folly which, however, secured a season of quietness and toleration. The eclecticism of Alexander Severus (222–235) was of a much more elevated character.

He placed in his *lararium* a bust of Christ, by the side of those of Abraham, of Orpheus, and of Apollonius of Tyana, and displayed kindly feelings towards the Christians. His noble mother, *Julia Mammœa*, at the same time, protected and encouraged the investigations of Origen. Severus caused the saying of Christ recorded in Luke vi. 31 to be engraven on the walls of his palace. Maximinus, *the Thracian*, (235–238), the murderer of that Emperor, showed himself hostile to Christians, if only to oppose the conduct of his predecessor, and accordingly gave full scope to popular fury, which had again been excited by earthquakes. Under the reign of Gordianus the Christians enjoyed peace; and Philip the Arabian (244–249) favoured them in so open and prominent a manner, that he has even been regarded as a Christian.

5. But with the accession of Decius (249–251) commenced a fresh, and indeed the first *general* persecution, surpassing in extent, combination, continuance, and severity, all that had preceded it. In other respects Decius was an able monarch, who combined the ancient Roman earnestness with firmness and energy of purpose. But this very circumstance induced him to resolve on wholly exterminating Christianity, as a religion equally hostile to the commonwealth and to the gods. Every conceivable means — confiscation, banishment, exquisite tortures, and death — were employed to induce Christians to apostatise. In too many cases these measures proved successful, the more so as the long period of peace had led to a false security. On the other hand, a longing after the martyr's crown led many of their own accord to rush into prison or to the scaffold. Those who recanted (*lapsi*) were either, 1. *thurificati* or *sacrificati*, who, in order to preserve their lives, had sacrificed to the gods; or, 2. *libellatici*, who, without having actually sacrificed, had bribed the magistrates to give them a certificate of having done so; or, 3. *acta facientes*, who made false depositions in reference to their Christianity. Again, those who openly confessed Christ, even amidst tortures, but escaped with their lives, were called *confessors* (confessores); while the name of *martyrs* was given to those who for their profession had suffered death. — The persecution continued under the reign of Gallus (251–253), being stimulated by famine and pestilences, although often arrested by political troubles. Valerianus (253–260) had originally been friendly to the Christians, but the influence of *Marcianus*, his favourite, changed him into a persecutor (from the year 257). At first the clergy were banished, and meetings interdicted. When these measures failed, Christianity was made a capital crime. At that time *Cyprian* of Carthage, and *Sixtus II.*, Bishop of Rome, obtained the martyr's crown The latter was soon followed by *Laurentius*, a deacon, who proved a hero even among Christian martyrs. When the Governor demanded from him the treasures of the church, he brought forward the sick, the poor, and the orphans of the congregation. He was roasted alive on a

red-hot brander. But GALLIENUS (260–268), the son of Valerian, on his accession, put an end to the persecution, and at last accorded to the Church a legal standing and free exercise of religion. Still, AURELIAN, shortly before his assassination, (270–275) issued a fresh edict of persecution, which, however, was not carried into execution. After that the Christians enjoyed more than forty years of repose.

6. In 284 DIOCLETIAN and Maximianus Herculius became joint Emperors. In 292 the two Cæsars, *Galerius* and *Constantius Chlorus* (in the West), were associated with them. Diocletian was an excellent monarch; but being zealously attached to the old faith, he hated Christianity as introducing an element of disturbance. Still the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus, political considerations in regard to the large number of Christians throughout the empire, and a certain amount of natural kindness, for some time retarded decisive measures. At last the continued urgency of his son-in-law and colleague, *Galerius*, led to the most terrible of all persecutions. As early as the year 298, Galerius commanded that all soldiers in his army should take part in the sacrifices, — a measure by which he obliged all Christians to leave the ranks. At a meeting between the two monarchs, at Nicomedia in Bithynia (303), he prevailed on the Emperor to disregard what had formerly been the causes of his toleration. An imperial ordinance to pull down the splendid church at Nicomedia was the signal for the persecution. Soon afterwards an edict was affixed which forbade all Christian meetings, and ordered that the churches should be pulled down, the sacred writings destroyed, and all Christians deprived of their offices and civil rights. A Christian who tore down this edict was executed. A fire broke out in the imperial palace, when Galerius immediately accused the Christians of incendiarism. The persecution which now commenced extended over the whole empire, with the exception of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, where the protection of *Constantius Chlorus* shielded the Church. Whatever tortures or modes of death ingenuity could devise were put in requisition. When, in 305, *Diocletian* and *Maximianus* abdicated, *Maximinus*, the colleague of Galerius, proved quite as bitter an enemy as his predecessors, and raised anew the storm of persecution. In the year 308 Galerius even caused all articles of food or drink, sold in the market, to be moistened or mixed with sacrificial water or wine. At last, when a fearful disease brought Galerius to a different state of mind, he ordered in 311 a cessation of this persecution, and in return demanded the prayers of the Church for the Emperor and the empire. During those eight years of unceasing and unprecedented persecution, Christians had given the brightest proofs of moral heroism, and of enthusiastic readiness to suffer as martyrs. In proportion, the number of *lapsi* was much smaller than it had been during the Decian persecution. But the command to give up the sacred writings had originated a new kind of recantation. Those who had complied with this demand were

called *traditores*. Some, instead of delivering the sacred, handed in heretical writings, on pretence that they were the sacred books. But the spiritual earnestness of that period was such, that these parties were ranked with the ordinary traditores, and, like them, were excommunicated.[2]

7. The fanaticism of *Maximinus*, who ruled in Asia, was not checked by the edict of toleration which Galerius had granted. He gladly acceded to the request of certain cities to be allowed to expel the Christians, and on memorial tablets of brass recorded his praise of those measures. He interdicted the building of churches, and punished confessors by the loss of property and by defamation — occasionally also with chastisement or death; and officially circulated the most abominable calumnies about Christians. In innumerable copies, he diffused the "acta Pilati," a malicious libel, of spurious heathen authorship, introducing it even in schools as an exercise in reading. But fear of his colleague obliged him to adopt more moderate measures. In Britain, Gaul, and Spain ruled, from 306, CONSTANTINE, the son and successor of Constantius Chlorus, who, with the Neo-Platonic eclecticism of his father, had also inherited his mild disposition towards Christians. In Italy, *Maxentius*, a savage and bigoted heathen, of obscure origin, had in 306 seized the reins of government. He also, from political motives, for some time extended toleration to the Christians; but antagonism to Constantine, who was friendly to them, ultimately induced him to make common cause with the heathen party. The usurper was utterly defeated in a campaign in 312, during which Constantine, as he maintained, was vouchsafed a heavenly vision. In the same year, this monarch, and his brother-in-law *Licinius*, who ruled over the east of Europe (Illyricum), issued an edict which gave liberty to all forms of worship. In a *second* edict, dated from Milan in 313, Constantine expressly allowed conversion to Christianity. *Maximinus* was under the necessity of giving his assent to these measures, and died in the same year. But gradually the friendly relations between Licinius and Constantine gave place, first to coolness, and then to hostility. The former threw himself into the arms of the heathen party; the latter adopted the cause of Christianity. Thus the war between these two monarchs, which broke out in 323, became also a struggle for life or death between heathenism and Christianity. Licinius was vanquished, and Constantine became master of the whole empire. — The incident in the campaign against Maxentius, to which we have above referred, is differently related even by cotemporary writers. According to Eusebius, whose account is derived from deposition on oath by the Emperor, Constantine having sought the aid of a higher power, had at mid-day seen in the heavens a luminous cross, with the superscription: Τούτῳ νίκα. Afterwards, in a dream, Christ had commanded him to make the cross his banner. In remembrance of this miraculous vision, he caused the splendid banner of the cross — *the Labărum* — to be made. (Cf § 42.)

§ 24. INTELLECTUAL REACTION OF HEATHENISM.

Comp. *K. Vogt*, Neoplatonismus und Christenthum (Neo-Plat. and Christ.). I. Berlin 1836. *Tzschirner*, d. Fall d. Heidenth. Lpz. 1829.—G. H. von *Senden*, Gesch. d. Apolog. 2 Bde. Stuttg. 1846.

For a long time the more intelligent adherents of heathenism had felt that if their system was to continue, it must undergo thorough reform and reconstruction. This was attempted during the Augustan age by introducing a *Neo-Pythagoreanism*, propped up by Theurgy and Magic. The principal representative of this direction was *Apollonius of Tyana* (*ob.* 96). In the second century an attempt was made to revive the secret rites of the ancient mysteries of the *Dea Syra*, and of Mythras. But all this proved insufficient. It was felt necessary to produce a form of heathenism which should meet the great religious wants as fully as Christianity had done, by its supranaturalism, its monotheism, and its universalism, and which, at the same time, should be free from the absurdities and incongruities that hitherto had attached to the popular creeds. This task was, in the commencement of the third century, undertaken by the Neo-Platonists. But they had as little power as heathen polemics, to stay the triumphant progress of Christianity. When heathen authors (Tacitus, Pliny, Marcus Aurelius, comp. § 23) make passing mention of Christians or of Christianity, they employ the most opprobrious or contemptuous terms; *Lucian of Samosata* simply ridicules it as a piece of absurdity (de vita Peregrini). The first heathen who expressly wrote against Christianity was *Celsus*, in the second century. With considerable ingenuity, and still greater hostility, he attempted to show that the religion of Christians was the climax of absurdity. The controversial writings of *Porphyry*, the Neo-Platonist (*ob.* 304), are more elevated and becoming in their tone. A much inferior position to that of either of these writers must be assigned to *Hierocles*, Governor of Bithynia, who, in his official capacity, took part in the persecution under Galerius. — These attacks were either expressly or incidentally met in the writings of the most prominent Christian teachers. They rebutted the calumnies and charges of the heathen; demanded that Christians should be treated in accordance with the spirit of the laws; they defended Christianity by proving its internal truth, by showing how it was confirmed by the walk and conversation of Christians.

authenticated by miracles and prophecies, and by its accordance with the statements and anticipations of the greatest philosophers, the sources of whose wisdom they in part even traced, directly or indirectly, to the Old Testament; and they endeavoured to demonstrate that the heathen deities had no claim upon worship, and that heathenism was a moral and religious perversion. (Comp. § 41, 1.)

1. Even Lucian and Apuleius speak of Apollonius of Tyana as only a renowned Goët and Magician. But, at the commencement of the third century, *Philostratus*, senior, excogitated a biography of Apellonius, in which he appears as a religious reformer and worker of miracles,—in short, as a heathen imitation of Christ. (Comp. *F. Chr. Baur*, Apoll. von Tyana und Christus. Tüb. 1832.)

2. It was the purpose of *Neo-Platonism*, by combining what was most elevated and best in exoteric and esoteric religion, in the philosophy and theosophy of ancient and modern times, of the East and of the West, to exhibit a universal religion, in which faith and knowledge, philosophy and theology, theory and practice, should be perfectly reconciled and combined, and in which all religious wants should be met with so much fulness, that, in comparison, Christianity itself should appear but one-sided, poor, and defective. The noblest spirits in the heathen world, which was fast sinking into decay, took part in this movement. The devout and thoughtful *Plutarch* of Chæronea (*ob.* 120) may be regarded as the precursor of this party. But, properly speaking, *Ammonius Saccas* (*ob.* 243) was the founder of the Neo-Platonic school, which was further developed especially by *Plotinus* (*ob.* 270), by *Porphyrius* (*ob.* 304), and by *Jamblichus* (*ob.* 333).

3. According to *Lucian*, *Peregrinus*, a Cynic, who had first been guilty of the lowest crimes, afterwards became one of the most prominent men among Christians; having been again excluded by them because he had partaken of some forbidden meat, he had ended his days by throwing himself into the flames during the Olympic games. In the person of this Cynic, *Lucian* ridicules the foolish hope of immortality of Christians, their readiness to become martyrs, their silly expectation of retribution in another world, the simplicity of their brotherly love, in which only impostors could rejoice as most useful to them, their credulity, their love of miracles, and their sombre antagonism to the world and its pleasures. From the life of the Apostle *Paul*, and from the martyrdom of Polycarp and of Ignatius, he borrowed the traits of the caricature which he drew. (Comp. *A. Planck* in the "theol. Studien u. Krit." for 1851. IV.)

4. The λόγος ἀληθὴς of Celsus is in great part preserved in the reply by *Origen*. That writer introduces first a Jew, who disputes the accounts furnished in the Gospels; then a heathen philosopher, who

shows the absurdity both of Judaism and of Christianity. Origen identifies the writer as Celsus the Epicurean, about the year 150; but from his own remarks, he appears rather to have been an eclectic philosopher. His polemics are acute but superficial, sarcastic but dishonest. According to him, Christ was a common Goët. — PORPHYRY wrote fifteen books κατὰ Χριστιανῶν. He was desirous of proving that there were contradictions in the Bible, ransacked the dispute between Paul and Peter in Gal. ii., declared that the prophecy of Daniel was a "vaticinium post eventum," and challenged the allegorical interpretations of Christians. He was also the author of a system of heathen (Neo-Platon.) theology (ἐκ τῶν λογίων φιλοσοφία). Of both works only fragments have been preserved.—HIEROCLES (2 books of λόγοι φιλαλήθεις) only reproduced shameless falsehoods about Christ and Christians, and placed Jesus far below Apollonius of Tyana.

§ 25. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

Amid the many persecutions through which the Church had to pass during this period, the Gospel rapidly spread throughout the whole Roman empire, and even beyond its limits. So early as 170, *Abgar Bar Manu*, a Christian prince, reigned at *Edessa*, the capital of the kingdom of Osrhoëne, in Mesopotamia. At the same period Christianity had found a lodgment in *Persia*, *Media*, *Bactria*, and *Parthia*. In the third century it had spread to *Armenia*. The Apostle *Thomas* is said to have carried the Gospel to *India*. In *Arabia*, *Paul* had laboured (Gal. i. 17). In the third century *Origen* was called to that country by a ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἀραβίας, who wished to be instructed in Christianity. On another occasion he went thither in order to settle an ecclesiastical dispute (§ 40, 5). From Alexandria (§ 17) the Gospel also spread to other countries of Africa—to Cyrene, and among the *Copts* (the aboriginal Egyptians). The Church of Proconsular Africa, especially that of *Carthage*, its capital, was in a vigorous, thriving state, and kept up close communication with Rome. In the third century Mauritania and Numidia numbered so many Christian communities that Cyprian could collect at Carthage a synod of eighty-seven bishops. Rome remained the central point for the Church in Europe. Colonies and teachers from Asia Minor formed in *Gaul* a number of flourishing churches (such as those of Lugdunum, Vienna, etc.). At a later period seven missionaries from Italy arrived in Gaul. Among them, *St. Dionysius* founded the Church at Paris. Among the Roman colonies in the countries

of the Rhine and of the Danube, flourishing churches existed so early as in the third century.

The insufficiency and the decay of heathenism were the negative the Divine power of the Gospel the positive, means by which the Gospel spread with such astonishing rapidity. This Divine power manifested itself in the zeal and self-denial of Christian teachers and missionaries, in the saintly walk and conversation of Christians, in the depth of their brotherly love, in the unshaken steadfastness and confidence of their faith,—above all, in the joyousness with which they met martyrdom under the most exquisite tortures. The blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church; and not unfrequently did it happen that the executioners of Christian martyrs immediately followed them in similarly suffering for the Gospel.* [In special instances, miracles and signs — the echoes of the apostolic age — may have led to analogous results. This is borne out by the evidence of men such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen, who in confirmation appeal to heathen eye-witnesses.]

II. DANGERS ACCRUING FROM A LEAVEN OF JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM REMAINING IN THE CHURCH.

§ 26. SURVEY.

Of almost greater danger to the Church than even the direct hostility and persecution of Jews and pagans, were certain Jewish and heathen elements imported into the Christian community. The unspiritual, unbending, and narrow formalism of the one, and the ungodly, antichristian tendency of the other, not only reappeared, but claimed equal standing with what really and distinctively was Christian. The attempt to force Christianity into the narrow-minded particularism of the Synagogue produced *Ebionism;* the desire to amalgamate Grecian and Oriental theosophy with Christianity introduced *Gnosticism.* These two directions were also combined into a *Gnostic Ebionism*,—a system for which the doctrines of the Essenes served as point of transition and connecting link.—The Church had to put forth all its energies in order to defend itself against this dangerous admixture of other creeds, and to clear its soil from weeds which spread so rapidly. What of antichristian Judaism had intruded was speedily overcome and cast out.

* Omitted in the 7th Ed.

But much more difficult was the contest with Gnosticism; and although the Church ultimately succeeded in uprooting on its own soil these weeds, many of their seeds were for centuries secretly preserved, and sometimes of a sudden sprung up into fresh crops. However, these contests also brought blessings to the Church; from them it issued with views more enlarged and liberal, with the deep conviction that scientific culture was necessary for its theology, and prepared by victory for new struggles.

Gnosticism must ultimately be traced to a peculiar and powerful tendency inherent in many minds during the first centuries. A deep conviction that the old world had run its course, and was no longer able to resist the dissolution which threatened it, pervaded the age. It also impelled many, by a syncretism the boldest and grandest that history has recorded—we mean, by the amalgamation of the various elements of culture, which hitherto had been isolated and heterogeneous — to make a last attempt at renovating what had become antiquated. While under one aspect this tendency was intended to *oppose* Christianity (by Neo-Platonism), under another the Church itself was drawn into the vortex, and by an amalgamation of Oriental theosophy, of Grecian philosophy, and of Christian ideas, a widely ramified system of most extravagant religious philosophy came forth from the crucible of this peculiar kind of speculation. This system bore the general name of *Gnosticism*. Various sects of Gnostics viewed *the Scriptures* in a different manner. Some, by means of allegorical interpretations, sought to base their system on the Bible. Others preferred to decry the apostles as having falsified the original Gnostic teaching of Christ, to attempt recasting the apostolic writings in accordance with their own views, or by Gnostic spurious writings to make up a Bible after their own fashion. The teaching of primitive sages, handed down by tradition as secret doctrine, they placed above Sacred Writ.—*Gnostic speculation busied itself with such questions* as the *origin* of the world and of evil, or the purpose, means, and goal of the *development* of the world. To solve these problems the Gnostics borrowed from heathenism its theory about the origin of the world, and from Christianity the idea of redemption. All Gnostic systems are based on a kind of *Dualism* of God and of matter (ὕλη). But with the Platonists, some regarded matter as *unreal* (having no real existence) and without form (= μὴ ὄν), hence as not directly hostile and opposed to the Deity; while others, in accordance with the views of the Parsees, supposed it to be animated and ruled by an evil principle, and hence to be directly opposed and hostile to the Good Deity. The theogonic and cosmogonic process was explained on the principle of an *emanation* (προβολή), by which from the hidden God a long series of Divine formations (αἰῶνες)

had emanated, whose indwelling Divine potency diminished in measure as they removed from the original Divine Source. These Æons are represented as being the media of the creation, development, and redemption of the world. The original matter from which the world was created consisted of a mixture of elements, derived partly from the kingdom of light (the πλήρωμα), and partly from the Hyle (ὑστέρημα, χένωμα). This mixture was differently represented as brought about by nature, chance or contest. The *world was created* by one of the lowest and weakest Æons, called the δημιουργός. Creation is the preparation and the commencement of *redemption*. But as the Demiurgos cannot and will not accomplish the latter, one of the highest Æons appears in the fulness of time as Redeemer, in order to accomplish the deliverance of the captive elements of light by the imparting of γνῶσις. As matter is in itself evil, the (*pneumatic*) Saviour had only an *apparent body*, or else at baptism descended into the psychical Messiah, whom the Demiurgos had sent. The death on the cross was either only an optical delusion, or the heavenly Christ had left the man Jesus and returned to the Pleroma, or else He had given His form to another person (Simon of Cyrene), so that the latter was crucified instead of Jesus (Docetism). According as the pleromatic or the hylic element prevails, the souls of men are naturally either *pneumatic*, and in that case capable of γνῶσις; *psychic*, when they cannot attain beyond πίστις; or *hylic*,—the latter class comprising the great mass of men who, left in hopeless subjection to the powers of Satan, only follow their own lusts. *Redemption* consists in overcoming and eliminating matter, and is accomplished through knowledge (γνῶσις) and asceticism. It is not an ethical but a chemical process. As it was believed that matter was the seat of evil, *sanctification* was sought physically rather than ethically, and thought to consist in resisting matter and abstaining from material enjoyments. Hence originally the system implied an exceedingly strict code of morals, but, in point of fact, frequently became the very opposite, and degenerated into Antinomianism and Libertinism. This is partly explained from the low views entertained by some about the law of the Demiurgos, and partly by the ease of passing from one extreme to another.

§ 27. EBIONISM AND EBIONITE GNOSIS.

Comp. *Gieseler*, Nazaräer und Ebioniten, in the kirchl. hist. Arch IV. 2; *Credner*, Essäer und Ebioniten, in *Winer's* Zeitschr. I. 2.—*A. Schliemann*, die Clementinen u. der Ebionitismus. Hamb. 1841; *A. Hilgenfeld*, d. clement Recognitt. u. Homilien. Jen. 1848; *G. Uhlhorn*, d. Homilien u. Recogn. d. Clemens Rom. Göttg. 1854; — also, *Hilgenfeld*, das Urchristenthum (Orig. Christian.). Jena 1855; and the same author's Jüdische Apokalyptik. Jena 1857. — *D. Chwolsohn*, die Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus. St. Petersb. 1856, 2 Bde.

Those Jewish Christians who, after the destruction of Jerusalem, continued in ecclesiastical separation from the Gentile brethren, either formed a separate sect or fell into open heresy. Both parties, though the distinction between them was not unobserved, were called by Origen and Eusebius by the common name of Ebionites. Jerome, on the contrary, distinguishes them by the different names, Nazarenes and Ebionites. In the sect of the *Elkesaites* or *Sampseans* we perceive that Gnostic elements had found their way among the Ebionites also, probably from their connection with the Essenes. In the system embodied in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, this Ebionite Gnosis was extended and developed. It now assumed an attitude of direct antagonism to Gentile Gnosticism and to Gentile Catholicism, laying claim to represent genuine ancient Judaism, which was said to be quite the same as genuine Christianity.

1. The NAZARENES—a name by which the Jews had originally designated all Christians (Acts xxiv. 5) — held *themselves* bound still to observe the ceremonial law, without, however, disputing the salvation of Gentile-Christians who abstained from its injunctions. They believed in the Divinity of Christ's nature, acknowledged Paul as being a true apostle, and rejected the ordinances of the Rabbins, but cherished a carnal kind of Chiliasm (*i. e.*, they expected a thousand years' reign of Christ on earth, after a fashion similar to that which formed the main features of Jewish ideas of the Messiah). The so-called Gospel of the Hebrews, an Aramaic recension of the Gospel of Matthew, served as the basis of their views.

2. The EBIONITES deemed observance of the ceremonial law indispensably necessary for salvation. They regarded, indeed, Christ as the Messiah, but held Him to have been only a man (the son of Joseph) whom, at His baptism, God had endowed with divine powers. His messianic activity they limited to His teaching, by which He had enlarged and perfected the law, adding to it new and more strict commandments. The death of Christ was an offence to them, under which they consoled themselves with the promise of His return, when they expected that a terrestrial kingdom should be set up. — The Apostle Paul, in their opinion, was a heretic, and deserved obloquy. They also had a gospel of their own.

3. The Fathers derived the designation ELKESAITES from *Elxai*, the founder of that sect,—a name which, according to their interpretation, meant *δύναμις κεκαλυμμένη* (חֵיל כְּסָי).

Their doctrines were a mixture of Essene, Jewish, heathen-naturalistic, and especially astrologico-magical, and Christian elements. The law — especially that of the Sabbath and of circumcision — was held to be binding; but they rejected sacrifices. They practised frequent ablutions, both for the forgiveness of sins and for the cure of diseases. In the Lord's Supper bread and salt were used. The use of flesh was forbidden; but marriage was allowed. Christ was regarded as being the Son of God by the Virgin. Next to Him they placed the Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, in the form of a female figure. The Elkesaites inhabited the eastern shores of the Dead Sea. According to Epiphanius, they were the same as the Sampseans = Ἠλιακοί. — More recent investigations (*Chwolsohn*, l. c.) render it probable that they are identical with the *Zabians* or *Mandœans* of the present day. Mediæval Arabic writers call these Zabians (from צבע = טבע, βαπτείζειν, to wash) *Mogtasilah, i. e.*, those who wash themselves. They mention *Elchasaich* as their founder, who taught two principles (the male and female). The earlier view of the original identity of the Zabians with the ancient Hemerobaptists and Disciples of John, may still be retained (§ 22); for the latter may easily have laid the basis for the formation of the sect of Elkesaites, and have perpetuated their Gnostic dualistic elements through Elkesai.

4. The Pseudo-Clementine System originated in the latter half of the second century. It was derived from a didactic work of fiction, which, however, claims to be regarded as a true story. *Clemens Romanus*, a noble Roman, philosophically educated, had, from a desire after information, travelled to the East, where he met with Peter, and became the companion of his missionary journeys. The peculiar *doctrinal* views of the work are gathered from the sermons and the discussions of Peter; the *historical romance* is elaborated in the scenes of recognition and conversion of the father, the mother, and the brothers of Clement. *Peter* is brought forward as the representative of what is alleged to have been genuine and original Christianity; *Simon Magus*, his antagonist, represents every form of supposed spurious Christianity, from his own teaching and that of his adherents (§ 22, 2) to that of the Apostle *Paul*, according to whom the law was abolished in Christ, and that of *Marcion*, according to whom the Creator of the world was not the Supreme God (§ 28, 10). The alleged motive for the composition of the book is this, that Peter, the founder and first bishop of the Church at Rome, had, shortly before his death, appointed Clement his successor, and enjoined him to intimate this to *James* in Jerusalem, as the head of the Church, so as to obtain his acknowledgment. — The Pseudo-Clementine romance is preserved in various modifications. The two oldest forms of it are — 1) the *Homiliæ* XX. Clementis (the first complete ed. by M. Dressel. Göttg. 1853), in Greek; and 2) the *Recognitiones* Clementis, in a Latin translation by Rufinus, in which the historical and romantic element is further carried out, while the doctrinal

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part is less full and somewhat expurgated. *Schliemann* regarded the Recognitiones as a later revisal of the Homilies; *Hilgenfeld* supposes the relations exactly reversed; *Ulhorn* modifies the statement of *Schliemann*, and supposes that the Homilies themselves were recast after some original work, and that both the latter and the Homilies had been used in the composition of the Recognitiones. — The *System of the Clementine Homilies* is based on Stoic Pantheism combined with Jewish Theism, and proceeds on the supposition that genuine Christianity was exactly identical with genuine Judaism. The author discovers some elements of truth and others of error in all the principal modifications of Christian, of Jewish, and of heretical religion. He *controverts* the popular belief and the philosophy of the heathen, the sacrificial worship of the Jews, the Chiliasm of the Ebionites, the ecstatic prophetism of the Montanists, the hypostatic Trinitarianism of the Catholics, the Demiurgos, the Docetism, and the Antinomianism of the Gnostics. From the Ebionite system he *adopts* his idea of the identity of Judaism with Christianity; with the Essenes, he agrees in insisting on abstinence from meats, frequent fasts, ablutions, and voluntary poverty (but he recommends early marriages); with the Catholics, as to the necessity of baptism for the forgiveness of sins, etc. According to this writer, *God* is pure existence (ἀνάπαυσις), originally a unity of body and soul. He reveals Himself as the Living One by expansion and contraction (ἔκτασις and συστολή, of which we have a representation in the heart of man). By this process the world was created, when the Πνεῦμα (σοφία) and the σῶμα (ὕλη) were separated and placed in antagonism. Thus the Monas became a Dyas, forming the first *Syzygia* (union) of antagonisms, which was followed by others, consisting of the Divine and the non-Divine (in *nature:* heaven and earth, day and night, light and darkness, life and death, etc.; among *men:* Adam and Eve, and after that, in inverse order, Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob). *Satan* had originated from an ungodly mixture of the four elements. *Adam* was the primal prophet who had already possessed perfect and absolute truth. In order to stem the growing corruption, Adam appeared under different names and forms, but always bringing one and the same truth. Thus he reappeared in Abel, in Enoch, in Noah, in Abraham, in Isaac, in Jacob, in Moses, and at last in Christ. But along with these revelations prophets of falsehood also came. Thus *John the Baptist* was the counterpart of Christ, *Simon Magus* (the disciple of John) that of Peter. In holy Scripture also Divine is to be distinguished from diabolic prophecy. Allegorical interpretations are to be rejected.

§ 28. GENTILE GNOSTICISM.

Comp. *Massuet*, diss. prævіæ in edit. Irenæi.—*A. Neander*, genet. Entw. d. vornehmst. gnost. Syst. (Genet. Develop. of the Princ. Syst. of Gnost.). Berl. 1818.—*F. Chr. Baur*, d. chr. Gnosis in ihr. gesch Entw. (Chr. Gnost. in its Histor. Develop.). Tübg. 1835.—*J. Matter*, krit. Gesch. d. Gnosticismus. Aus d. Franz. (Crit. Hist. of Gnost. from the French of J. M., by) von *Ch. H. Dörner*. 2 vols. Heilbr. 1833.—*J. A. Schmidt*, Études sur Irenée et les Gnostiques, Brux. 1856.

The many and diverse systems of Gentile-Christian Gnosticism may all be arranged under two great classes, according as notions derived from Grecian philosophy — more especially from Platonism and the study of the mysteries — or Dualistic and Parsee views prevailed in them. This arrangement almost coincides with that of the more prominent representatives of that class of heretics into *Egyptian* and *Syrian* Gnostics. However, it is impossible to keep them always quite separate, since the various forms of Gnosticism closely approximate and frequently merge into each other, and since, during their development, these heresies did not remain stationary. Gnosticism reached its highest point during the first half of the second century, especially during the age of Hadrian. In apostolic times (§ 19), those Jewish, heathen, and Christian Gnostics elements—which at the commencement of the second century appeared separated, attracted or repelled each other, developed and assumed form — had been a "rudis indigestaque moles." Even in the system of *Cerinthus*, who, as it were, stands on the boundary-line between these two ages, Gentile and Ebionite Gnosis are mixed up. But, not many years afterwards, *Alexandrian* Gnosticism was fully developed by *Basilides*, whose system is moulded after the doctrines of Stoicism, and by *Valentine*, who adopted the views of the Platonists. Another class of Egyptian Gnostics based their systems rather on Grecian and Egyptian mysteries than on Greek philosophy, and mixed the fables of heathen mythology with the facts of Scripture history. Among such attempts we class the various systems of the *Ophites*, which already show a certain hostility to Judaism, and a tendency towards Antinomianism. These tendencies increased and attained their climax in *Carpocrates*, who placed Christianity on exactly the same level with heathenism. — Of *Syrian Gnostics*, *Saturninus* is the

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most prominent; next to him *Tatian*, whose system, however, has even more of asceticism about it. The Gnosticism of *Bardesanes*, although he was both a Syrian and a Dualist, approximated that of Valentine; in life and doctrine he accommodated himself to the views of the Catholics. The Gnosticism of *Marcion* belongs also to the Syrian school. Setting aside the principles of emanation, of secret doctrine, and of allegorical interpretation, and laying greater stress on Pistis than on Gnosis, Marcion approximated more closely to orthodox views than any other heretical teacher had done; while, by his rejection of the Old Testament, and fanatical hatred to Jewish Christianity, he at the same time occupied a position of greater antagonism to the Church than others. The direct opposite of his system was that of the *Pseudoclement* (§ 27, 4). Lastly, independent of all these modifications of Gnosticism, *Manichæism* — a combination of Parseeism, of Buddhism, and of Christianity (§ 29) — made its appearance during the third century.

1. CERINTHUS was a junior cotemporary of the Apostle John in Asia Minor. He was the first to propound the peculiar Gnostic dogma of the *Demiurgos*, who, as Creator of the world, is represented as subservient to the Supreme God, without, however, knowing Him. Jesus also, who was the son of Joseph and of Mary, knew Him not, until at baptism the ἄνω Χριστός descended upon him. Before the crucifixion, which is regarded as merely a human calamity, without any bearing upon salvation, he again left the man Jesus. *Caius* of Rome, who ascribed to Cerinthus the authorship of the book of Revelation, charges him also with carnally chiliastic views.

2. *The Gnosticism of Basilides.*—Basilides (Βασιλείδης) was a teacher at Alexandria about the year 130. It is the characteristic and fundamental idea of his system, that every development of God and of the world was brought about by an influence from beneath upwards—not, as in the theory of emanation, from above downwards. His system commences with pure non-existence. Ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν οὐδέν. Hence, the principle from which everything originates is ὁ οὐκ ὢν θεός, — which from out of itself (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων) brings Chaos into being. This Chaos, though itself οὐκ ὄν, is yet the πανσπερμία τοῦ κόσμου. Thence two sonships (υἱότητες), of which the one was already weaker than the other, ascended to the blessed place of not-being (non-existence — τὰ ὑπερκόσμια); while a third, which still required purification, had to remain behind in the πανσπερμία. The latter, then, is the object of redemption. Next, the great Archon ascended from Chaos to the very boundary of the blessed place, of which he knew nothing, and founded there the *Ogdoas;* after him came a second Archon, who founded the

Hebdomas (the planet-sky). He reigned over the terrestrial world until Moses revealed the name of the great Archon. Only *Jesus*, the first-born of the third sonship, that had remained behind, obtained and spread the knowledge of the highest God and His kingdom. The sufferings of Christ were necessary for His own salvation, *i. e.*, that He might be purified from the elements of the Psyche and of the Hyle. Then He ascended to the highest God, whither, gradually, all other pneumatic natures are to follow Him. Ultimately, God pours out *great ignorance* over all stages of existence, that their blessedness may not be disturbed by their knowledge of still higher bliss. Such, according to Clemens Alexandrinus and Hippolytus, are the fundamental ideas of the system of Basilides. *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius* attach that name, however, to a totally different system — doubtless describing the later sect of the so-called PSEUDO-BASILIDIANS. In their system, the great Archon alone is represented as the highest God, the "pater innatus." But between the great Archon and the Archon of the Hebdomas not less than 365 spiritual spheres (= Ἀβραξάς, Ἀβρασάξ) intervene. Since the οὐκ ὢν θεός and the πανσπερμία had been discarded, it became necessary to adopt certain dualistic, emanatistic, and docetic views, such as that beneath the Pleroma lay an eternal Hyle, which attracted some particles of light and fixed them down in matter, etc. The Pseudo-Basilidians fell into Antinomianism and Libertinism. *Basilides* himself left twenty-four books ἐξηγητικά, and his son *Isidore* a work entitled ἠθικά. — (Comp. *G. Uhlhorn*, das basilid. System. Göttg. 1855. Also, *A. Hilgenfeld*, Die Jüd. Apokalyptik. App. pp. 289, etc. Jena 1857).

3. *The Gnosticism of Valentine.* — *Valentinus*, a teacher in Alexandria and at Rome about the middle of the second century, was of all Gnostics the most deep, ingenious, and imaginative, and his system is equally remarkable for its speculation and its poetry. Its fundamental idea is, that, according to a law inherent in the Divine Being, the Æons emanated in pairs, and with the difference of sexes. Every such holy marriage of Æons he designates a *Syzygia*. Connected with this is another peculiar view, according to which the three catastrophes of terrestrial history (creation, the fall, and redemption) had already occurred in archetype in the history of the development of the Pleroma. On this basis he reared a grand and most poetic Epos, consisting of a partly Christian and partly mythological theogony and cosmogony. From the Βυθός (or Αὐτοπάτωρ) and his Ἔννοια (or Σιγή) emanated fifteen pairs of Æons, which, with the Father of all, formed the Pleroma. Σοφια, the last and lowest of these Æons, impelled by a burning desire, forsakes her husband in order to throw herself into the Bythos, for the purpose of embracing the Great Father himself. She is indeed prevented from carrying this into execution — but a rupture has taken place in the Pleroma. Disorder and passion (her ἐπιθύμησις) is eliminated and driven forth from the Pleroma. This, then, is an

abortion, an ἔκτρωμα, which still possesses, however, an Æonic nature (κάτω Σοφία). To redeem and to bring her back into the Pleroma — such is the object of the development of the world. For the purpose of providing a Saviour and future husband for her, all the Æons combine in emanating a new Æonic Being, glorious above all measure — the Σωτήρ, or heavenly *Jesus*. Meantime, the κάτω Σοφία, which is also called Ἀχαμώθ, gives birth to the various grades of life in the Cosmos. All hylic natures are under the government of *Satan*, all psychical under that of the *Demiurgos*, while she herself directs those that are pneumatic. To his chosen people, the Jews, the Demiurgos sends a Messiah, the κάτω χριστός, on whom at baptism the ἄνω Σωτήρ descends. The Demiurgos is astonished, but submits to the will of the higher deities. The Pneumatics are led to perfectness by γνῶσις, the Psychical by πίστις. Ultimately, Achamoth returns with the Pneumatics to the Pleroma, where *she* is united to the Soter, and the Pneumatics to the angels of the Soter. The Demiurgos and his pious ones occupy the τόπος τῆς μεσότητος; but from the depths of Hyle bursts forth a fire which consumes them and itself.—Among the numerous disciples of Valentine we mention *Heracleon*, the first commentator of the Gospel according to John.

4. In its original form, the *Gnosticism of the Ophites* consisted of a phantastic combination of Grecian mythology and biblical history, both being mystically interpreted, just as the heathen mysteries had been by philosophers. Under all the modifications of this system, a prominent part was assigned to the *Serpent* (ὄφις, נָחָשׁ), either as being the evil principle, or else as the Agathodæmon. This is explained from the circumstance that, both in Egyptian worship, in the Grecian mysteries, and in biblical history, the serpent was prominently brought forward. Hippolytus describes, under the name of NAASSENES, one of the earliest forms of Ophite Gnosticism, of which the system is comparatively simple. In it the serpent was the Agathodæmon. More fully developed than this was the system of the Gnostic JUSTINUS, who adopted the whole Grecian mythology. He regarded the Nachash as an evil demon. The PERATICS, a party of which *Euphrates* and *Chelbes* were the founders, taught that it was necessary to leave Egypt (which was a representation of the body), to pass (περᾶν) through the Red Sea (the things that pass away) into the wilderness, where, indeed, the gods of destruction (represented by the fiery serpents which destroyed the Jews) awaited us, but where also Christ the Saviour (represented by the serpent which Mòses had lifted up) brought salvation and deliverance. The SETHIANS maintained that originally there had been two races of men — one psychical, at the head of which stood *Abel*, the other hylic, at the head of which was *Cain*. But with *Seth* commenced a third race, that of the Pneumatics or Gnostics. The Hylics had perished in the Flood, but returned in the descendants of *Ham*. A

last Seth appeared a second time in *Christ*. In direct opposition to this sect, the Cainites declared that all those persons who in the Old Testament had been described as ungodly, were genuine Pneumatics and martyrs of truth. The first who distinguished himself in the contest with the God of the Jews, was *Cain;* the last, who brought this contest to a victorious termination, by bringing, in his deeper wisdom, the psychical Messiah to the cross, and thus destroying the kingdom of the God of the Jews, was *Judas Iscariot*. Their Antinomianism led to the most shameless excesses. — The Ophites, whom Irenæus and Epiphanius describe, seem to have indulged in abstruse transformations of the biblical history in Gen. i. — iii., and to have derived their views originally from the system of Valentine. According to them, the Sophia-Achamoth precipitated herself into Chaos, where she gave birth to *Jaldabaoth*, the Creator of the world, who in turn renounced allegiance to his mother. But the star-spirits which he had created, and *Orphiomorphos*, or Satan, overcame him in turn. From a feeling of jealousy, Jaldabaoth had interdicted man from the tree of knowledge; but the serpent Achamoth persuaded him to disobey, and thus procured him liberty and knowledge. Jaldabaoth selected the Jews as his favourite people, sent prophets to them, and at last a Messiah, who was to obtain for them dominion over the Gentiles. On him the Ano-Christ descended, but the wicked Jaldabaoth now caused his own Messiah to be crucified. Before that, however, the heavenly Christ had already forsaken that Messiah, and, invisible to Jaldabaoth, sat down at the right hand of the latter; thus withdrawing from him any elements of light which he still retained, etc. — The book *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schwartze et Petermann, coptice et lat. Berol. 1851) is one of the latest and best productions of Ophite Gnosticism, strongly tinged, however, with the views of Valentine.

5. *The Gnosticism of Carpocrates.* — The opposition to Judaism, which had so distinctly appeared among the Cainites and the Ophites, developed, in the system of *Carpocrates* and his adherents, into open and pantheistic heathenism. They regarded Christ in exactly the same light as they did Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle. Genuine Christianity they held to be equivalent with philosophical heathenism; all popular creeds, especially that of the Jews, had originated with demons (the ἀγγέλοι κοσμοποιοί). True religion consisted in return to the lost unity with the "one and all," attained theoretically by Gnosis, and practically by transgressing the law of the Demiurgos. In this respect *Christ* had distinguished Himself before all others. In their temples they paid divine homage to pictures of Christ and of heathen philosophers, which they placed by the side of each other. The Carpocratians built in Cephalonia a temple to *Epiphanes*, the son of Carpocrates, a youth of great talent, but wholly steeped in vice, who died in the 17th year of his age. — At the close of their agapes they had "concubitus promiscuos."

6. *The Antitactes.*—Almost all the Alexandrian Gnostics ultimately landed in Antinomianism and gross immorality, on the principle that he who was perfect must be able to bid defiance to the law, (ἀντιτάσσεσθαι), and that in order to break the power of Hyle, it was necessary to weaken and to mortify the flesh (παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί) by carnal indulgences. Among them we reckon, besides the *Nicolaitans* (§ 19, 1) and the *Simonians* (§ 22, 2), the Pseudo-Basilidians, the Carpocratians, the Cainites, and also the PRODICIANS, who, as the sons of the king, deemed themselves above the law, which had been given to servants.

7. The first in the series of SYRIAN *Gnostics* was SATURNINUS, who lived at the time of Hadrian. According to him, the spiritual world of the kingdom of light had gradually emanated from the θεὸς ἄγνωστος. The lowest stage was occupied by the seven planet-spirits (ἄγγελοι κοσμοκράτορες), presided over by the God of the Jews. But from all eternity Satan, the ruler of Hyle, had been most violently opposed to the kingdom of light. The seven planet-spirits intended to found an empire independent of the Pleroma, and for that purpose made an incursion into the kingdom of Hyle, and partly gained possession of it. This they fashioned into the sensuous world, and created man, its guardian, after a luminous image sent by the good God, of which they had perceived the reflection. But they were unable to give man an upright posture. On this the supreme God took pity on the wretched creation of their hands. He imparted to man a spark of light (σπινθήρ), by which he was filled with pneumatic life and enabled to stand upright. But by means of a hylic race, which Satan created, he opposed the pneumatic race, and continually persecuted it by his demons. The God of the Jews therefore resolved to redeem the persecuted by a Messiah, and He raised up prophets to announce His coming. But Satan also sent prophets. At last the good God sent the Æon Νοῦς to this earth, arrayed not in a real, but in what seemed a body, that as σωτήρ he might teach the Pneumatics, not only to protect themselves by means of Gnosis and asceticism (abstinence from marriage and meats) from the attacks of Satan, but thereby also to withdraw themselves from the dominion of the God of the Jews and of His star-spirits, and to purify themselves from all communion with matter, in order to rise to the kingdom of light.

8. TATIAN (*ob.* about 174) came from Assyria, and was a rhetorician at Rome, where, through the influence of *Justin* Martyr, he became a convert to Christianity. But at a later period he adopted Gnostic views, which he zealously spread both in his writings and his teaching. He interdicted marriage as a service of Satan, and also the use of intoxicating liquors. On account of their rigid abstinence his adherents were called Ἐγκρατῖται, and also Ὑδροπαραστάται Aquarii, because in the Lord's Supper they used water instead of wine

9. Bardesanes, from Edessa (about the year 170), was a very learned man, and an able religious poet. In his sermons he did not oppose the teaching of the Church, but by his hymns diffused his Gnostic views. The same remark applies to *Harmonius*, his son, who also was a poet. A Syriac copy of Bardesanes' work περὶ Εἱμαρμένης has been recently discovered. It refutes the delusions of Chaldee astrology, but is itself pervaded by the views of Zoroaster. His view of the world was likewise greatly modified by Greek philosophy. He holds to three distinct principles of all being: the Φύσις, or laws of nature, the Εἱμαρμένη, or blind fate, and the God of Christianity, who executed the plan of Redemption.

10. Marcion, a native of Sinope and the son of a bishop, was a man of energetic but pugnacious disposition. Being excommunicated by his father on account of his pride, he betook himself to Rome, where *Cerdo*, a Syrian Gnostic, imbued him with his own peculiar views (about 150). The absolute and irreconcilable antagonism between justice and mercy, between law and gospel, between Judaism and Christianity, formed the fundamental idea of his system. Hence, besides the two principles of Syrian Gnosticism — the good and the evil God — he introduced a third, the *just God*, who was the Creator of the world and the Lawgiver. To the latter Judaism was subject, as heathenism to the evil God. At last the good God, who hitherto had been wholly unknown, in *free grace* resolved on delivering man from the dominion of both these deities. For this purpose he sent his Logos (who, however, differed from him only *modaliter* not *personaliter*) into the world in what appeared to be a body. By way of accommodation, this Logos gave Himself out to be the Messiah promised by the God of the Jews; He announced forgiveness of sins by free grace, and to all who believed imparted the powers of a Divine life. The Demiurgos, indignant at this, put Him to the cross (to apparent death), when He went to preach in Hades to those of the heathen who are susceptible of the Gospel, next cast the Demiurgos into Hades, and called the Apostle Paul to be the teacher of believers. — In a work — the Antitheses — he endeavoured to show that the antagonism between the Old and the New Testament was irreconcilable. Of all the apostles he only recognized the authority of Paul; the rest, he thought, had relapsed into Judaism. But he also rejected the pastoral letters (of Paul) and that to the Hebrews, and acknowledged only ten of the epistles of Paul and a mutilated edition of the Gospel according to Luke. He disapproved of all pomp and ceremonies in public worship, to which he also admitted catechumens and heathen. Strict asceticism, the use of only so much nourishment as was absolutely necessary, and abstinence from marriage, were incumbent on the "Electi." The moral earnestness and the practical tendency of his teaching gathered around him many adherents, and this sect continued much longer than other Gnostics.

To his query, "whether he knew him," Polycarp, who met him in Rome, replied: *Ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.*

11. HERMOGENES, a painter in North Africa (about the end of the second century), equally rejected the Catholic doctrine of creation and the Gnostic theory of emanation, since both made God the author of sin. He therefore assumed an eternal chaos, in the resistance of which against the creative and formative agency of God all that was evil and deformed had its origin. His views were refuted by *Tertullian.*

§ 29. MANICHÆISM.

COMP. *Beausobre*, hist. crit. de Manichéisme. Amst. 1734.—*F. Chr. Baur*, d. manich. Religionssyst. Tübg. 1831.—*J. E. Colditz*, d. Entsteh. d. manich. Religionsystems, Leipz. 1838.—*D. Chwolsohn*, die Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus. St. Petersb. 1856, 2 Bde.

Independent of Christian Gnosticism, which developed in the Roman empire during the second century, and more or less under the influence of Grecian forms of culture, and yet possibly connected with Elkesaism (§ 27, 3), *Manichæism* sprung up in the *Persian* empire towards the end of the third century. In many respects its principles and tendencies coincided with those of Gnosticism, especially with that form of it which the Syrian Gnostics had adopted. But Manichæism differed from Gnosticism chiefly in employing Christian ideas and notions merely as a gloss for heathen theosophy, in bearing no reference whatever to Judaism, in prominently bringing forward, instead of Platonic views, Persian Dualism, and combining it with Buddhist ideas. From the first, also, it laid claim not merely to the title of an esoteric religion destined for a few choice spirits, but to form a church of its own, with a regular constitution and an organized worship,—an attempt which, as the result proved, was not wholly unsuccessful.

1. Concerning *the person and history* of the founder of the sect, the accounts of the Latin and Greek Fathers often vary from those of Persian writers. The former are all derived from the reports of a discussion which Bishop *Archelaus* of Cascar had with *Manes* or *Manichæus*, and which still exist in a corrupt Latin translation.[3] In them the origin of Manichæism is traced to Scythianus, a Saracen merchant, an extensive traveller, who lived at the time of the apostles. A pupil of his, *Terebinthus*, who also called himself Buddas, wrote by his direction four books—of which, after his death, *Eubricus*, a liberated slave, obtained possession. E. adopted the doctrine of the books, carried

out more fully, in Persia became the founder of a new religion, and called himself *Manes*. He was even admitted to the royal court, but failing in an attempt to restore a sick prince, the jealousy of the Magi caused his downfall. But he escaped from prison, and found a place of concealment in an old castle Arabion, in Mesopotamia. Meanwhile he had become acquainted with the sacred writings of the Christians, and derived from them many additions to his system. Then he showed great energy in spreading his views, sending letters and messengers, especially among Christians. This led to the above-named debate with *Archelaus*, in which he was completely refuted. Soon afterwards he was seized by command of the King of Persia, flayed alive (277), and his stuffed skin was set up as a warning to others. — Later *Persian* accounts are much more credible (*Herbelot* orient., Biblioth. s. v. Mani, and *Silv. de Sacy* Mémoires, etc., Par. 1794). According to these, MANI, the founder of this religion, had sprung from one of the families of the Persian Magi. Although professing Christianity, and invested with the office of presbyter, he continued to cherish his early Parsee views. Amid the religious movements which, after the overthrow of the Parthian Arsacidæ and the accession of the Sassinidæ (227), had the revival of the ancient national faith for their aim, he conceived the idea of founding a new and universal religion, by combining Christianity with Parseeism. Accordingly, in 270, under the reign of Shapur I. (Sapores), he came forward as reformer and founder of a new party, claiming to be the Paraclete promised by Christ (John xvi. 13 etc.). Excommunicated by the Christians and persecuted by the Magi, he had to flee, and travelled through India as far as China, all the time gathering fresh materials for his religious system. After that he lived for a period in a cave in Turkistan, where he composed a work, full of gorgeous imagery, intended to express in symbols his doctrine (the "Ertenki Mani," the Gospel of his adherents). He then returned to Persia. The new king, *Hormuz*, protected him; but *Behram* (Varanes), his successor, obliged him to discuss his system with the Magi, declared them victorious, and caused Mani to be flayed alive (277). Soon after the founder's death the sect spread throughout the Roman empire. On account of its origin among the hostile Persians, Diocletian persecuted the party; while, on the other hand, the opposition of the Catholic state-church of the Roman Empire secured for it, at a later period, protection in Persia. By secret tradition the sect seems to have continued to the middle ages, when it frequently reappeared.

2. The ancient Persian Dualism formed the fundamental idea in the SYSTEM of Mani. The good God and his twelve Æons (Ormuzd and his Amshaspands and Izeds) were from all eternity opposed by Satan and his demons (Ahriman and the Dews). Attracted by the beauty of the kingdom of light, Satan made an inroad upon it. God appointed an Æon ("*the mother of life*") to be the guardian of the

boundaries of the kingdom of light. This Æon gave birth to the *ideal man*, who, together with the five pure elements (fire, light, etc.), entered into the contest, but succumbed and became a prisoner. God now sends another Æon, "the *living Spirit*," to assist him; but he arrives too late, as the powers of darkness have already swallowed up a portion of his luminous essence (the soul of the world, or the "Jesus patibilis"). The ideal man, so far as preserved, *i. e.*, Christ (or the "Jesus impatibilis"), is now transported to the Sun. From the mixture above mentioned God had caused the visible world to be formed by the "living Spirit," in order that the captive particles of light might gradually regain strength and freedom. Besides "the soul of light," every man has also an evil soul. The former is to gain victory and dominion over the latter by appropriating the elements of light scattered in nature, and principally in plants. This process of purification is superintended by the ideal man *Christ*, who resides in the Sun, and by the *living Spirit*, who resides in ether. On the other hand, the Demons attempt, by means of the false religions of Judaism and heathenism, to bind souls more closely to the kingdom of darkness. At last Christ Himself descends from the Sun in what appears to be a body, in order, by His teaching, to give liberty to the "souls of light." But the apostles misunderstood and falsified His doctrine; Mani, the promised Paraclete (not the Holy Ghost) is to restore it to purity. As such, he was the head of the Church. Under him were twelve apostles (magistri) and seventy-two bishops, besides presbyters, deacons, and evangelists. The community consisted of catechumens (auditores) and the elect (or perfect). The latter were to practise the strictest ascetism, to abstain from flesh, from eggs, milk, wine, etc., and had to remain unmarried (Signaculum oris, manuum et sinus). Baptism and the Lord's Supper—the former with oil, the latter without wine—formed part of the secret worship of the perfect. Oil and bread were regarded as those pure products of the soul of the world, which, in vegetable life, struggled after freedom (or the "Jesus patibilis"). Their principal festival was the anniversary of the martyrdom of Mani, when they bowed in worship before a splendid pulpit, the symbol of their divine teacher.—(Cf. § 54. 1. 2; § 71; § 103, 1.)

III. DEVELOPMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT, WORSHIP, LIFE, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

§ 30. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

Comp. *Ziegler*, Vers. e. pragm. Gesch. d. kirchl. Verfassungsformen in den 6 ersten Jahrhh. (Pragm. Hist. of the Forms of Eccles. Constit. during the First 6 Cent.). Leipz. 1798.— *J. W. Bickell*, Gesch. d. Kirchenrechts (Hist. of Ch. Law). I. II. Frkf. 1849.— *R. Rothe*, d. Anfänge d. chr. K. u. ihrer Verf. (Early Hist. of the Chr. Ch. and of its Const.). I. Wittb. 1837.— *W. Palmer*, Treat. on the Ch. of Christ. Oxf. 1838.—*J. Kaye*, Some Acc. of the Ext. Disc. of the Ch. of Christ. London 1855.

During the second century the Episcopate (§ 18, 2) became more and more a settled institution in the Church, till gradually the bishop was regarded as the superior of the presbyter. Among those who prepared the way for this result, *Ignatius* of Antioch (*ob.* 115) is the best known. In every bishop he sees Christ, while in his opinion the college of presbyters represents the apostles. But the later idea of an *apostolic* succession of bishops, which we find in the writings of Cyprian, appears not to have occurred to Ignatius. — The hierarchical tendency, inherent in the system of Episcopacy, was fostered and nourished by the idea of a *special priesthood* as of Divine institution. Old Testament views were transferred to the New Testament Presidents of churches. The distinction between the "ordo" or κλῆρος, and the "plebs" or λαός (λαϊκοί), once introduced, soon led to priestly claims of pre-eminence. As the congregations became larger, the functions, rights, and duties of the existing spiritual offices were more accurately determined, and new offices instituted for those on whom the more humble work devolved. Thus the clergy were arranged into "*ordines majores*" and "*minores*." The rural congregations which had been founded by the labours of Christians in neighbouring cities were provided with presbyters from these cities (the *Parochi*). If they increased in numbers and influence, they chose a bishop of their own (χωρεπίσκοποι). Where, in large cities, one church was not sufficient, *affiliated churches* were founded. Thus the bishop had gradually a *diocese* assigned to him. As the bishops of towns took precedence of those in rural districts, so naturally the metro-

politans, or bishops of capital cities, over those of provincial towns. But the title *Metropolitan* occurs for the first time in the decrees of the Council of Nice (325). In the common consultations which took place in the various capitals (the *Provincial Synods*) — which at first only took place when occasion required, but afterwards became a regular institution — the metropolitan presided. Again, among the metropolitans, those who presided over churches, which apostles had founded (*sedes apostolicæ*), especially those of Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Corinth, claimed pre-eminence. The idea of the *unity and catholicity of the Church* was maintained and carried out with increasing firmness, and became associated with that of the centering of that unity in the Apostle Peter, from a misapplication of Matth. 16 : 18, 19. Rome, as the metropolis of the world, where Peter and Paul had suffered martyrdom, claimed to be the *cathedra Petri*, and transferred the idea of a sole ecclesiastical representation to its bishops, as the successors of Peter. — The love of the brethren towards one another led to a closer connection of the churches, which was preserved by mutual communications. Christians on a journey, furnished with a certificate and letter of commendation from their respective bishops (epistolæ formatæ, γράμματα τετυπωμένα), were sure of fraternal hospitality. — At first the congregations retained a voice in the *choice of the clergy*, the decision being frequently left to confessors. — (Cf. § 45 etc.)

1. The "Ordines Majores" were composed of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons. As chief ruler, the Bishop had supreme direction of all affairs connected with his church or diocese. His exclusive privilege it was to ordain presbyters and deacons, to confirm those who had been baptized, to absolve the penitent, commonly also to consecrate the communion elements, and, at a later period, to vote in synods. The Presbyters were now only regarded as the advisers and assistants of the bishop. They took part in the direction of congregational affairs, in the dispensation of the sacraments, in preaching, and in the cure of souls, but only by special commission, or with the express sanction of the bishop. At a later period, when the requirement of churches demanded it, and the authority of bishops was sufficiently recognized not to require such safeguards, presbyters were entrusted with the entire and independent cure of souls, with preaching, and (at least in part) with the dispensation of the sacraments. — The reverse of all this took place with regard to the official position of the Deacons (Levitæ). Their authority grew as the duties originally assigned to

them were enlarged. From having at first only to take charge of the poor, they gradually came to take part in public worship and in the direction of the congregation. When commissioned by the bishop, they baptized, they prepared the communion elements, they distributed the cup, carried, after the close of public worship, to the sick or to prisoners the Lord's Supper, announced the commencement of the several parts of public worship, conducted the prayers of the church, read the Gospel, and preserved order during worship. Frequently they were also commissioned to preach. They commonly stood in more intimate personal relation with the bishop than did the presbyters; they were his intimate associates, accompanied him on his journeys, and frequently acted as his delegates and representatives at councils. — Among the "ORDINES MINORES" the office of *Lectores*, ἀναγνώσται, was the oldest. According to *Cyprian*, confessors were chosen in preference for this purpose. At a later period, the office of lector was commonly the first step in clerical promotion. The lectores read the larger sections from the Bible, and were the custodians of the sacred "codices." An office introduced at a period subsequent to this was that of *Subdiaconi*, ὑποδιάκονοι, who, as assistants of the deacons, filled the first rank in the Ordines minores, and hence (unlike the others) were also ordained by imposition of hands. For the purpose of conducting the service of praise, the office of *Cantores* (ψαλταί) was instituted towards the close of the third century. The *Acolythi* accompanied the bishop to wait on him. The *Exorcists* took spiritual charge of those who were possessed (ἐνεργούμενοι, δαιμονιζόμενοι), over whom they made the prescribed prayers and uttered formulæ of exorcism. As the latter also took place in baptism, their official duties brought them likewise into connection with the catechumens. The lowest rank was occupied by the *Ostiarii* or *Janitores* (θυρωροί, πυλωροί). — The larger churches employed special CATECHISTS for the instruction of catechumens (doctores audientium); and, where requisite, as in those churches of North Africa in which the Punic language was used, HERMENEUTÆ, whose duty it was to translate the portions of Scripture that were read. — It was the duty of the DEACONESSES (commonly widows or females advanced in life) to take charge of poor and sick females, to give advice to the inexperienced of their sex, and to take the oversight of female catechumens. They were not regarded as belonging to the clergy. — The clergy were ORDAINED by the imposition of hands. Those who had only lately or during dangerous sickness been baptized (*Neophyti*, *Clinici*), those who had been excommunicated or had mutilated themselves, were not admitted to orders.

2. So early as the assembly of the apostles at Jerusalem (Acts xv.) was to be found the type of synodal advice and legislation. But a similar institution had prevailed among the heathen. Under Roman domination, the ancient politico-religious alliances in

Greece and Asia Minor had indeed lost their political importance; but their meetings (*κοιναὶ σύνοδοι*, concilia) continued, as before, in the capitals of provinces, and under the presidency of the Roman governors. Even the similarity of the name seems to indicate that these meetings were not without influence on the later institution of ecclesiastical synods. From the peculiar circumstances of the times, they could not take place before the latter half of the second century. The Christians, who frequently could only hold their worship secretly and at night, were of course prevented from planning any such stated meetings for deliberation at a period earlier than the time of Commodus. But when a season of rest was granted them, during which their ecclesiastical arrangements could be made more freely and openly, these meetings of synods were instituted. The montanistic movements in Asia Minor (§ 37), and soon afterwards the disputes about the celebration of Easter (§ 32), gave the first occasions for these deliberations. At the commencement of the third century, the Provincial Synods had already become a regular and continuous institution. At the time of Cyprian, not only bishops, but presbyters and deacons also took part in the synods, and the people were at least allowed to be present. Moreover no resolution was to be arrived at without the knowledge, and, in a certain sense, the consent, of the congregation. Since the Council of Nice (325), bishops alone were allowed to vote, and the presence of the laity was more and more discouraged. The *resolutions of a Synod* were communicated to congregations at a distance in Synodal Letters (*Epistolæ Synodicæ*), and, so early as the third century, they were (according to Acts xv. 28) ascribed to the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit. — (Cf. § 43, 2.)

3. *The Unity and Catholicity of the Church.* — (Comp. *A. Möhler*, die Einheit d. K. (The Unity of the Church). 2d ed. Tübg. 1843. — *J. E. Huther*, Cyprian's Lehre von d. Einheit d. K. (The Doctr. of Cypr. as to the Unity of the Church). Hamb. 1839.—*Jul. Köstlin*, die kath. Auffass. v. d. K. in ihrer ersten Ausbild. (The Cath. View of the Ch. in its Early Arrangm.). In the "deutsche Zeitschr. für chr. Wissen." for 1855. No. 33 etc. — *J. L. Jacobi*, die kirchl. Lehre v. d. Tradit. (The Doctr. of the Church Concerning Trad.). I. Berl. 1847.—*J. H. Friedlieb* (Rom. Cath.), Schrift, Tradit. u. kirchl. Schriftausleg. nach den Zeugniss. d. erst. 5 Jahrh. (Script., Trad. and Eccles. Interpret. of Script. according to the Testim. of the First Five Cent.). Breslau 1854.) —The mission of Christianity — to become the religion of the world, to take possession of all nationalities and all languages, to pervade them by *one* spirit, and to unite them under *one* Head in heaven, implied that the Church was to be *one* and *universal* (catholic). An outward bond of connection was to express the inward unity of the Spirit. But the desire to form and consolidate a united and catholic Church might readily lead into error and dangers. Not heresy only, and immorality or apostasy, but every difference in outward form, con-

stitution, and worship, was regarded as a separation from the one catholic Church (the body of Christ), and from communion with Christ, and hence as implying the forfeiture of the hope of salvation. — This view became more prevalent in the second century, in proportion as the unity of the Church was endangered by heresies, by sects, and divisions. It was finally established, and, as it were, obtained its "magna charta" in the Church by the treatise of Cyprian, "de Unitate Ecclesiæ." In the position of ruler over a congregation, assigned to the bishop as Christ's representative, *Ignatius* of Antioch finds a guarantee for the preservation of the UNITY and CATHOLICITY OF THE CHURCH. According to *Cyprian*, the unity of the Church took its rise from the *Apostolate*, and is based on the *Episcopate*. The promise of Christ (Matt. xvi. 18) was given to *Peter* as the representative, *not* as the chief, of the apostles (John xx. 21). Through ordination, the apostolic office, with the promise attaching to it, had passed from the apostles to bishops. By their monarchical office the latter represented, in individual communities, and by their co-operation throughout Christendom, the unity of the Church (Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur). As formerly the apostles, so now the bishops, are on a footing of perfect equality; each of them is a successor of Peter, and an heir of the promise given indeed to Peter first, but given to him *for all* the others. He who renounces the bishop separates from the Church, and: Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Extra ecclesiam nulla spes salutis. The largest view taken of the promise in Matt. xvi 18 is that by *Origen*: Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητής. Λέλεκται τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ παντὶ Πέτρῳ. Besides the writings of the apostles, *tradition*, as preserved in the so-called Apostolical Churches, served as the rule and test of catholicity in government, worship, and doctrine. Indeed, since the apostolic writings were as yet neither generally diffused nor acknowledged, this tradition was, *previously* to and for *the purpose* of the settlement of the New Testament canon, even placed above the writings of the apostles. The common consciousness of the churches, based upon Scripture and tradition, presented the fundamental truths of Christianity as a "*Regula fidei*," which was to form the standard for the development, the acceptance or the rejection, of any doctrine. Thus the profession made at baptism, or the Symbolum, was gradually enlarged into the *Symbolum apostolicum* in its present form.

4. *The Primacy of Rome.* — (COMP. *Th. Katercamp*, ü. d. Primat d. Ap. Petrus und s. Nachfolger (The Primacy of Peter and of his Success.). Münst. 1820.—*Rothensee*, d. Primat d. Papstes in allen chr. Jahrh. (The Primacy of the Pope during all Chr. Ages). 3 vols. May. 1836.—*F. P. Kenrik*, The Primacy of the Apost. See vindic. 4th. ed. N. York 1855. — *Against the Primacy*: *D. Biondel*, traité hist. de la Primauté. Genève 1641. fol.—*Cl. Salmasius*, de primatu Papæ. Lugd.

1645.—*Ellendorf* (a Rom. Cath. lawyer), der Primat d. röm. P. Darmst. 1841.—*J. E. Riddle*, The Hist. of the Papacy. Lond. 1856, 2 vols.—*Th. Greenwood*, Cathedra Petri. Lond. 1856.)—The claim of the See of Rome to the Primacy over the *whole Church* is based on the view that the promise in Matt. xvi. 18 applied solely and *exclusively* to Peter, as chief of the apostles and head of the Church, and on the assumption that the Bishop of Rome is the successor of this prince of apostles, and hence the lawful and sole heir of all his prerogatives. Although the fable about Peter's episcopate at Rome was originally derived from the heretical, pseudo-Clementine writings (§ 27, 4)—a very suspicious authority—it was the more readily credited, as, considering the very different interpretation put at that time on Matt. xvi. 18, the inferences afterwards to be made from it could scarcely be foreseen. During the whole of this period neither did the Roman bishop nor any other person think of setting up any such claim. The only admission made, was that Rome was the chief among the apostolic communities, that there apostolic tradition had been preserved in greatest purity, and that hence the bishops of Rome were entitled to be specially heard on questions which, for decision, were to be submitted to all the bishops. In the meantime, the bishops of Rome rested content with, and sought to make the most of, such admissions. Nor does even the much-vaunted statement of *Irenæus* (3, 3) go further than this: Ad hanc enim (sc. ecclesiam Rom.) a gloriosissimis duobus App. Petro et Paulo fundatam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, h. e. eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio. Still, the opposition of Asia Minor to the Roman observance of Easter (§ 31, 1), and that of Cyprian about the baptizing of heretics (§ 32, 2), proves that even the tradition of Rome was not regarded as absolutely and unconditionally binding.—(Cf. § 46.)

§ 31. CELEBRATION OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

See *H. Alt*, der chr. Cultus. Bd. II. Das Kirchenjahr mit s. Festen u. die Fastendisciplin. Berl. 1858.

So early as the commencement of the second century the Lord's day was generally observed. Being a day of joy, the attitude in *prayer* was that of *standing* (and not, as on other days, kneeling); and *fasting* was likewise *interdicted*. Among the other days of the week, *Wednesday* and *Friday* were, in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, observed in public worship as days of vigil (*dies stationum*, in accordance with the idea of a militia Christiana). Being regarded as days of humiliation and repentance, they formed a kind of complement and,

at the same time, of contrast to the Lord's day. Thus in the cycle of the week, the idea of Christian feast days found a certain expression, afterward much more fully developed in the cycle of the year. Soon afterwards distinctively Christian festivals were introduced among the Gentile Christians after the analogy of the feasts observed by the Jews and the Jewish Christians, although in the case of the latter these feasts had been modified to bear a Christian aspect. The *Paschal* or *Easter* festival was regarded in a more comprehensive manner, and divided into a πάσχα σταυρώσιμον and ἀναστάσιμον. But so deep and overpowering were the effects of this remembrance of Christ's sufferings, that it was felt insufficient to observe only one day (that of His death). By and by it was therefore preceded by a season devoted to mourning, repentance, and fasting. After remaining for some time unsettled, it was gradually fixed as of forty days' duration, and became the *Quadragesima* (τεσσαρακοστή) of the Christian calendar. The solemnities of Quadragesima closed with those of the *Great Week*, while the *Easter vigil* (παννυχίς) formed a transition to the festival of the Resurrection. Easter was followed by the *Feast of Pentecost*, in remembrance of the origin of the Church. The fifty days intervening between these two festivals (*quinquagesima*) were regarded as a season of joy, when the communion was daily celebrated, fasting was interdicted, and the attitude in prayer was standing, not kneeling. Special solemnities distinguished the fortieth day, being that of the *Ascension*. In the *East* the *Festival of Epiphany* was introduced. It took place on the 6th of January, in celebration of the baptism of Christ when He had manifested Himself as the Messiah. But at that period we do not yet find any trace of an observance of *Christmas day*.—(Cf. § 56.)

1. *Disputes about the Observance of Easter.*—(Comp. *K. L. Weitzel*, d. Gesch. d. Passahfeier d. 3 erst. Jahrh. [Hist. of Easter-observ. during the First 3 Cent.] Pforzh. 1848.—*G. E. Steitz* in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1856, IV.).—During the second century Easter was celebrated on three different principles. The *Judæo-Christian Ebionites* (§ 27, 2) observed the Paschal Supper on the 14th of Nisan (= ἡ ιδ', *i. e.*, = 14), and considered that in this respect an exact adherence to Old Testament customs was of chief importance, especially since Christ, who had died on the 15th, had on the 14th kept the Paschal Supper with His disciples. The *Jewish Christians* who were connected with the *Catholic* Church, and whose practice was adopted in Asia Minor generally,

celebrated Easter at exactly the same time as the Jews; but they put a Christian interpretation upon the feast, omitted the Paschal Supper and declared that the remembrance of the death of Christ was the point of chief importance. In their opinion, Christ had died on the 14th Nisan; so that, in the strict sense, He had not celebrated the real Paschal Supper in the last year of His life. Hence they observed on the 14th Nisan their πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, and on the 16th the πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον. The fast before Easter closed at the moment when Christ was supposed to have expired (at 3 o'clock in the afternoon), and was followed by an agape and the Lord's Supper, instead of the Jewish Paschal Supper.—Different from these two Judaising observances was that in use among the Gentile Christians of the West, which, both in substance and in form, had no connection with the Jewish Paschal feast. In order not to destroy the harmony with the observance of the day of the resurrection on the Lord's day, it was resolved to retain not only the annual return of the ιδ', but also to celebrate it on the same days of the week. Hence, when the ιδ' did not happen on Friday, the πάσχα σταυρώσιμον was always celebrated on the first *Friday* after the ιδ', and the πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον on the *Lord's day* following. Besides, the Western churches observed the anniversary of Christ's death as a day of mourning, and the fast before Easter only terminated with an agape and the Lord's Supper on the day of the resurrection. For a considerable period these different customs of observing Easter continued without calling forth any controversy. The subject was first discussed during the stay of *Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna*, at Rome (160). *Anicetus*, Bishop of Rome, supported his mode of celebrating Easter by the tradition of the Roman Church, while *Polycarp* appealed to the circumstance that he had sat down at a Paschal feast with the Apostle John himself. Although an agreement was not arrived at, yet to give evidence of their entire ecclesiastical fellowship, Anicetus allowed Polycarp to administer the Lord's Supper in his church. But in the year 196 the discussion broke out afresh between *Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus*, and *Victor, Bishop of Rome*. The latter went so far as to wish for a cessation of ecclesiastical communion with the churches of Asia Minor. But this step was generally disapproved. Especially did *Irenæus*, in name of the Gallican bishops, pronounce in this respect against *Victor*. The general *Council of Nice* (325) decided in favour of the Roman observance, which, after that period, became that in common practice (§ 56, 3).

§ 32. THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM.

Comp. *J. W. F. Höfling*, das Sacr. d. Taufe (The Sacr. of Bapt.). 2 vols. Erlg. 1846.

From the commencement baptism was regarded as necessary in order to have part in the salvation of Christ, and as the con-

dition for being received into the fellowship of the Church. The Fathers uniformly connected baptism and regeneration. Hence, in theory, the *Baptism of Infants* was generally recognized, although it was not universally introduced. *Tertullian* alone decidedly opposed it. All grown-up persons who wished for baptism were called *Catechumens* (audientes), and as such had to undergo a preparatory training under a Christian teacher. Some, however, voluntarily and purposely deferred their baptism to the hour of death, in order that by baptism, all the sins of their lives might be certainly removed. After having received instruction by the catechist, the catechumens were to prepare for baptism by prayer and fasting; they had solemnly to renounce the devil and all his works (*abrenuntiare* diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus), and to make a confession of their faith before undergoing the sacred rite. In the third century, *exorcism*, or setting free from the power of the devil, was added, with a special formula hitherto in use only in the case of those possessed by evil spirits. Baptism was performed by thrice *immersing*, during which the formula of baptism was pronounced; *sprinkling* was only common in case of the sick (baptismus clinicorum); the water of baptism was set apart for the sacred rite. Immersion was followed by *anointing* (χρίσμα), as the symbol of spiritual priesthood, and by *laying on of hands*, according to Acts viii. 26 etc. Soon afterwards immersion came to be regarded as the negative part of baptism (the putting away of sin), and anointing and imposition of hands as its positive counterpart (the communication of the Spirit). In the East, presbyters and deacons were allowed to administer both baptism and the chrisma. In the West, it was thought that Acts viii. indicated that bishops alone had the right of the laying on of hands Hence, when the bishop himself had not administered baptism, the imposition of hands and the chrisma were afterwards imparted by him, by way of *confirmation* (confirmatio, consignatio). The usual *seasons of baptism* were Easter, especially the Sabbath of the Great Week (baptism into the death of Christ, Rom. vi. 3), and Pentecost; in the East, also the Feast of the Epiphany. No importance was attached to the place *where* baptism was administered. Soon *sponsors* (ἀνάδοχοι) were introduced at the baptism of children, their duty being to make a confession of faith in room and in name of the infant. Cf. § 58, 1.

1. The gradation among CATECHUMENS, according to which each class had special privileges, commenced about the middle of the second century. Its first traces are found in the writings of *Tertullian*. He distinguishes between novitioli and edocti or aquam adituri. Only the latter were allowed to take part in the homiletic portion of public worship. Origen also speaks of two classes of catechumens, and the *Apostolical Constitutions* of *three:* 1. *Audientes*, ἀκροώμενοι, who were allowed and bound to attend the sermon; 2. *Genuflectentes*, γονυκλίνοντες, who were also allowed to *kneel* at, and take part in the first portions of the prayers of the Church; and, 3. *Competentes*, φωτιζόμενοι, who, having finished their period of instruction, looked forward to baptism. The time of probation was fixed at between two and three years.

2. *Controversy about the Baptism of Heretics.* — From the close of the third century, it was a subject of controversy whether a baptism administered by heretics was valid or not. The churches of Asia Minor and of Africa answered this question in the negative; while Rome received, without rebaptizing them, such heretics as had been baptized in the name of Christ, or of the Holy Trinity. In the middle of the third century, this subject excited violent discussion. *Stephen, Bishop of Rome,* refused to tolerate any other practice than that of Rome, and renounced ecclesiastical fellowship with the churches of Asia Minor (253). The opposite view was zealously defended by *Cyprian of Carthage*, whose ideal of one church, in which alone there was salvation, seemed endangered by the practice of Rome. It was also advocated by *Firmilian of Cæsarea*, in Cappadocia. Three synods held at Carthage—the last and most influential in the year 256—pronounced decidedly in favour of this view. By friendly suggestions, *Dionysius of Alexandria* endeavoured to lead Stephen to more conciliatory views. The Valerian persecution, which soon afterwards broke out, proved a greater inducement to harmony and peace than any friendly counsels. Thus the dispute remained unsettled. But gradually the Romish practice came more generally into use, and was at last confirmed by the first *General Council of Nice.*

3. *The Dogma concerning Baptism.* — *Barnabas* says: ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ,—*Hermas:* ascendunt vitæ assignati; *Justin* regards the water of baptism as a ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς, ἐξ οὗ ἀναγεννήθημεν; according to *Irenæus* it effects a ἕνωσις πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν; *Tertullian* says: supervenit spiritus de cœlis,—caro spiritualiter mundatur; *Cyprian* speaks of an unda genitalis, a nativitas secunda in novum hominem; *Firmilian* says: nativitas, quæ est in baptismo, filios Dei generat; *Origen* calls baptism χαρισμάτων θείων ἀρχὴν καὶ πηγήν.—Of the *baptism of blood* in martyrdom, *Tertullian* says: lavacrum non acceptum repræsentat et perditum reddit. *Hermas* and *Clemens Alex.* suppose that pious heathens and Jews had preaching and baptism in Hades.

§ 33. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Comp. *F. Brenner* (Rom. Cath.), Verricht. u. Ausspend. d. Euchar. von Christus bis auf unsere Zeit. (Administr. of the Euchar. from the Time of Chr. to our Days). Bamb. 1824.—*Th. Harnack u. Kliefoth*, ll. cc. in § 18, 5.—*R. Rothe*, de disciplina arcani. Heidelb. 1831.—*J. W. F. Höfling*, d. Lehre d. alt. K. vom Opfer (The Teach. of the Old Ch. abt. the Sacr.). Erlg. 1851.—*Ph. Marheineke*, ss. Pp. de præsentia Chr. in Cœna Dom. sententia triplex. Heidelb. 1811. 4. In answer to this, *J. Döllinger* (Rom. Cath.) die Lehre v. d. Euch. in d. 3 ersten Jahrh. (The Doctr. of the Euch. in the Three First Cent.) May. 1826.—*Rinck*, Lehrbegr. vom h. Abdm. in d. erst. Jahrh. (Doctr. of the L. Supper in the First Cent.), in the "hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1853. III.—*Ebrard*, d. Dogma v. h. Abdm. 2 vols. Frkf. 1845.—*Kahnis*, d. Lehre v. Abdm. Lpz. 1851.—*L. J. Rückert*, d. Abendm. Lpz. 1856.

At first the Lord's Supper was always connected with an *agape* (§ 18, 5). But when Trajan published a stringent edict against Hetæria (§ 23, 2), the Christians intermitted the agapes, of which the prohibition was implied in the above edict, and connected the observance of the Lord's Supper with the ordinary homiletic public worship on the Lord's day. This continued the practice even after the celebration of the agape was again resumed. In connection with the arrangement about the catechumens, public worship was divided into a missa *catechumenorum* and a missa *fidelium*. From the latter, all who had not been baptized, who were under discipline, or were possessed by an unclean spirit, were excluded. This gave rise to the view, that a mystery attached to the celebration of the Lord's Supper (*disciplina arcani*). The circumstance that originally the agape and the Lord's Supper were celebrated together, led to the custom of making voluntary offerings (*oblationes*) for the purpose of procuring the provisions requisite for the agape.—*The bread* used in the sacrament was the same as that in common use, hence leavened (κοινὸς ἄρτος); the *wine* also was, as in common use, mixed with water (κρᾶμα), which *Cyprian* regarded as symbolical of the union of Christ with the Church. In the African and Eastern Churches, John vi. 53 was interpreted as applying to the communion of *children*, who (of course, after baptism) were admitted to this ordinance. As early as the third century simple forms expanded into an elaborate *sacramental liturgy*, which has remained the basis of all later pro-

ductions of this kind. At the close of public worship the deacons carried the consecrated elements to the sick and to the prisoners of the congregation. In some places, part of the consecrated bread was carried home and partaken in the family at morning prayers, in order thus to set apart for God a new day. *Confession*, in the proper sense of the term, did not precede the communion. The discipline exercised by the Church, and the liturgical arrangements in use at the time, were such, that special confession seemed not requisite. — (§ 58, 4.)

1. At the time of *Justin Martyr*, the *Sacramental Liturgy* was still very simple. The common prayer which closed the public worship was followed by a *fraternal kiss;* after that the elements were brought to the bishop, who set them apart in a prayer of thanksgiving and praise (εὐχαριστία). The people responded by an *Amen*, and the presbyters or deacons carried to all present the consecrated elements. From the above prayer the whole service obtained the name of the Eucharist, evidently because it was held that, by the consecration prayer, the common became sacramental bread — the body and blood of the Lord. The liturgy in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which may be regarded as the type of public worship at the close of the third century, is much more complete. There the *missa catechumenorum* included prayer, praise, reading of the Bible, and the sermon (§ 34). At the close of the sermon, catechumens, penitents, and those who were possessed, were successively dismissed. The *missa fidelium* then commenced with a general intercessory prayer. After this followed various collects and responses, then the fraternal kiss, a warning against unworthy communicating, the preparation of the elements, the sign of the cross, the consecration prayer, the words of the institution, the elevation of the consecrated elements — all being accompanied by suitable prayers, hymns, doxologies, and responses. The bishop or presbyter gave the bread with the words, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ; the deacon the cup, with the words, Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς. At the close, the congregation, on their knees, received the benediction of the bishop, and the deacon dismissed them with the words, Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.— (Cf. § 59, 4.)

2. *The Diciplina Arcani.*—Neither in Justin Martyr nor in Irenæus do we find any trace of the view that the sacramental portions of public worship (among which the rites of the Lord's Supper with their prayers and hymns, the Lord's Prayer, the administration of baptism, the symbolum, the chrisma, and the ordination of priests, were included) were regarded as mysteries (μυστικὴ λατρεία, τελετή), to be carefully kept from all unbaptized persons, and only made known to members of the Church (σιωπῶσαις). *Justin*, in his apology, addressed specially to the heathen, even described in detail the rites observed in

the Lord's Supper. The view to which we referred originated at the time of Tertullian (170–180), and was specially due to the institution of the catechumenate, and the division of public worship to which it led, from the second part of which all unbaptized persons were excluded.

3. *The Dogma of the Lord's Supper.*—This doctrine was not clearly developed, although it was generally realized that the Lord's Supper was a most holy mystery, and indispensable food of eternal life, that the body and blood of the Lord were mystically connected with the bread and wine, and that thus those who in faith partook of this meat enjoyed essential communion with Christ. On this supposition alone can we account for the reproach of the heathen, who spoke of the sacrament as feasts of Thyestes. (§ 23). *Ignatius* calls the Lord's Supper a φάρμακον ἀθανασίας,* and admits εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος; *Justin* says: σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. According to *Irenæus*, it is not "communis panis, sed eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti;" and in consequence of partaking it, our bodies are "jam non corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia." *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* also adopt similar views, while at the same time they represent, in some passages, the Lord's Supper rather as a symbol. The spiritualistic Alexandrians, *Clement* and *Origen*, consider that it is the object of the Lord's Supper that the soul should be fed by the Divine Word. — (Cf. § 58, 2.)

4. *The Sacrificial Theory.*—When once the idea of a priesthood (§ 30) had gained a footing, the cognate notion of sacrifice could not for any time be kept out. The Lord's Supper offered several points of connection for this view. First, the consecrating *prayer*, which was regarded of such importance as to give its name to the whole service (εὐχαριστία), might be regarded as a spiritual sacrifice; next, names derived from terms applied to sacrificial worship were given to those offerings which the congregation made for the Lord's Supper (προσφοραί, oblationes.) And as the *congregation* offered its gifts *for* the Lord's Supper, so the *priest* offered them again *in* the Lord's Supper; and to this act also the terms προσφέρειν, ἀναφέρειν, were applied. Ultimately, as the prayer, so the Lord's Supper itself, was designated as θυσία, sacrificium, although at first only in a figurative sense. — (Cf. § 58, 2.)

§ 34. READING, SERMON, PRAYER AND SINGING.

Comp. *Chr. W. F. Walch*, krit. Unters. vom Gebrauch d. h. Schr. in d. 4 erst. Jahrh. (Crit. Inq. into the Use of the Script. during the First Four Cent.). Lpz. 1779.—*T. G. Hegelmaier*, Gesch. d. Bibelverbots (Hist. of the Prohibition of the Bible). Ulm. 1783. — *E. Leopold*, d. Predigtamt im Urchristenth. (The office of Preach. in the First Ages.)

* The cup a ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος Χρ.

Lünob. 1846. — *M. Gerbert*, de cantu et musica a prima eccl. ætate Bamb. 1774. 2 Voll. 4.—*L. Buchegger*, de Orig. s. Poëseos. Frib. 1827 —*K. Buhl*, der Kirchenges. in der griech. K. bis auf Chrysost. (Ch Music in the Gr. Ch. to the Time of Chrys.), in the "hist. theol Zeitschr." for 1848. II.

Following the arrangement in the Jewish synagogue, the *reading of the Scriptures* (ἀνάγνωσις, lectio), formed the fundamental part on every occasion of public worship. The person officiating was left free to select any portions of the Bible. In general, this duty was assigned to special *readers*, although, by way of distinction, the gospels were frequently read by the deacons, the congregation standing as a mark of their respect.— Besides the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments, other edifying works, such as the productions of the apostolic Fathers (especially the Shepherd of Hermas and the Letter of Clement), the Acts of Martyrs, and certain apocryphal works, were also read in some congregations. After reading, the bishop, or by his order the presbyter, the deacon, and occasionally the catechist (Origen), delivered an expository and practical *discourse* (ὁμιλία, λόγος, sermo, tractatus). In the Greek Church this speedily assumed the form of an artificial and rhetorical composition. The Word of God having thus been read and explained, the congregation responded in *prayers*, which either the bishop or the deacon conducted, at first *ex tempore*, but at a comparatively early period according to a fixed liturgy. At short intervals the congregation responded to each prayer by Κύριε ἐλέησον. In the third century, when the forms of public worship became more composite, suitable prayers were introduced at various stages of the service, designed respectively for catechumens, for those who were possessed, and for those under discipline. These were followed by a general prayer of the church for all classes of men, for all states and requirements in the congregation, and lastly by the prayers which introduced the celebration of the Eucharist. *Singing of Psalms and Hymns* had been in use since apostolic times (§ 18, 5). — After the second century, this part of worship was enlarged and developed.

1. *The Doctrine of Inspiration.* — At first theologians (following Philo) regarded the prophetic inspiration of the sacred writers as something merely passive, as an ἔκστασις. *Athenagoras* compared the soul of the prophet to a flute, *Justin Martyr* to a lyre, touched by the Holy Spirit as by the plectrum. But the pretensions of the Montanistic

prophets brought this view into discredit. Some of the writers of the Alexandrian school held that, in a certain sense, the Holy Spirit had also influenced the choicest minds in the heathen world. This theory led to a lower view of inspiration generally. *Origen*, especially, was wont to teach a certain gradation in the inspiration of the Bible, according as human individuality appeared more or less prominently in the sacred writings.

2. *Marcion* was the first to collect a NEW TESTAMENT CANON, about the year 150 (§ 28, 10). The list known by the name of *Muratori's Canon* dates from about twenty years later. It consists of a fragment found by *Muratori*, containing an index of the sacred writings received in the Roman Church. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius*, are our principal authorities for a still later period. From the time of *Irenæus* and the *Muratori* fragment, the Four Gospels, the Book of Acts, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews (which, however, in the West was not regarded as of Pauline authorship), the First Epistles of Peter and of John, and the Book of Revelation, were universally recognized as canonical. Hence Eusebius designates them ὁμολογούμενα. Opinions differed about the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, and that of Jude (ἀντιλεγόμενα). A third class of writings, which laid no claim to canonicity, Eusebius designates as νόθα (the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the "Acta Pauli," etc.). — (Cf. § 59, 1.)

3. *Translations of the Bible.* — As Hebrew was almost entirely unknown, even the learned perused the Old Testament only in the translation of the LXX. In the second century, several Latin translations circulated, among which the *Itala* was that most in repute. Since the second century, a Syriac translation also existed. It was called the PESHITO, *i. e.*, plana, simplex, as it gave the words of the original literally and without circumscription. — (Cf. § 59, 1.)

4. *Hymnology.* — When Pliny (§ 23, 2) referred to the practice "carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem," he must have alluded to special hymns, with hypophonic responses on the part of the congregation. *Tertullian* and *Origen* bear frequent testimony to the existence of numerous hymns adapted for public and family worship. The Gnostics (Bardesanes and Harmonius) seem for a time to have been more distinguished than the Catholics in the composition of hymns, and thereby to have stimulated the latter to greater zeal. Among Catholic hymn writers, *Athenogenes*, a martyr, and *Nepos*, an Egyptian bishop, are mentioned. A hymn εἰς Σωτῆρα, by *Clemens Alex.*, has been handed down. *Socrates* ascribes to *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, the introduction of antiphonies (between different choirs in the congregation). However, the statement of Theodoret, that about the year

250 *Flavian* and *Diodor*, two monks of Antioch, had imported this form of worship from the national Syrian into the Græco-Syrian Church, appears to us more trustworthy. — (Cf. § 59, 2.)

§ 35. PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP AND INFLUENCE OF ART.

Comp. *G. Kinkel*, Gesch. d. bild. Künste (Hist. of Art). I. Bonn 1845. — *Ch. F. Bellermann*, die ält. chr. Begräbnissstät. (The Anc. Chr. Places of Sepult.). Hamb. 1839.—*F. Münter*, Sinnbild. u. Kunstvorstell. d. alt. Christen. (Emblems and Artist. Ideas of the Anc. Christ.). Altona 1825.—*F. Piper*, Mythol. u. Symbol. der chr. Kunst. (Mythol. and Symb. of Chr. Art). Weim. 1847.

The first unequivocal mention of buildings specially designed for public worship occurs in the writings of Tertullian (at the close of the second century). At the time of Diocletian, a splendid church stood close by the imperial residence in the city of Nicomedia, and proudly overshadowed it (§ 23, 6). At the commencement of the fourth century, Rome numbered more than forty churches. We are, however, entirely ignorant of the form and arrangement of these churches. But the Apostolic Constitutions already enjoin that they should be oblong, and so placed as to point to the east. *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* mention an *altar* for the preparation of the Lord's Supper, and a *desk* for reading. During the times of persecution Christian worship required, of course, to be held in secret — in caves, in deserts, in places of sepulture, and in catacombs. But even at other times the Christians liked to celebrate worship in places where believers were buried (*cemeteries*) and in catacombs, in order to manifest that communion in Christ continued beyond death and the grave. — (Cf. § 36, 1, 4).

The Arts. — The early Christians inherited from Judaism a dislike to the arts. This feeling was not a little increased by their antagonism to the artistic worship of heathenism, by a spirit of outward separation from the world, which was called forth and fostered during the early persecutions, and by a one-sided interpretation of the statement of Christ concerning the worship of God in spirit and in truth. But, considering the artistic taste of the Greeks, this aversion could not last. How strong the reaction had become, even at the time of Tertullian, may be gathered from his violent opposition. The first distinctively Christian works of art consisted of emblems, used, however, only in domestic and private life, on the walls of dwellings, cups, rings, etc.; next the catacombs were adorned; and, lastly, in the fourth century, the churches. The emblems most in use were the *monogram* of the

name *Christ*, consisting of an intertwining of the letters X and P. Frequently the letter P terminated in an anchor, and the letter X was surrounded by the letters α and ω (Rev. i. 8). A symbol much in use was that of a fish, of which the name, ἰχθύς, served as an anagram (Ἰησ. Χρ. Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ), and which at the same time reminded of the water of life and of the water of baptism. Besides, we also meet with the representation of a *ship*, of a *dove*, of an *anchor* (Heb. vi. 19), of a *fisherman* (Matt. iv. 19), of a *crown* (Rev. ii. 10), of a *vine* (John xv.), of a *palm-tree* (Rev. vii. 9), of a *cock* (John xviii. 27), of a *phœnix* (as symbol of the resurrection), of a *hart* (Ps. xlii. 1), of a *lamb* (John i. 29), of a *shepherd* who carries on his shoulder the lost sheep that had been found (Luke xv.), etc. — By and by these symbols led to the use of *types*. Old Testament histories were now depicted: from that it required only another step to delineate New Testament events. — So late as the year 305, the *Synod of Illiberis* (Elvira) interdicted the use of pictures in churches. — During this period, only Gnostics (the Carpocratians) and heathens (as in the Lararium of Alexander Severus, § 23, 4) made use of images of Christ. From Isaiah liii. 2, 3, the Catholics inferred that the outward appearance of the Saviour had been the opposite of atttractive. — (Cf. § 57, 4; 60, 4.)

§ 36. LIFE, MANNERS, AND DISCIPLINE.

Comp. *G. Arnold*, erste Liebe, d. i. wahre Abbild. d. ersten Christen (First Love, *i. e.*, Faithful Portrait. of the First Chr.). Frkf. 1696. — *C. Schmidt*, essai hist. sur la société dans le monde Rom. et sur sa transform. par le christianisme. Strassb. 1853. — *J. A.* and *Aug. Theiner*, die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei d. chr. Geistl. (Introd. of the Oblig. to Celibacy among the Chr. Clergy). 2 vols. Altenb. 1828.

Where, as in the persecutions of that period, the chaff is so thoroughly separated from the wheat, the Divine power of the Gospel and the rules laid down by strict ecclesiastical discipline would of necessity produce a degree of purity, of moral earnestness, and of self-denial, such as never before had been seen in the world. But what attracted most admiration among the heathen, who were so much accustomed to mere selfishness, was the *brotherly love* practised (§ 60, 2), the care taken of the poor and sick, the ready and large-hearted hospitality, the sanctity of the marriage relation, and the joy with which martyrdom was borne. Marriages with Jews, heathens, and heretics, were disapproved of; commonly also second marriage after the death of a first husband. Christians avoided taking part in public amusements, dances, and spectacles, as being "pompa diaboli." According to

Eph. vi. 10 etc., they regarded the Christian life as a *militia Christi*. But since the middle of the second century, as in outward constitution and worship, so in the ethical views concerning the Christian life, the depth, liberty, and simplicity of apostolic times gave place to a pseudo-catholic externalism and bondage. Ecclesiastical teachers still insisted, indeed, on the necessity of a state of mind corresponding to the outward works done. But already this outward conformity was over-estimated, and thus gradually the way was prepared for *work-holiness* and the *opus operatum* (*i. e.*, attaching merit to a work in and by itself). This tendency appears very prominently so early as in the case of *Cyprian* (de opere et eleemosynis).[4] With this the Alexandrian theologians also combined a theoretical distinction between a *higher and lower morality*, of which the former was to be sought by the Christian sage (ὁ γνωστικός), while an ordinary Christian might rest satisfied with the latter. This laid the foundation for all the later aberrations of *asceticism*. — (Cf. § 61.)

1. *The Christian Life.* — The spirit of Christianity also pervaded domestic and civil life. It manifested itself in *family worship, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the family* (§ 33), in making *the sign of the cross* before undertaking or doing anything, and in adorning the dwellings and furniture with certain symbols (§ 35, note). The rites of *marriage* were consecrated by the Church, but, as yet, the validity of a union was not considered as depending on this. The wearing of garlands and of veils by brides was disapproved, as being heathen symbols; but the custom of using a marriage ring was early in use, and was viewed as a Christian symbol. The practice of the heathen to burn the *dead bodies* reminded of hell-fire; the Christians, therefore, preferred the Jewish practice of burial, appealing to 1 Cor. xv. Christian families observed the anniversaries of the death of their departed members with prayer and oblations, in token of their continued communion with them (§ 61, 3).

2. *Ecclesiastical Discipline.*—(For the literature see § 61, 1.) Heretics, apostates, and pertinacious transgressors, were, according to apostolic injunction, excluded from the communion of the Church (*excommunicatio*), and only restored after having given sufficient proof of their penitence. From the great number of those who, during the Decian persecution, made recantation, it became necessary to fix a certain rule of procedure in such cases, which remained in force till the fifth century. Penitents had to pass through four stages of discipline, of which each lasted, according to circumstances, one or more years. In the first (the προσκλαυσις), the penitents, arrayed in the garb of mourning, stood by the church-door, entreating the clergy and congregation

to receive them again; in the second (the ἀκρόασις), penitents were allowed to be present, although in a separate place, during the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon. In the third (ὑπόπτωσις), they were also allowed to be present, and to kneel at prayer; while in the fourth (σύστασις), they might again join in all the parts of public worship, with the exception of the communion, which, however, they might witness, standing. After that, they made a public confession of their sins (ἐξομολόγησις), and received absolution and the fraternal kiss (pax, reconciliatio). This administration of discipline was only shortened or rendered milder "in periculo mortis." But this extreme strictness in dealing with penitents also led to the opposite extreme of excessive laxity. Confessors, especially, frequently abused their privilege of procuring the restoration of penitents by means of what were called *recommendatory letters* (*libelli pacis*), a practice which tended seriously to injure the administration of discipline. On the other hand, some went so far as to deny that the Church had the right of absolving and restoring those who had been guilty of mortal sin (1 John v. 16), such as theft, murder, adultery, or apostasy. But these extreme views did not mislead the Church.

3. *Asceticism.* — The asceticism (ἐγκρατεία, *continentia*) of the heathen and of the Jews (the Pythagoreans, the Essenes, the Therapeutæ) was either the result of dualistic views, or the manifestation of a false spiritualism. In opposition to this tendency, Christianity propounded it as a principle: Πάντα ὑμῶν ἐστιν (1 Cor. iii. 21; vi. 12). At the same time it also admitted, that from the disposition, the requirements, or circumstances of an individual, a sober asceticism was warrantable, and might even prove relatively useful (Matt. xix. 12; 1 Cor. vii. 5, 7). But the Gospel neither insisted on it, nor ascribed to it any merit. Views such as these prevailed so late as the second century (they occur, for example, in *Ignatius*). But after the middle of that century, a much greater value was attached to asceticism. It was regarded as a higher stage of morality, and as assuring superior merit.— The exercise of the spiritual life in prayer and meditation was its positive manifestation. *Negatively*, asceticism appeared in frequent and protracted *fasts* and in *celibacy*, or at least abstinence from conjugal intercourse (after 1 Cor. vii.; Matt. xix. 12). Most of them, also, voluntarily relinquished their worldly possessions, in application of Luke xviii. 24. After the middle of the second century their number rapidly increased, till they formed a distinct class in the community. But as yet they were not bound by irrevocable vows to continue this manner of life.— The idea that the call to asceticism devolved more *especially* on the clergy, resulted from their designation as the κλῆρος Θεοῦ. So early as the second century, a second marriage on the part of clergymen was held to be unlawful (on the ground of 1 Tim. iii. 2); while in the

third, it was considered their duty, after ordination, to abstain from conjugal intercourse. The attempt to make this obligatory was first made in the year 305, at the *Council of Elvira*, but proved unsuccessful.—The shameful practice, on the part of certain ascetics and clerics, of taking to themselves (perhaps in misinterpretation of 1 Cor. ix. 5) religious females as *sorores* (ἀδελφαί), seems to have originated in the second century. The idea was, that being joined to them in spiritual love, they were unitedly to defy the temptations of the flesh. In the middle of the third century this practice was widely spread. *Cyprian* frequently inveighs against it. The abuse went so far, that these so-called "sorores" slept in the same bed with the ascetics, and indulged in the most tender embraces. To prove the purity of their relationship, they were wont to appeal to the testimony of midwives. So far as we can gather, *Paul of Samosata*, in Antioch, was the first bishop to encourage this practice by his own example. In the popular *parlance* of Antioch, this more than doubtful relationship went by the name of γυναῖκες συνεισάκτοι (*subintroductæ*, agapetæ, extraneæ). At last bishops and councils passed strict injunctions against it.—During the Decian persecution some Egyptian Christians had fled into the wilderness, where avoiding, on principle, all intercourse with their fellow-men, they led a life of strict asceticism. These were the first Anchorites. One of them, *Paul of Thebes*, lived almost ninety years in the wilderness. His existence had been forgotten by his cotemporaries, when, in 340, *S. Antonius* discovered his remains, from which life had but lately departed. His body was found in the attitude of prayer. (§ 44).

4. *The Beginning of Martyr-Worship.*—Martyrdom was early lauded as a *lavacrum sanguinis* in which sin was washed away, an ample substitute for baptism. The anniversaries of the death of martyrs, designated birthdays to a higher life (γενέθλια, natalitia martyrum) were observed with prayers, oblations, and the Lord's Supper at their graves, in token of continued communion with them in the Lord. Hence their *remains* were gathered with great care, and solemnly interred. Thus *Polycarp's*, at Smyrna (§ 23, 3), were collected and preserved as τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπερ χρυσιον, in order that his γενέθλιον ἐν ἀγγαλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ εἰς τε τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν might there be performed.—The *relics* were not yet thought to possess miraculous virtues, nor do we find any trace of *praying to saints*. But it was confidently believed, that at the throne of God they effectually *interceded* for the Church militant on earth, as they had been often asked to do before their departure. The living, also, felt it to be their duty constantly to pray for departed saints. High respect was likewise paid to *confessors* (§ 23, 5) during their life, and they were allowed to exercise great influence in the affairs of the church, as in the choice of bishops, the restoration of the fallen, etc.

§ 37. THE MONTANISTIC REFORMATION (ABOUT 150 A. D.).

COMP. *G. Wernsdorf*, de Montanistis. Gedan. 1751.—*A. Neander*, Antignosticus (Transl. by J. E. Ryland, Lond. Bohn.).—*K. Hesselberg*, Tertullian's Lehre (The Doct. of Tert.). Dorp. 1848.—[*A. Schwegler*, d. Montan. u. d. chr. K. d. 2 Jahrh.—Montan. and the Chr. Ch. of the Second Cent.—Tübg. 1841.—*F. Chr. Baur*, das Wesen d. Montanism., in the Tübg. Jahrb. for 1841. IV.]

However rigorous the moral demands which the Church of the second and third century made upon its members, and however strict the exercise of its discipline, parties were not wanting who deemed the common practice and views insufficient. Among these the *Montanists* were the most notable. The movement originated in Phrygia, about the middle of the second century. Its leading characteristics were: a new order of ecstatic prophets, with somnambulistic visions and new revelations; a grossly literal interpretation of scriptural predictions; a fanatical millenarianism; a self-confident asceticism; and an excessive rigour in ecclesiastical discipline. Thus, without dissenting from the doctrinal statements of the Church, Montanism sought to reform its practice. In opposition to the false universalism of the Gnostics, the Montanists insisted that Christianity alone, and not heathenism, contained the truth. In opposition to Catholicism, they maintained that their own spiritual church was really a step in advance of apostolical Christianity. If Montanism had universally prevailed, Christianity would speedily have degenerated into mere enthusiasm, and as such run its course. This the Church recognized at an early period, and hence protested against these views as a *heretical* aberration. It could not but be seen that their much-vaunted purity of doctrine was always, more or less, at the mercy of the disordered imagination of some Montanist prophet. Still, their moral earnestness and zeal against worldliness, hierarchism, and false spiritualism, rendered important service to the Church, both in the way of admonition and of warning.

1. *Phrygian Montanism.*—About the middle of the second century, *Montanus*, a native of Ardaban, appeared at Pepuza, in Phrygia, as a prophet and reformer of Christianity, to which he had only lately become a convert. He had visions, and while in a state of unconsciousness and ecstasy, prophesied of the near advent of Christ, and inveighed

against the corruption in the Church. *Maximilla* and *Priscilla*, two females, were infected with his enthusiasm, became likewise somnambulistic, and prophesied. Part of the congregation recognized him as a divine prophet, and believed his predictions and teaching (Montanistæ, Κατάφρυγες, Pepuziani). Others regarded him and these two females as possessed, and would have called in the aid of exorcism. Meantime opposition only served to feed the delusion. *Montanus* felt convinced that in him was fulfilled the promise of Christ concerning the *Paraclete*, who was to guide the Church into all truth. His adherents declared that they alone had received the Holy Ghost. They called themselves πνευματικοί, and designated the unbelieving Catholics as ψυχικοί. The movement spread, growing in error as it proceeded. The principal ecclesiastical teachers of Asia Minor (Claudius Apollinarius, Miltiades, Rhodon, etc.) rose against it as one man, and by word and writing contended against Montanism. Several synods also solemnly pronounced against it (about 150). They succeeded in arresting the spread of this delusion.

2. *Montanism in the West.*— The sentence of condemnation pronounced in Asia Minor was approved of at *Rome*. But the Christians of Gaul, who had always kept up close intercourse with the Mother Church in Asia Minor, and who, under the pressure of the Aurelian persecution, cherished at that time more lively expectations of a coming millennium, refused entirely to condemn the Montanistic movement. Accordingly, they addressed conciliatory letters, both to Asia Minor and to Rome. *Irenæus*, at the time only a presbyter, went to Rome, and persuaded Bishop *Eleutherus* to adopt mild and conciliatory measures. But soon afterwards, when *Praxeas*, a confessor from Asia Minor (§ 40, 3), arrived in Rome, he and *Cajus*, a presbyter and a fanatical enemy of millenarianism, so wrought upon Bishop *Victor* by a description of the proceedings of the Montanists, that he withdrew the epistles of peace which he had already written. From that time the Roman Church remained strenuously opposed to Montanism. Still, the movement met with considerable sympathy in the West, especially in Proconsular Africa. This translocation, however, proved otherwise useful, by removing much of the fanaticism and sectarianism which had originally attached to the party. *Tertullian*, a presbyter of Carthage (about the year 201), and the most eminent teacher in the West, of his time, was by far the ablest champion of Montanism. He devoted all his energy and talents to gain adherents to his principles. But the stigma of sectarianism and the reproach of heresy attached to them. Still the sect of *Tertullianists* continued in Africa for a long time. *

3. *Doctrine and Practice.*— It is the fundamental idea of Montanism that Divine revelation gradually and increasingly developed. This progression had not reached its climax in Christ and His apostles, but was destined to lo so during the era of the Paraclete, which had com-

* Cf. Lit. § 39, 5, on Tertullian.

menced with *Montanus*. The patriarchal period was the period of infancy in the kingdom of God; the period of the law and of prophecy, under the Old Covenant, its *childhood;* in the Gospel it entered upon *the period of youth;* while in the Montanistic effusion of the Spirit, it finally attained the full maturity of *manhood*. Its absolute completion may be expected to take place in the *millennium*, which was regarded as at hand. The following were the principal reformatory ordinances of the Paraclete: *Second marriage* was to be considered fornication; — much greater importance was to be attached to *fasting;* on the "dies stationum" it was absolutely unlawful to partake of anything, and two weeks before Easter only water and bread or dry food (ξηροφαγίαι) were allowed; — those who had been excommunicated were to continue in the "status pœnitentiæ" during the remainder of their lives; — *martyrdom* was to be sought after; to withdraw in any way from persecution was no less than apostacy — virgins were to appear only *veiled*, and, generally, women to renounce all luxury and ornaments; — worldly science and art, and all worldly enjoyments, even those which appear to be innocent, were treated as a snare laid by the enemy, etc.

§ 38. ECCLESIASTICAL SCHISMS.

It so happened that sometimes in one and the same congregation there were those who advocated the administration of lax and of rigorous discipline. Each of these parties, of course, wished to enforce its peculiar views, to the exclusion of all others. From such controversies, accompanied as they frequently were by disputes between presbyters and bishops, and by doctrinal divergences, various schisms arose which continued for a period, even although outward circumstances seemed at the time to render ecclesiastical union more than ever desirable. We read of four such schisms during the period under review.

1. *The Schism of Hippolytus at Rome* (*about* 220–235). — (Comp. *J. Döllinger*, Hipp. u. Callistus. Regensb. 1853. — *Wordsworth*, S. Hippol. and his Age. Lond. 1853. — *W. E. Taylor*, Hippol. and the Chr. Ch. of the Third Cent. Lond. 1853. — Art. "Hippol." in Herzog's Encycl., in the translat., publ. by Lindsay and Blakiston, II. 570, 1860.) — After a life full of curious adventures, Callistus (Calixtus), a liberated slave, was in 217 raised to the see of Rome, not without strenuous opposition from the more strict party in the Church. They charged him with a connivance at every kind of transgression, equally inconsistent with Christian earnestness and destructive of all discipline. Besides, they also accused him of holding the Noëtian heresy (§ 40, 4). The opposition was headed by *Hippolytus*, a presbyter, whom his adherents elected

counter-bishop. The schism lasted till the time of *Pontianus*, the second in occupation of the see of Rome after Callistus. The chiefs of both parties having been banished to Sardinia, a reconciliation took place between their adherents, who united to choose another bishop (235).

2. *The Schism of Felicissimus at Carthage, about the year* 250, was in reality an opposition to the episcopal authority of *Cyprian*. The (moderate) strictness of that bishop in dealing with the lapsed was only made a pretext. Several presbyters at Carthage were dissatisfied with the appointment of Cyprian as bishop (248), and sought to withdraw from his jurisdiction. At their head was *Novatus*. They ordained, of their own authority, *Felicissimus*, who afterwards became the chief of the party, as deacon. When, during the Decian persecution, *Cyprian* for a short time left Carthage, they accused him of dereliction of duty and cowardice. But Cyprian soon returned, and his opponents turned his strictness towards the lapsi to account for exciting people against him. The bishop had protested against the readiness with which some confessors had, without fully examining into the circumstances, given *libellos pacis* to the lapsed, and deferred the consideration of such cases to a synod, to be held after the persecution had ceased. An ecclesiastical visitation completed the breach. The dissatisfied presbyters at once received the lapsed; renounced the authority of *Cyprian*, although, when the persecution broke out afresh, that bishop himself introduced a milder discipline; and elected *Fortunatus* as counter-bishop. Only after considerable trouble *Cyprian*, by a combination of prudence and firmness, succeeded in arresting the schism.

3. *In the Schism of Novatian, a Presbyter at Rome* (251), the cause of dispute was of an almost opposite character from that just described. *Cornelius*, Bishop of Rome, exercised a mild discipline; a practice opposed by a stricter party, under the presbyter *Novatian*. When *Novatus* of Carthage arrived at Rome, he joined the discontented party, although his own views on ecclesiastical discipline had been the very opposite of theirs, and incited them to separation. The strict party now chose *Novatian* as their bishop. Both parties appealed for recognition to the leading churches. *Cyprian* pronounced against *Novatian*, and contested the sectarian principles of his adherents, according to which the Church had not the right to assure forgiveness to the lapsed, or to those who, by gross sin, had broken their baptismal vows (though they admitted the possibility that, by the mercy of God, such persons might be pardoned). The *Novatians* also held that the Church, being a communion of pure persons, could not tolerate in its bosom any who were impure, nor readmit a person who had been excommunicated, even though he had undergone ecclesiastical discipline. On this ground the party called itself the Καθαροί. Owing to the moral earnestness of their principles, even those bishops who took a different view from theirs were disposed to regard them more favoura-

bly; and almost through the whole Roman empire *Novatian* communities sprung up, of which remnants existed so late as the sixth century.

4. *The Schism of Meletius in Egypt.*—During the Diocletian persecution, *Meletius*, Bishop of Lycopolis, in Thebais, had, without being authorized, arrogated to himself the power of ordaining and of otherwise interfering with the rights of his metropolitan, *Petrus, Bishop of Alexandria*, who for a season had retired from his diocese. Warnings and admonitians were in vain. An Egyptian synod then excommunicated and deposed him. This gave rise to a schism (306) which spread over Egypt. The general *Council of Nice* (325) offered to all Meletian bishops amnesty, and the succession in their respective sees in case the Catholic counter-bishop should die. Many submitted, but Meletius himself, with some others, continued schismatic, and joined the party of the Arians.

IV. DOCTRINAL AND APOLOGETIC LABORS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 39. THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

The earliest Christian writers had enjoyed intercourse with, and instruction from, the apostles. On that account they are commonly called *Apostolic Fathers.* In their case, as in that of the apostles themselves, the immediate requirements of practical life formed the burden and the motive of their writings. But the literary contest with heathenism, which immediately succeeded, gave a more scientific character to Christian authorship. This contest gave rise to a long series of *apologetical works*, which in great part date from the second century. The scientific tendency of Christian theology developed even more fully in the third century during the controversy with Judaising and paganising *heretics.* In opposition to those dangerous aberrations, three peculiar types of doctrinal views developed within the Catholic Church after the close of the second century. They are commonly distinguished as the *schools of Alexandria, of Asia Minor, and of North Africa.* — Since the close of the first century, another branch of literature, though one of very doubtful value, had also appeared. We allude to the *apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphic writings*, which arose partly with

the view of spreading certain heresies, partly for apologetical purposes, and partly to give sanction to certain ecclesiastical ordinances. This species of literature seems to have attained its highest point during the second and third centuries.—(Cf. § 47.)

1. *The Apostolic Fathers.*—(Comp. *A. Hilgenfeld*, die ap. V. Halle 1853. *J. H. B. Lübkert*, d. Theologie d. ap. V. in the "Luther. Zeitschr." for 1854. IV. *Lechler*, d. Apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter. Stuttg. 1857). Of these seven are mentioned:

(1.) Clement, Bishop of *Rome* (Philippians iv. 3), from whom we have an Epistle to the Corinthians, containing admonitions to concord and humility.

(2.) Barnabas, the well-known companion of the Apostle Paul. The letter, preserved under his name, betrays, by its allegorical interpretations, the Alexandrian ideas of the author, and breathes contempt for the Old Testament, and its ceremonial. It contains, however, some ingenious views, and gives evidence of deep piety. Its authenticity is more than doubtful.

(3.) Hermas (Rom. xvi. 14). The Ποιμήν (Pastor) ascribed to him was perhaps written by a later *Hermas*, the brother of the Roman Bishop Pius, about the year 150.[5] The work derives its name from the circumstance that in it an angel, under the guise of a shepherd, instructs the author. It contains visions, "mandata," and "similitudines." It is still in dispute whether the Greek copy recently brought from Greece, is really a transcript from the original, or only a retranslation from the old Latin version.

(4). Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch (§ 23, 2). We possess seven letters of his, which on his journey to martyrdom he addressed to various churches (one of them to Polycarp). Of the two Greek recensions, the more lengthy is manifestly a paraphrase. They are distinguished above all other writings of this time by energetic opposition to Judaistic and Docetic heresy, by a most decided confession of the Divinity of Christ, and by strenuous assertions of the authority of bishops as the representatives of Christ. *Bunsen*, *Lipsius*, and others, maintain that a still shorter recension (in Syriac translation), of only three letters, represents the genuine works of Ignatius; while *Baur*, *Hilgenfeld*, and others, deny the genuineness of all the three recensions.

(5.) Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna (§ 42, 3), a disciple of the Apostle John, has left a letter addressed to the Philippians.

(6.) *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, likewise a disciple of John, collected the oral traditions of the discourses and deeds of the Lord (λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις), of which only a few fragments have been handed down. Credulity, misunderstanding, and an unbounded attachment to millennarian views, seem to have characterized this work. On this account Eusebius called P. σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν.

(7). *A letter addressed to* DIOGNETUS by an unknown author, who calls himself μαθητὴς τῶν ἀποστόλων. It is manifestly erroneous to regard Justin Martyr as its writer. The letter ably refutes the objections of Diognetus to Christianity. Unlike the other Fathers, the author regards the heathen gods not as demons, but as empty phantoms. The institutions of the Old Testament he considers to have been human, and indeed partly inept, arrangements. The best edition of the Apostolic Fathers is that by *Cotelerius*, Paris 1678, folio; the latest edition, that by *Hefele*, 4th edition. Tüb. 1855.

2. Among the numerous APOLOGETICAL WRITERS of the second century (complete collections of their works, so far as extant, comp. § 41, 1, were published by *Prud. Maranus*. Par. 1742. 2 Voll. fol. and by *C. T. Otto*. Jen. 1842, etc.) the first place must be assigned to JUSTIN MARTYR, who was born at Sichem in Samaria, and died as martyr in the year 166. As a heathen, he successively sought after truth in the various philosophical systems, among which he was most attracted by that of Plato. But it was only when an unknown venerable man, whom he met by the sea-shore, directed him to the prophets and apostles, that he found satisfaction. In the thirtieth year of his life he became a convert to Christianity, which, while continuing to wear his philosopher's cloak (pallium), he enthusiastically defended by writings and discussions. But thereby he also called forth the special hatred of heathen sages. *Crescens*, a Cynic at Rome, was his most bitter enemy, and left nothing undone to secure his destruction. In this he succeeded. Under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and about the year 166, Justin was scourged and beheaded at Rome. (Comp. *Semisch*, Justin Martyr, transl. by J. E. Ryland. Edin. T. and T. Clark.)

3. *The School of Asia Minor.* — This school may be traced back to the labours of John, and was distinguished by its firm adherence to the Bible, its strong faith, its scientific liberality, its conciliatory tone, and its trenchant polemics against heretics. The greater part of its numerous and formerly so celebrated teachers are known to us almost only by name. One of its oldest representatives was MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, who died about 170. Of his numerous writings, which bore on all the important ecclesiastical questions of the time, only a very few fragments have been preserved. Eusebius and Jerome have preserved a list of eighteen different tractates by that Father. After *Melito*, IRENÆUS, a disciple of *Polycarp*, was the most celebrated teacher of that school. He went into Gaul, where he became presbyter, and, after the martyrdom of Bishop POTHINUS (§ 23, 3), was elevated to the see of Lyons. He died a martyr under Septimius Severus in the year 202. The best editions of his writings are those by *R. Massuet*, Paris 1710; and by *A. Stieren*, Leipsic 1847. — The learned HIPPOLYTUS, presbyter, and afterwards schismatic Bishop at Rome (§ 38, 1), *ob.*

235, was a disciple of *Irenæus*. Such was the authority in which Hippolytus was held, that, soon after his death, his friends erected a statue of him in Rome, bearing on the back of the chair a list of his numerous writings. It was dug out on an island of the Tiber in the year 1551. The best edition of his writings is that by *J. A. Fabricius*, Hamb. 1716. 2 vols. 4to. supplemented by S. Hippolyti Episc. et Mart. Refutat. omn. hæres. Libr. X. quæ supersunt. ed. *Duncker* et *Schneidewin*. Gött. 1856.

4. *The School of Alexandria.*—The principal task to which the representatives of this school set themselves, was to oppose a true churchly Gnosis to the spurious Gnosticism of heretics. In this attempt, some of them, however, were entangled in dangerous philosophical aberrations. Still, most of them were distinguished by classical culture, by logical acumen, by liberality and originality. The centre of this theological tendency was the *Catechetical School* of Alexandria, which, from an institution for the instruction of educated catechumens, became a theological seminary. The first celebrated teacher in this institution was PANTÆNUS (*ob.* 202). He was surpassed by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, his pupil and successor. Impelled by a desire for knowledge, this writer, when still a heathen, had travelled about; and having acquired considerable learning, arrived at Alexandria, where he was attracted by, and converted under, PANTÆNUS. During the persecution under *Septimius Severus* (202), he withdrew, according to Matt. x. 23, by flight from the vengeance of the heathen. But to his death in 220 he continued to work and to write for the Church. (Best edition by J. Potter, Oxon. 1715. 2 vols. fol.) However great his fame, it was surpassed by that of ORIGEN, his pupil and successor, whom heathens and Christians equally admired for his learning, and who, from his unwearied diligence, bore the designations of Adamantius and Χαλκέντερος. He was distinguished as a philosopher, as a philologian, as a critic, as an exegetical, dogmatic, apologetic, and polemic writer. Posterity has, with equal justice, honoured him as the founder of scientific theology, and disowned him as the originator of many heretical views. He was born at Alexandria, of Christian parents, about the year 185, and trained by his father *Leonidas*, and by *Pantœnus* and *Clement*. When still a mere boy, he encouraged his father to undergo martyrdom under Septimius Severus (in 202), provided for his helpless mother and her six orphan children, and was appointed by Bishop Demetrius teacher in the catechetical school (in 203). In order to do justice to his new office, he applied himself with all diligence to the study of philosophy, under the tuition of Ammonius Saccas, a Neo-Platonist. In private life he was exceedingly abstemious, and from his youth a strict ascetic. In his zeal for Christian perfection, and misunderstanding the passage in Matt. xix. 12, he made himself a eunuch, — a step which he afterwards felt to have been wrong. Meantime his fame

increased daily. In obedience to a highly honourable call, he laboured for some time in the mission in Arabia. The excellent Empress *Julia Mammæa* summoned him to Antioch (218); and in the year 228 he undertook, for ecclesiastical purposes, a journey to Palestine, where the the bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem* ordained him presbyter, though in opposition to the canons of the Church. His own bishop, *Demetrius*, who had at any rate been jealous of the fame of *Origen*, resented this invasion of his rights, recalled him, and in two synods held at Alexandria (in 231 and in 232), caused him to be deposed and excommunicated for heresy, self-mutilation, and contempt of ecclesiastical canons. *Origen* now betook himself to Cæsarea, where, honoured and assisted by the Emperor Philip the Arabian, he opened a theological school. Here his literary activity attained its climax. During the Decian persecution he was imprisoned, and finally died at Tyre, in 254, in consequence of the fearful tortures which he had borne with calmness.—(Comp. *E. R. Redepenning*, Origenes. Bonn 1841. 2 vols. *G. Thomasius*, Origenes, Nuremb. 1837. (Best editions of his works by *C. de la Rue*, Paris 1733. 4 vols. fol., and by *Lommatszch*, Berlin 1831, 26 vols.) — Among the successors of Origen at Alexandria, Dionysius Alexandrinus (since 233) was the most celebrated. In the year 248 he was elevated to the see of that city, and died in 265. He was not equal to Origen in point of speculation. But indeed his Charisma was rather the κυβέρνησις. Even his cotemporaries called him *the Great*. During the Decian persecution he displayed equal prudence, calmness, courage, and constancy. Amid the ecclesiastical disputes of his time, he had ample opportunity of manifesting the generosity and mildness of his character, his faithful adherence to the Church, and his zeal for the purity of its teaching. Everywhere the influence of his self-denial and amiability was felt.—Gregory Thaumaturgus had attended on the teaching of Origen at Cæsarea. Converted, as a youth, under Origen, from paganism to the Gospel, he clung with the deepest affection to his venerated teacher. He afterwards became bishop of his native city, Neo-Cæsarea, and on his death-bed enjoyed the consolation of leaving to his successor no more unbelievers in the city (17) than his predecessor had left believers. He was designated a second Moses, and it was thought that he possessed the power of working miracles.—(Cf. § 47, 3, 4.)

5. *The School of North Africa* was distinguished by its realism and its practical tendency, thus representing the opposite extreme to the idealism and the speculations of the Alexandrians. Its peculiarity was that of the Western mind generally, and chiefly manifested itself in the controversy with Gnosticism. Its representatives, although themselves classically educated, rejected classical science and philosophy, as apt to lead astray. They laid great stress on purity of apostolical tradition, and insisted on sanctification of the life and strict asceticism. Its first and greatest teacher was Tertullian, the son of a heathen

centurion at Carthage. While a pagan, he distinguished himself as an advocate and rhetorician. He was converted late in life; and, after a considerable stay at Rome, was ordained a presbyter at Carthage (*ob.* 220). Naturally he was impetuous and energetic; in his writings, as in his life, he appears a strong man, full of glowing enthusiasm for the foolishness of the Gospel, and equally strict towards himself and others. He originated the Latin ecclesiastical language; his "Punic style" is terse, rich in imagery and rhetorical figures; his thoughts are acute and deep. Although himself trained in heathen lore, he was fanatically opposed to it, and equally so to Gnosticism. His zeal in favour of strict asceticism, and against every kind of worldliness, led him to become a Montanist in 201. There his peculiar mode of thinking and feeling, the energy of his will, the ardour of his affections, his powerful imagination, his tendency towards the strictest asceticism, and his predilection for realism, found full scope for development. If, withal, he kept free from many aberrations of Montanism, this must be ascribed to his clear understanding and, however much he may have despised it, to his thorough scientific training. (Best edition of his works by *Fr. Oehler*, Leipsic 1854.) Comp. § 37.—Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus was first a heathen rhetorician, afterwards Bishop of Carthage, and died a martyr under Valerian in 258. Although trained by the writings of *Tertullian* ("da magistrum!"), he kept clear of his extravagances. He was equally distinguished by warm and firm adherence to the idea of one, holy, visible Church, and by zeal, faithfulness, vigour, and prudence in the cure of souls and the administration of his congregation. His life and writings give ample evidence of these qualities. (Comp. *Rettberg*, Cypr. nach sein. Leben und Wirken.—Cypr., his Life and Works—Gött. 1831.—*G. A. Poole*, Life and Times of Cyprian, Oxf. 1840.)—*L. Coel.* Lactantius *Firmianus* (*ob.* 330), by birth a heathen, afterwards teacher of elocution at Nicomedia, and then tutor to *Crispus*, the imperial prince, who was executed in 326 by command of his father (Constantine the Great). His apologetic writings show that he was modest, amiable, and learned. They abound with evidences of his culture, affectionateness, and clearness. From the purity of his Latin style and the elegance of his diction, in which he far surpassed all other Fathers, he was called the Christian Cicero. But his writings are destitute of depth and acumen, and on theological questions he frequently commits blunders and oversights.—To this school belong also *Minucius Felix*, *Commodianus*, and *Arnobius*, all of them apologetic writers.—(Cf. § 47, 5.)

6. During this period the *School of Antioch* (§ 47, 1), of which the presbyters *Dorotheus* and *Lucian* were the founders, first appeared. The latter died a martyr in 311. Through his influence, that school from the first gave its main attention to the critical, grammatical, and historical interpretation of the Scriptures.—There is said to have been

a Christian school at *Edessa*, as early as the second century, where *Macarius* expounded the Scriptures in the third century.

7. The greater part of the very numerous APOCRYPHAL and PSEUDO-EPIGRAPHIC WORKS were composed to promote the spread of heretical, chiefly of Ebionistic and Gnostic views. Many of them, however, must also be traced to Catholic authors. Their chief purpose seems to have been, through a kind of pious fraud, to exalt Christianity by "vaticinia post eventum," or to fill up any gaps in its history by myths and fables already existent, or specially devised for that end. The subjects chosen were either connected with the Old or with the New Testament. Among the latter we reckon Apocryphal Gospels, Acts of Apostles, Apostolic Letters and Revelations. In these gospels reference is not made to the teaching of Christ, probably because it was thought that the canonical gospels had given sufficient details on that subject. On the other hand, they dwell largely on the history of the childhood of the Lord, and furnish fabulous, though pretendedly documentary supplements to the accounts of Christ's sufferings. Besides, a number of spurious ancient heathen and Jewish oracles were circulated and frequently quoted for apologetic purposes (§ 41, 1).

§ 40. DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE AND DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES.

COMP. *F. Chr. Baur*, d. chr. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit (The Chr. Doctr. of the Trinity). I. Tübg. 1841. — *G. A. Meier*, d. Lehre v. d. Trinität. I. Hamb. 1844.—*J. A. Dorner*, d. Lehre v. d. Person Christi. 2d Ed. I. Stuttg. 1845.—*K. A. Kahnis*, d. Lehre v. h. Geiste (The Doctr. concern. the H. Sp.). I. Halle 1847.—*Lobeg. Lange*, Gesch. u. Lehrb. d. Antitrin. vor d. nicæn. Synode. Leipz. 1851. — (*H. Corrodi*) krit. Gesch. d. Chiliasm. (Crit. Hist. of Millenar.) 4 vols. Zur. 1794. Art. "Chiliasmus," in Herzog's Encycl. I. p. 657 etc. Philad.

In its friendly or hostile contact with heathen culture, Christianity had to appear in a *scientific* form, in order thus also to prove its claim to recognition as a universal religion. It must therefore soon have been felt necessary to develop the doctrines of the Gospel. During the three first centuries, however, the dogmas of the Catholic Church were not yet fully formed and established. Before this could be accomplished, Christian truth had freely to develop in individuals; — besides, as yet, no generally recognized medium for the decision of these questions, such as the later universal councils, existed; — the persecutions left no time or quietness for such purposes; — and all the energies of the Church were engaged in defending Christian truth

against the inroads of heathen and Jewish elements, which in Ebionism and Gnosticism presented so threatening a front. But, on the other hand, the internal collisions and discussions which took place at that period prepared the Church for unfolding and ultimately establishing Christian doctrine. Among these we reckon the contest between the Catholics and the Montanists (§ 37).—The discussions about Easter and about baptism (§ 31, 2; 32, 2) had also a dogmatic bearing, while the various schisms (especially that of Novatian, § 38) tended to fix the dogma concerning the Church. Nor must we leave out of consideration the *Millenarian discussions.* But of greatest importance by far was the Trinitarian controversy, which took place in the third century.

1. *The Trinitarian Questions.*—These bore on the relation between the Divine μοναρχία (the unity of God) and the οἰκονομία (the nature and the relations of the Trinity). Peculiar emphasis was laid on the relation subsisting between the Son (or λόγος) and the Father. The Church firmly maintained the independent personal subsistence of the Son (Hypostasianism); but various errors and difficulties arose when it was attempted to bring this view into harmony with the monotheism of Christianity. Adopting the distinction made by Philo between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λ. προφορικος (§ 11, 1), it was at first thought that the hypostasation was somehow connected with or depended on the creation of the world, and had taken place for that purpose,—in short, that it was not necessary and eternal, but a free act in time on the part of God. The real essence of the Deity was rather ascribed to the Father, and all the attributes of divinity were not assigned to the Son in the same manner as to the Father. The statement of Christ (John xiv. 28): "The Father is greater than I," was also applied to Christ's state of existence before His incarnation. The views entertained about the Holy Ghost were even more vague. His personality and independent existence were not subjects of settled or deep conviction; it was more common to subordinate Him, and also to ascribe to Christ Himself the functions peculiar to the third person of the Trinity (inspiration and sanctification). But this process of *subordination* appeared to some of the Fathers to endanger not only the fundamental doctrine of the unity of God, but also that of the divinity of Christ. Hence they preferred passing over the personal distinction between the Logos, the Spirit, and the Father. One of two ways might here be chosen. Following the example of the *Ebionites*, Christ might be regarded as a mere man, who, like the prophets, had been furnished with Divine wisdom and power, only in infinitely higher measure (*dynamistic* Monarchianism). Or else, yielding more fully to the felt want of Christians, it might be conceived that the whole fulness of the

Deity dwelt in Christ; thus identifying the Logos with the Father, *i. e.*, regarding the former as only a peculiar mode in which the latter operated (*modalistic Monarchianism*). Either of these forms of Monarchianism was regarded as heretical, and the hypostasian view as alone orthodox. Still the *latter* also contained an element of error (that of subordination), while the *former* (at least in its more elevated, modalistic form) embodied a truth which as yet was left out of the orthodox view (the acknowledgment of the equality of being, or of the ὁμοουσία of the Son with the Father). These two opposing views were reconciled and united by the doctrine of *homousian Hypostasianism* propounded in the third century, but which found general acknowledgment only in the fourth century.

2. *The Dynamistic Monarchians.*—Among them we reckon, 1. *The Alogians* in Asia Minor (about 170). They violently opposed the millenarianism and prophetism of the Montanists, and rejected not only the Book of Revelation, but also the Gospel of John. *Epiphanius* gave them their equivocal name, Alogians, not without meaning, because they rejected both the doctrine and the Gospel of the Logos. (ἄλογος = unreasonable). 2. The same writer speaks of the Theodotian sect as an ἀπόσπασμα τῆς ἀλόγου αἱρέσεως. Their founder, *Theodotus ὁ σκυτεύς*, from Byzance, taught ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν. — Spiritu quidem sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem nudum nulla alia præ cæteris nisi sola justitiæ autoritate. Towards the close of the second century he arrived at Rome, where he gained some adherents, but was excommunicated by Bishop Victor. Another *Theodotus* (ὁ τραπεζίτης) conceived that the power of God in Christ was less than that in Melchisedec, since the latter was mediator between God and angels. On this ground his adherents were called *Melchisedechites*. 3. Of greater influence than either of these heretics, was Artemon, who busied himself with Aristotle rather than with the Bible, and maintained that his doctrine had been regarded at Rome as orthodox up to the time of Bishop Zephyrinus (the successor of Victor), who excommunicated him and his adherents.

3. *Praxeas and Tertullian.*—Patripassianism, which represents the Father as Himself becoming incarnate and suffering in Christ, may be regarded as the preparation for, and the first rough form of Modalism. These views were first prominently brought forward by Praxeas, a confessor from Asia Minor (§ 37, 2). He propounded them without let in Rome, about the year 190; but was even then vigorously opposed by Tertullian. On his return to Africa that Father wrote, in defence of Montanism and Hypostasianism, a treatise against him, in which he showed the weak parts, the contradictions, and the dangerous tendency of the theory of Praxeas. Although Tertullian himself is not quite free from the errors of Subordinatianism, his views are more satisfactory, since he speaks of a threefold progress in the hypostasation of the

Son (filiatio). The first stage consisted of the eternal indwelling (immanence, immanent subsistence) of the Son *in* the Father; the second stage took place when the Son came forth *by* the side of the Father, for the purpose of creating the world; and the third when, by His incarnation, the Son manifested Himself in the world.

4. *Noëtus, Callistus, and Hippolytus.*—The views of *Noëtus* of Smyrna were not quite free from Patripassian error. He taught that the Son was the son of himself, and not of another. This doctrine was brought to Rome about 215 by *Epigonus*, his disciple, where it met with considerable support, being chiefly advocated by *Cleomenes*. In opposition to these views, Hippolytus (§ 39, 3) maintained the doctrine of subordinatian Hypostasianism, which up to that time was regarded as orthodox (from all eternity Christ was perfect Logos, but only as the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, being undistinguished from the Father; by His incarnation He had become perfectly the Son). *Callistus*, Bishop of Rome, conceived that both views contained some elements of truth and others of error. Although by no means clear in his statements, or wholly free from error, he was the first to propound what, in its fuller development, is known as homousian Hypostasianism. *Hippolytus* reproached the bishop with being a Noëtian, and he retorted by charging the presbyter with Ditheism. *Sabellius*, who at the time lived in Rome, was at first undecided, but ultimately pronounced in favour of Modalism, and was excommunicated by *Callistus*. *Hippolytus* and his adherents renounced the authority of Callistus, and formed a community of their own (§ 38, 1).

5. *Beryllus and Origen.*—*Beryllus* of Bostra, in Arabia, was also a Patripassian. His system formed a link of connection between Patripassianism and Sabellian Modalism. He denied the ἰδία θεότης of the divinity of Christ, and designated it as πατρικὴ θεότης, but at the same time regarded it as a new form of manifestation (πρόσωπον) on the part of God. In the year 244 an Arabian synod, to which Origen also was invited, was convened to discuss his views. *Beryllus*, convinced of his error, made full recantation. All former teachers had held that the hypostasation of the Logos had taken place in time, for the purposes of creating the world and of the Incarnation. *Origen* was the first to propound the truth that the Son is begotten by the Father from all eternity, and hence from all eternity a hypostasis. Again, the Son is not begotten because this is necessary in order that the Son might become the Creator, but because it is necessary in and by itself, as light cannot be without radiance. He also propounded the dogma that the generation of the Son was going on for ever. He held that, as the life of God is not bound to time, the becoming objective of this life in the Son must likewise lie beyond the limitations of time; it is not an act of God once done, but a continuous manifestation of His life (ἀεὶ γεννᾷ ὁ Πατὴρ τὸν Υἱόν). True, even *Origen* is not quite free from the

errors of Subordinatianism, but in his case they are confined within the narrowest limits. He rejects indeed the expression, that the Son was ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, but only in opposition to the Gnostic theories of emanation. Similarly, he speaks of a ἑτερότης τῆς οὐσίας, but only in opposition to the ὁμοούσιος, taken in the sense of the Patripassians. He held that the Son was begotten ἐκ τοῦ θελήματος θεοῦ, but only because he regarded Him as the Divine will become objective; he calls Him a κτίσμα, but only in so far as He is θεοποιούμενος, and not αὐτόθεος; but the Son is αὐτοσοφία, αὐτοαληθεία, δεύτερος θεός. He held a subordination, not of essence, but of being or of origin.

6. *Sabellius and the two Dionysii.* — *Sabellius*, from Ptolemais, in Egypt, had during his stay at Rome devised a peculiar, speculative, and monarchian system, which met with considerable support from the bishops of his country. It was favourably distinguished from other systems of the kind, in that it assigned a distinct and necessary place to the *Holy Ghost*. According to him, *God* is a simple unity (μονάς), who, as θεὸς σιωπῶν, rested in Himself, and when about to create the world came forth out of Himself as θεὸς λαλῶν or λόγος. During the course of the development of the world, the Monas (or the Logos) presented Himself, for the purpose of salvation, successively under three different forms of existence (ὀνόματα, πρόσωπα), of which each contained the entire Monas. They are not ὑπόστασεις, but πρόσωπα (masks), as it were parts which God, when manifesting Himself in the world, successively undertook. Having finished His peculiar part by the giving of the law, the "Prosopon" of the *Father* returned again into His absolute state. Next He appears in the incarnation as the *Son*, when, at His ascension, He again returns into the Monas; and lastly manifests Himself as the *Holy Ghost*, that when the Church shall have been wholly sanctified, He may again, and for all eternity, become a monas, without distinction in itself. Sabellius designated this process as an expansion (ἔκτασις) and contraction (συστολή, πλατυσμός). To make his ideas more intelligible, he illustrated the above process by a simile of the sun, ὄντος μὲν ἐν μία ὑποστάσει, τρεῖς δὲ ἐχόντος τὰς ἐνεργείας, viz., τὸ τῆς περιφερείας σχῆμα, τὸ φωτιστικὸν καὶ τὸ θάλπον. — At the Synod of Alexandria, in 261, Dionysius the Great (§ 39, 4) contended against the Sabellianism of the Egyptian bishops, but in his zeal made use of terms which implied subordinatian errors of the grossest kind (ξένον κατ' οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ γεωργὸς πρὸς τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ ὁ ναυπηγὸς πρὸς τὸ σκάφος,— ὡς ποίημα ὢν οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γέννηται). When Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, obtained tidings of this, he rejected, in a *Synod at Rome* in 262, the expressions used by his colleague at Alexandria, and published a tractate (Ἀνατροπή), in which, with equal acuteness, clearness, and depth, he defended against Sabellius the doctrine of the hypostatic existence, and against the Alexandrians the ὁμοουσία and the eternal generation of the Son. Dionysius of Alex-

andria retracted, with praiseworthy modesty, the ill-chosen illustrations he had employed, and declared himself substantially at one with the views of the Bishop at Rome.

7. *Paul of Samosata.*—For half a century dynamistic Monarchianism had not been represented by any man of note, when, about the year 260, it was again propounded in a (comparatively) more profound manner by *Paul* of Samosata, an arrogant, vain, luxurious, and withal covetous and immoral prelate. While, with the former advocates of this theory, he maintained that the Godhead, in the strictest sense of the term, consisted only of one person, he at the same time admitted in the Deity a relationship between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and προφορικὸς. Again, while in the opinion of his predecessors the humanity of Christ chiefly constituted his distinctive personality, *Paul* (like the Socinians of modern times) held that, by His inimitable excellency, the man Jesus had gradually risen to Divine dignity, and to deserve the name of God. The Syrian bishops held three synods to discuss his errors. At the third of these (269), they condemned him, and rejected the expression ὁμοούσιος, which he had misapplied. But, by the protection of Queen *Zenobia*, Paul retained his see. When Zenobia was vanquished by *Aurelian*, in the year 272, the Synod accused him before the (heathen) emperor, who, after taking the opinion of the bishops "in Italy and Rome," expelled Paul.

8. *The Millenarian Controversy.*—Since the time of Papias, the expectation of a millenial reign of glory, at the close of the present dispensation, had been fondly cherished by the Christians, who, under their continued persecutions, looked for the speedy return of the Lord. Only the spiritualists of Alexandria (Clement, Origen, etc.) opposed these views, and, by allegorical interpretations, explained away the Biblical arguments in favour of them. *Caius*, a Roman presbyter (about 210), asserted, in his controversy with *Proculus*, a Montanist, that both Millenarianism and the Book of Revelation, on which it was founded, were a fabrication of *Cerinthus*, the heretic. Fifty years later, the Millenarians of Egypt were headed by *Nepos*, the learned Bishop of Arsinoe. He wrote a treatise against Clement and Origen, entitled Ἔλεγχος τῶν ἀλληγοριστῶν. After the death of Nepos, his adherents, under the leadership of *Coracion*, a presbyter, seceded from the Church of Alexandria. To arrest the mischief, *Dionysius* immediately hastened to Arsinoe. A discussion ensued, which lasted for three days, at the close of which, the leaders of the Millenarian party sincerely thanked the Bishop for his instruction. *Coracion* himself made formal recantation. To confirm his converts, Dionysius wrote a book entitled Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν. Aversion to the spiritualism of the school of Origen soon afterwards induced *Methodius*, Bishop of Olympus, to advocate a moderate Millenarianism, which *Lactantius* also enthusiastically defended. But as the aspect of outward affairs changed under the reign of Constantine the Great,

these views lost their hold on men's minds. The Church now prepared for a long-continued period of temporal prosperity, and the State-Church of that time forgot the millennial glory of the future.

§ 41. THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

1. Attention was chiefly paid to *Apologetics.* — The apology of *Quadratus,* Bishop of Athens, has been lost. In this tractate, which he handed to the Emperor Hadrian, he appealed to the fact that he had been acquainted with some of the persons whom Jesus healed or raised from the dead. — The same fate overtook the apologies of *Aristidès,* a converted philosopher of Athens,—of *Ariston of Pella,* who wrote a Dialogue between Papiscus, a Jew of Alexandria, and Jason, a Jewish Christian, — of *Melito,* Bishop of Sardes, of *Claudius Appolinaris* from Hierapolis, and of *Miltiades,* a rhetorician, who handed their apologies to Marcus Aurelius. (The "Oration of Melito to Antonius Cæsar," edited by W. Cureton in his Spicilegium Syriac. Lond. 1855, is probably not the celebrated apology of that Father, but his tractate περὶ ἀληθείας). With *Justin Martyr* commences the series of apologies which have been preserved. That Father wrote a large and a smaller apology — both addressed to Marcus Aurelius — a Dialogue "cum Tryphone Judæo," and a tractate περὶ μοναρχίας. The authenticity of the λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας (cohortatio), and of the λόγος (oratio) πρὸς Ἕλληνας, is doubtful. *Tatian,* a pupil of Justin (§ 28, 8), wrote a λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας; *Athenagoras* handed to Marcus Aurelius his πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν; *Theophilus* of Antioch wrote πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον περὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως; *Hermias,* a satire, διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων.—From the pen of *Clemens Alex.* we possess an apology consisting of three portions: The λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας shows the falsehood of heathenism, the παιδαγωγὸς shows the way to Christ, and the στρώματα introduce the reader to the deeper truths of Christianity. *Origen* wrote an excellent apology "contra Celsum" (§ 24, 2). From the able pen of *Tertullian* we have the "Apologeticus adv. gentes," — the "ad nationes," — "ad Scapulam" (the Proconsul of Africa), — "de testimonio animæ": — from *Minucius Felix,* an advocate at Rome, an excellent Dialogue entitled "Octavius"; — from *Cyprian* the "de idolorum vanitate" and "testimonia adv. Judæos." *Commodian* wrote, in barbarous Latin and in bad hexameters, his "instructiones adv. gentium Deos,"—*Arnobius,* even before his baptism, the "disputationes adv. gentes," containing traces of Gnostic leanings,—*Lactantius,* in elegant Latin, his "institutiones divinæ' —"de mortibus persecutorum," "de opificio Dei," "de ira Dei."—Among the *pseudo epigraphic* and *apocryphal* works, written for apologetic purposes, we reckon the "Testamenta XII. patriarcharum," being the instructions and prophecies addressed by Jacob to his twelve sons, — and the *Christian Sibylline books,* being oracles (in

hexameters) by the daughters-in-law of Noah, referring to the history of the various empires, the life of Jesus, the fate of Rome, Antichrist, etc. The Christians, who frequently appealed to them as very ancient testimonies in favour of the truth, were, by way of derision, designated by the heathen as *Sibyllists.*—(Cf. § 48, 3.)

2. *Polemics.*—No polemical works of very ancient date (against the Ebionites, the Gnostics, the Montanists, etc.) have been preserved. This species of literature seems to have been assiduously cultivated by the theologians of Asia Minor. *Hippolytus* wrote his φιλοσοφουμενων ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος against every kind of heresy. The following authors wrote against the GNOSTICS: *Irenæus*, the ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως (adv. hæreses),—*Tertullian*, "de præscriptione hæreticorum," "adv. Hermogenem," "adv. Valentinianos," "adv. Marcionem," "de anima," "de carne Christi," "de resurrectione carnis," "Scorpiace" (antidote);—against the MONARCHIANS: *Hippolytus*, "contra Noëtum," "contra Artemonem,"—*Tertullian*, "adv. Praxeam,"—*Novatian*, "de trinitate,"—*Dionysius* of Alex. and *Dionysius* of Rome;—against the ALLEGORISTS (the disciples of Origen): *Nepos* of Arsinoe (§ 40, 8) and *Methodius* of Olympus, περὶ ἀναστάσεως and περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν,—while, on the other hand, *Dionysius* of Alex. (§ 44, 8), *Gregorius* Thaumaturgus (εἰς Ὠριγένην πανηγυρικὸς λόγος), and *Pamphilus* of Cæsarea (Ἀπολογία) defended Origen and his tendencies. —(Cf. § 48, 3.)

3. *Dogmatics.*—In the tractate περὶ ἀρχῶν (de principiis), which has only been handed down in the Latin revision of Rufinus, *Origen* gave a systematic exposition of Christian doctrines generally. The work is full of ingenious speculations; it also contains many traces of Platonic, Gnostic, and spiritualizing views, and a good many heterodox statements (such as: the eternity of creation, the fall of human souls before the creation of the world, their incarceration in the body, a denial of the doctrine of the resurrection, Apocatastasis, etc.). Occasionally, dogmatical statements on special points occur in some of the apologetic and polemic writings of that period. On the doctrine concerning the Church, the work of *Cyprian*, "de unitate ecclesiæ," may be said to form an era.—(Cf. § 48, 5.)

4. *Criticism and Exegesis.*—To correct the text of the LXX., *Origen* undertook his gigantic work entitled the Hexapla, which consists of collation of the different texts in six columns. Similar labours engaged *Lucian* of Antioch (§ 39, 6) —The EXEGESIS commonly in use was that known as *allegorical*, the Fathers following in this respect the Rabbins and the Hellenists. The Κλείς of *Melito* (§ 39, 3), in which the mystical sense of Biblical names and words is indicated, furnishes directions for

the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. It is preserved in a later Latin elaboration (Clavis Melitonis in Pitra Spicil. Solesmense T. II. III.). *Origen* reduced the prevailing mode of interpretation to definite canons. He distinguished in every passage of Scripture a threefold sense—first the literal, then the higher or mystical, *i. e.*, the tropical or moral, and lastly, the pneumatic sense,—as it were the σῶμα, ψυχή, and πνεῦμα. Without undervaluing the literal meaning of a passage, he deemed it of much greater importance to ascertain its mystical sense. Every history in the Bible was a representation of what had occurred in the higher world. Most events had occurred just as they were related; but some, which, if literally taken, appeared to him unworthy or unreasonable, were merely typical, and had not really taken place. The founders of the school of Antioch (§ 39, 6), and probably also *Nepos* the Millenarian (§ 40, 8), opposed this allegorical treatment of the Bible, and advocated an exclusively historical and grammatical interpretation. The exegetical writings previous to *Origen* have not been preserved. Of his own works, the σημειώσεις or brief scholia, the τομοὶ or detailed commentaries on entire Biblical books, and the ὁμιλίαι, being explanatory lectures on the Scriptures, have been preserved, partly in the original, and partly in the Latin translations of Hieronymus and of Rufinus. *Hippolytus* was, next to *Origen*, probably the ablest exegetical writer; but only small fragments from his exegetical works have been handed down.—(Cf. § 48, 1.)

5. *In Historical Theology* we possess *Acts of Martyrs*, *Apocryphal Gospels*, and *Acts of Apostles* (Ev. Jacobi Minoris, Ev. de nativitate Mariæ, Hist. de Joachim et Anna, Hist. Josephi fabri lignarii, Ev. infantiæ Salvat., Ev. Nicodemi, Acta Pilati, etc.). Eusebius has preserved some fragments of the ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων of *Hegesippus*, a Jewish Christian from Asia Minor. Of greater importance than this work was the Chronography (Χρονογραφία) of *Julius Africanus*, which showed the connection between Biblical and profane history. But this tractate has also been lost. Among writings of the same class we may also reckon the work of *Lactantius*, de morte persecutt.—(Cf. § 48, 2.)

6. *Practical Theology.—In Homiletics*, the first rank must be assigned to *Origen*. The most interesting writings of an *ascetic* character are those of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος; of *Origen*, Περὶ εὐχῆς, and Εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικὸς λόγος; of *Methodius of Olympus*, Συμπόσιον τῶν δέκα παρθένων περὶ τῆς ἀγγελομιμήτου παρθενίας. Among the Latins, we have by *Tertullian* (before he became a Montanist), "de oratione," "ad martyres," "de spectaculis," "de idolatria," "de cultu feminarum," "de patientia," "ad uxorem;" (after he became a Montanist:) "de virginibus velandis," "de corona militis," "de fuga in

persecutione," "de exhortatione castitatis," "de monogamia," "de pudicitia," "de jejuniis," "de pallio;"—by *Cyprian*, "de gratia Dei," "de lapsis," "de opere et eleemosynis," "de bono patientiæ," "de zelo et livore," etc.—On the subject of Ecclesiastical Law (constitution, worship, discipline), the pseudo-Clementine Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων (constitutiones apostolorum) are of very great importance. These originated in the Syrian Church, partly at the close of the third and partly at the commencement of the fourth century. The first six books also bear the name of διδασκαλία καθολική. At the end of Book VIII. eighty-five pseudo-epigraphic "Canones apostolorum" are appended.—(Cf. § 48, 7.)

SECOND PERIOD

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

UNDER THE ANCIENT CLASSICAL FORM OF CULTURE.

FROM THE YEAR 323-692.

I. STATE AND CHURCH.

Comp. *A. Beugnot*, hist. de la destruction du Paganisme en Occident. Par. 1835. 2 Voll.—*E. Chastel*, hist. de la destr. du Pag. dans l'empire de l'Orient. Par. 1850.—*E. von Lasaulx*, der Untergang des Hellenismus (The Fall of Hellen.). Mun. 1854.—*F. Lübker*, d. Fall. d. Heidenth. Schwerin 1856.

§ 42. FALL OF HEATHENISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

After the defeat of Licinius (323), Constantine openly professed himself a Christian, although he still remained Pontifex Maximus, and was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia but shortly before his death (337). He showed himself tolerant towards heathenism, whilst he encouraged conversion to Christianity by bestowing special favours upon those professing it. His sons, however, used violence in suppressing heathenism. *Julian's* reign was merely a historical anomaly, which proved that heathenism perished because its effete powers were exhausted, rather than by violence. His labours all perished with his death. Julian's successors resumed the work of restricting, persecuting, and exterminating it. But *Justinian* inflicted the most fatal blow.—In spite of Julian's imperial protection, and the splendid renown of learned advocates (Jamblicus, *ob.* 333; Libanius, *ob.* 395; Himerius, *ob.* 390; Themistius, *ob.* 390; Proclus, *ob.* 485) *Neo-Platonism* (§ 24, 2) was wholly unable to accomplish its purpose. Still more signal was the failure of the *Hypsistarians*,

Euphemites, and *Cœlicoli*, in their attempts to rejuvenate heathenism by means of a rigid Jewish monotheism, or an antiquated Sabaeism. In the literary controversy between Christianity and heathenism, the character of the contest had been reversed.

1. *Constantine M. and his Sons.*[6] (Cf. *J. C. F. Manso*, Leb. Fonst. Bresl. 1817.—*J. Burckhardt*, Konst. u. s. zeit. Bas. 1853.)—Constantine's conversion cannot be set down to the account of mere political calculation. However, outbursts of passionate violence (among them the execution of *Crispus*, his son), and not a few actions which cannot be justified, occurred after his profession of Christianity. He died in 337, soon after having received baptism, without having ever taken part in all the rites of public worship. His dislike of heathenism, which, through the influence of some powerful families, was still prevalent at Rome, formed one of the elements in his resolution to transfer his residence to Byzantium (Constantinople). His three sons commenced their reign by assassinating all the relatives of the Emperor (only two nephews, Gallus and Julianus, escaped), and by dividing among themselves the empire. *Constantius* (337–361) ruled first over the East. After the death of Constantine II. (*ob.* 340), and of Constans (*ob.* 350), he became sole lord of the empire. All the sons of Constantine endeavoured to suppress heathenism by force. Constantius caused all heathen temples to be shut, and interdicted sacrifices on pain of death. Great numbers of pagans made profession of Christianity, few of them from real conviction. These measures only deepened the dislike of the more noble-minded heathen against Christianity. In their opinion, patriotism and intellectual culture were identical with attachment to the old faith.

2. *Julian the Apostate* (361–363).—(Comp. *A. Neander*, Kaiser Julian und sein Zeitalter (The Emp. Jul. and his Age). Leipz. 1812.—*V. S. Teuffel*, de Jul. Christianismi contemt. et osore. Tüb. 1844.—*D. Strauss*, d. Romantiker auf d. Thron d. Cæsaren. Mannh. 1847.—*J. E. Auer*, Julian d. Abtr. im Kampfe mit den Kirchenvätern s. Zeit. (Cont. betw. Jul. the Apost. and the Fathers of his Age). Vienna 1855.)—Julian, the heir to the throne, who was at any rate incensed at the murder of his relatives, long chafed under the monkish and ascetic training to which he was subjected. But he could conceal under the garb of feigned bigotry his heart-hatred of Christianity. When at last he obtained permission to study at Nicomedia and Athens, the representatives of heathenism in these places filled him with the conviction that he was called by the gods to restore the ancient faith. Lulled into security by his hypocrisy, *Constantius* intrusted Julian with the command of an army against the Germans. His courage and talents gained him the heart of the soldiers. He now threw off the mask, and

openly raised the standard of rebellion. Constantius died on his expedition against him, and *Julian* became Emperor (361–363). He immediately addressed himself with zeal and energy to the execution of his long-cherished plans, and sought to renew and restore the glories of ancient Paganism. To weaken and oppress Christianity, he employed ingenious rather than violent measures, although he deprived the clergy of their possessions, reminding them in derision of the duty of evangelical poverty. He encouraged, so far as he could, schisms in the Church, favoured all heretics and sects, sought by artifices to induce the soldiers to take part in sacrifices, interdicted Christians from having literary schools, removed them from the higher offices of state, and heaped on them all manner of indignity, etc. In order to defeat the prediction of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 38; xxiv. 2), he attempted to restore the temple at Jerusalem. But earthquakes and flames bursting from the ground, scattered the workmen. By all means in his power, and in every manner, he sought to restore and to elevate Paganism. From Christianity he borrowed certain charitable institutions, its ecclesiastical discipline, preaching, singing at public worship, etc. He also bestowed a number of distinctions on the heathen priesthood; but, on the other hand, insisted on strict discipline among them. In his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, he himself sacrificed and preached, and led a strictly ascetic and almost cynically simple life. But the want of success attending his endeavours increasingly exasperated him. Already fears were entertained of new persecutions, when, after a reign of only twenty months, he died in an expedition against the Persians,—as Christians related it, with the words, "Tandem vicisti, Galilæe!" on his lips.—On the throne of the Cæsars, Julian had displayed talents and virtues such as had not adorned it since the time of Marcus Aurelius.

3. *Final Destruction of Heathenism.*—With *Julian* perished also his futile attempts. His successors, *Jovian* (*ob.* 364), and then in the West, *Valentinian I.* (*ob.* 375), *Gratian* (*ob.* 383), and *Valentinian II.* (*ob.* 392), —in the East, *Valens* (*ob.* 378) and *Theodosius I.* (*ob.* 395), tolerated heathenism for some time, but only to prepare for its more certain destruction. Scarcely had *Theodosius* in some measure allayed political troubles, when, in 382, he made conversion to heathenism a criminal offence. The populace and the monks destroyed the temples. On this account *Libanius* addressed to the Emperor his celebrated oration, *περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν*; still, the latter caused the remaining temples to be shut, and interdicted all attendance on them. Bloody contests raged in the streets of Alexandria during the episcopate of *Theophilus*, in consequence of which the Christians destroyed the splendid *Serapeion* (391). In vain the heathen expected that this sin would cause the heavens to fall or the earth to perish; even the Nile refused to avenge the outrage through drought.—*Gratian* followed in the West the example which Theodosius had set in the East. He was the first to decline

the dignity of Pontifex Maximus; he deprived the heathen priests of their immunities, confiscated the landed property belonging to the temples, and ordered the altar of victory, which stood in the Curia of the Senate at Rome, to be removed. It was in vain that Symmachus, the præfectus urbi, endeavoured to get it restored. By the advice of *Ambrosius*, *Valentinian II.*, on four different occasions, refused to see deputations which had come to him on this subject. As soon as *Theodosius* became sole ruler (392), edicts even more stringent appeared. On his entrance into Rome (394), he addressed the Roman Senate in language of reproof, and admonished them to adopt Christianity. His sons *Honorius* (*ob.* 423) in the West, and *Arcadius* in the East (*ob.* 408), continued the policy of *Theodosius*. Under *Theodosius II.* (*ob.* 450), monks armed with imperial power travelled through the provinces for the purpose of suppressing heathenism. This was not accomplished without deeds of violence. The most horrible of these was the assassination at Alexandria of Hypatia, a woman of noble birth and a heathen philosopher (415). In official language, heathenism was regarded as defunct. For a long time it had been branded as the religion of rustics (*Paganismus*), and could only be practised secretly and in distant localities. Its last, and indeed its only prop, was the Academy at Athens, which attained its highest celebrity when *Proclus* (*ob.* 485) taught in its halls. *Justinian I.* (527–565) closed this institution. Its teachers fled into Persia. With their departure heathenism in the Roman and Grecian empire may be said to have deceased. Still, in the mountains of the Peloponnesus, the *Mainots* maintained their political independence and ancestral religion so late as the ninth century; while in Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, individual heathens were found even at the time of Gregory the Great (*ob.* 604).

4. *Resistance and Apologies of the Heathen.*—*Julian* alone could still polemise after the ancient fashion. Of his work κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, in seven books, the principal portions have been preserved in the reply of *Cyrill* of Alexandria. He pronounced Christianity a degenerate form of Judaism, and declared that the adoration of Christ, and martyr-worship, were later perversions of the doctrine of Christ. The other representatives of heathenism were content to sue for religious liberty and toleration. Again, while among Christian writers *Lactantius* had still plead for mutual forbearance, *Firmicus Maternus* already plied the sons of Constantine the Great with fanatical admonitions to suppress idolatry by force, pressing upon them the command of God to Joshua to exterminate the Canaanites. But when, from the fifth century, the incursions of the barbarians gave indications of the speedy downfall of the Roman empire, heathen writers felt encouraged to ascribe the disasters of the commonwealth to a judgment of the gods, on account of the suppression of the ancient religion, under which the State had so long flourished. These statements were made, among others, by the heathen historians *Zosimus* and *Eunapius*. But history itself refuted

them better than Christian apologetical writers (§ 48, 3) could have done; for these very barbarians gradually adopted Christianity, and almost surpassed the Roman emperors in the number and severity of their measures for the suppression of heathenism.

5. According to *Gregory of Nazianzus*, whose father had belonged to the sect of the HYPSISTARIANS in Cappadocia, the religious views of that party consisted of a mixture of Grecian heathenism with Jewish monotheism, and the Eastern worship of fire and of the stars,— special opposition being made to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. A kindred sect were the EUPHEMITES (those that sung praise) in Asia, who also bore the name of *Messalians* (praying) or *Euchetes*, and the sect of the *Cœlicolæ* in Africa.

§ 43. THE CHRISTIAN STATE AND THE STATE CHURCH.

COMP. *C. Riffel*, gesch. Darst. des Verh. zw. K. u. Staat. (Histor. Repr. of the Relat. betw. Ch. and State). Vol. I. May. 1836.— *Planck*, Gesch. d. Kirchl. Gesellschafts.—Verf. Vol. I.

As, in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, the Roman Emperor had formerly had the supreme direction of all religious affairs, so, when Christianity became the religion of the State, he gradually came to occupy a similar position in reference to the Church. Even Constantine the Great regarded himself as ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and all his successors exercised the "jus circa sacra," nor were their claims in this respect ever called in question. The Donatists (§ 63, 2) alone held that the State had no control whatever over the Church. As yet, the limits within which the State might claim certain rights in reference to the Church were not clearly defined. But thus much was asserted, at least in theory, that the Emperor had no power of his own accord to decide on internal questions concerning the Church (worship, discipline, and doctrine). To decide on such questions, *General Synods* were convened, of which the decrees obtained imperial sanction, and thereby became public enactments. But, in measure as the court of Byzantium degenerated and became the centre of intrigues, the interference of the court in ecclesiastical matters became increasingly pernicious. More than once, heresy for a time prevailed through personal feeling, unworthy artifices, and even by open force. But in the end, generally, truth again obtained the victory. The usurper *Basilicus* was the first, in the year 476, to determine, by imperial edicts, what should be taught and what should be believed

throughout the empire (§ 52, 5). Later emperors followed his example; among them, especially Justinian I. (527 to 565); and court theologians even attempted to justify such interferences by investing the imperial office with a priestly character, of which, according to them, Melchisedec had been a type. — The emperors exercised great influence on the election of bishops in the principal cities; at a later period, they appointed or deposed them as they chose. On the other hand, the protectorate of the emperors conferred on the Church a number of outward advantages and privileges. Among them we reckon the fact, that the State undertook the maintenance of the Church, partly by bestowing rich presents and foundations from the public exchequer, partly by making over to the Church the heathen temples and the possessions attaching to them. Even Constantine had authorized the Church to receive legacies of every kind. Besides, churches and ecclesiastical officials were free from all public burdens. The ancient practice of bishops to act as arbiters (1 Cor. vi. 1–6) was formally recognized; the clergy were exempted from secular jurisdiction, and placed under the authority of their superiors. *The right of asylum* which had belonged to the heathen temples was transferred to Christian churches. Connected with this was the right of episcopal *intercession* in favour of those who had been condemned by the tribunals, — a practice by which the latter became subject to a certain spiritual control, and unjust, arbitrary, or harsh measures were not unfrequently prevented.

1. According to the *jus circa sacra*, the emperors had power to arrange all things which bore on the relation between Church and State. At the same time, it was also their duty to preserve or restore peace and unity in the Church, to protect orthodoxy, to take charge of the interests of the Church and of the clergy, and to uphold the ecclesiastical canons. *Constantine* the Great already excluded all *heretics* from the privileges which he had accorded to the Church, and deemed it his duty to oppose the progress of heresy to the best of his power. For that purpose, the State did not hesitate to take away or to close such churches, to interdict their worship, to exile their leaders, and afterwards also to confiscate their property. The usurper Maximus (§ 54, 2) was the first, so early as the year 385, to execute sentence of death against heretics. But during this period his example was not followed by his successors. In 654, *Constans II.* caused a determined opponent of his ecclesiastical schemes (§ 52, 8) to be scourged and barbarously mutilated.—The Fathers of the fourth century disapproved of all constraint in matters of faith (comp. however § 63, 2).

2. The institution of *General Synods* (σύνοδοι οἰκουμενικαί, concilia universalia s. generalia) originated with *Constantine* the Great. They were convoked by the Emperor, and presided over either by the monarch in person, or by a prelate chosen by the Council. An imperial commissary opened the Synod by reading the imperial edict convening it; and also attended the meetings, for the purpose of guarding the rights of the State. The travelling expenses and maintenance of members of Synod were paid from the treasury. The decrees were designated by the common name of ὅροι, definitiones; — if they determined on matters of faith, they were called δόγματα, or if couched in the form of a confession, σύμβολα; — if they bore on the government, worship, or discipline of the Church, they were called κανόνες. Dogmas and symbols required to be unanimously passed; for canons a majority of votes was sufficient. From the first, only bishops were held entitled to vote in synods. But the prelates might be represented by some of their inferior clergy. — Instead of œcumenic councils, which could not be rapidly convened, σύνοδοι ἐνδημοῦσαι, as they were called, were sometimes held at Constantinople. These were composed of all the bishops present at the time in the capital. Such endemic synods were also occasionally held at Alexandria. — Twice a year *Provincial Synods* assembled under the presidency of their respective metropolitans. By and bye *Patriarchal* or *Diocesan Synods* were instituted, to serve as a court of appeal.

3. Among the *sources* of general *Ecclesiastical Law* at that period, we may mention, 1. The canons of the general councils, — 2. The decrees of the principal provincial synods, — 3. The Apostolic Canons (§ 41, 6), — 4. The *epistolæ canonicæ* of the principal bishops (especially of those in the sedes apostolicæ, § 30; above all, those from Rome and Alexandria), in reply to inquiries about the ecclesiastical practice prevalent in their dioceses (those from Rome were called *epistolæ decretales*), — 5. The imperial laws on the subject, νόμοι (the Codex Theodosianus about 440, the Codex Justinianæus 534, the Novellæ Justiniani). So far as we know, the first collection of those was made in the Greek Church, by *Johannes Scholasticus*, Patriarch of Constantinople. It obtained the name of *Nomo-canon* (about 560), because the ecclesiastical νόμοι of Justinian were added to it. A later Greek nomo-canon bears the name of *Theodorus Balsamon*. In the West, all former collections gave place to the Codex canonum, compiled by the Roman abbot *Dionysius the Small*, to which also all the decretal letters then extant were appended (about 500).

II. MONASTICISM, THE CLERGY AND HIERARCHY.

§ 44. MONASTICISM.

Comp. *A. Möhler*, Gesch. d. Mönchth. in d. Zeit sein. Entsteh. (Hist of Mon. at the time of its Orig.) in his coll. Works, I. 165, etc. — *G I. Mangold*, de monachatus orig. et causis. Marb. 1852. — Comp. also the works cited in § 2, 2.

Satiated of the ways of the world, and following the inclination for a contemplative life, which is characteristic of Orientals, many persons retired into solitude. Here, amidst prayer and labour, amidst want and self-denial which not unfrequently degenerated into self-torture, these *Anachorets* sought after that sanctification which they deemed impossible to attain in the midst of a corrupt world. The first example of this mode of life was given by *Paul of Thebes*, whose end became only accidentally known (§ 36, 3). But Monasticism properly originated with *St. Antonius, ob.* 356. His shining example was soon followed, and the deserts of Egypt became peopled with swarms of hermits, who gained from the wilderness a scanty subsistence. On the Nitrian mountains *Amonius*, and in the Scetian Desert *Macarius* the elder, founded celebrated institutions of anachorets. The largest of these communities was that founded by *Pachomius* (*ob.* 348) in Tabennæ, an island in the Nile. By the rules which he gave to his followers, the institutions of anachorets were transformed into regular monastic establishments (κοινὸς βίος). The monks with their president, called *Abbot* (abbas = father) or *Archimandrite*, were to live in a cloister (cœnobium, monasterium, claustrum, mandra, dairo, *i. e.*, dwelling), and to spend their time in prayer and labour (agriculture, making of baskets, carpets, etc.). Several other monasteries were founded in connection with the great cloister at Tabennæ, and soon the number of these monks amounted to 50,000. *Hilarion* founded in Palestine, near Gaza, a monastery on the same principles, the affiliated cloisters of which extended over all Syria. — In the East, the number of cloisters and monks increased immensely. The monastic life was vaunted as a βίος ἀγγελικός and a φιλοσοφία ἰψηλή, and regarded as a substitute for the martyrdom which was not any longer attainable. Already its institution was traced

back to *Elijah* and *John* the Baptist, and the *Therapeutæ* were represented as having been the first Christian monks. The cloisters became an asylum for those that were oppressed or persecuted, institutions of charity for the poor and sick, and soon afterwards also seminaries for training those who were to fill the clerical or episcopal office. But here also corruption made sad navoc. Not spiritual motives only, but ambition, vanity, idleness, and especially a desire to withdraw from the obligation to serve in the army, etc., or to pay taxes, helped to fill the cloisters. Hence in 365, the Emperor *Valens* ordered that such persons should be taken by force out of the monasteries. In order to arrest religious delusions (such as self-tortures, work-righteousness, enthusiasm and fanaticism, spiritual pride, etc.), and to make these institutions available for the real good of the Church, by converting them into seminaries for scientific studies and for education, some eminent bishops, among them Basil the Great, took the monasteries under their special superintendence and care. Other prelates, however, frequently employed the monks as a ready soldiery to carry out their ambitious or party views. — At first, the *Western Church* was opposed to these monastic tendencies. The authority of *Athanasius*, who on several occasions was obliged to seek a refuge in the West, led to a more favourable opinion of them. After that, the most celebrated of the Fathers, headed by such men as *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *Augustine*, exerted all their influence to spread monastic institutions. *Martin of Tours* introduced them into Northern Gaul about the year 380. In Southern Gaul, *Honoratus* founded the celebrated monastery of *Lerinum*, and *Johannes Cassianus*, (*ob.* 432) the still more celebrated institution at *Massilia*. But Monasticism in the West almost perished during the migration of nations; it was reserved for *Benedict of Nursia*, in the year 529, to reorganize the monasteries, and to introduce unity and order in them (§ 85).

1. *St. Antonius* sprung from a Coptic family at Coma, in Egypt. Left in his 18th year an orphan, the passage in the Gospel about the rich young man (Matt. xix.) affected him in such a manner, that he gave all his goods to the poor and retired to the desert. Amidst agonizing internal conflicts and temptations, his Christian experience ripened. Persons of all ranks went to consult him in search of comfort and peace. Even *Constantine* the Great intimated in a letter his veneration for this Christian Diogenes. Through his prayers bodily

diseases, through his counsel spiritual ailments, were removed. Twice — in the year 311, during the Diocletian persecution, and in the year 351, during the height of the Arian controversy — he suddenly appeared in Alexandria. By Christians and Pagans regarded as a sign from God, he succeeded in converting, within a few days, thousands of heathens. Like-minded persons gathered around him in order to enjoy his ministrations. In his last days he retired from them, and died at the age of 105 years (in 356).

2. *Nunneries.* — As early as the second century, some pious virgins renounced marriage in order to devote themselves wholly to God. As their sex prevented them from leading the life of anachorets, they were the more ready to fall in with the idea of a monastic life. *St. Antonius* himself had given the first example of a nunnery, when, on retiring to the wilderness, he founded for his sister, at Coma in Egypt, an institution destined to receive such virgins. The first regular nunnery was instituted by *Pachomius*, and presided over by his sister. After that time their number rapidly increased. Their president was called *Ammas* (mother), and the members μοναχαί, Sanctimoniales, *Nonnæ* (in Coptic = castæ). *St. Paula* of Rome, the pupil and friend of St. Jerome, became the patroness of female Monasticism in the West. She and her daughter *Eustochium* followed Jerome to Palestine, and founded in his vicinity, near Bethlehem, three nunneries.

3. *St. Basil* gave to the *monks* in the East new and improved *rules*, which soon came into general and almost exclusive use. Since the fifth century the synods gave laws to monasteries and their inmates. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon subjected cloisters to the jurisdiction of bishops. — At first it was held lawful for monks to return into the world, although this step was regarded as blameworthy, and requiring penance. But from the fifth and sixth centuries, monastic vows were regarded as absolutely binding. Hence entrants required to be of a certain (canonical) age, and to have passed a *noviciate*, or period of probation and for consideration. Since the sixth century, not only a "propria professio," but even a "paterna devotio" was held to be binding. — According to the rule of St. Basilius, every monastery had one or more presbyters attached to it, who conducted worship and administered the sacraments. Up to the tenth century, the monks themselves were regarded as *laymen*, but were distinguished as "*Religiosi*" from the "*Seculares*." Monasticism was, however, considered a preparation for the clerical office, and the majority of bishops were taken directly from monasteries.—(Cf. § 70, 3.)

4. The Acoimetes were a particular class of monks, whose origin dates from the fifth century. Studius, a Roman, founded for them at Constantinople the celebrated monastery of *Studion*. They derived their peculiar name from the circumstance that, in their cloisters

Divine worship was continuously celebrated night and day.—The Stylites were a peculiar class of hermits. The best known among them was *Symeon Stylites*, who at the commencement of the fifth century lived for thirty years, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, on a pillar thirty-six yards high, and thence preached repentance to the multitudes who from all parts crowded to see and hear him. Vanquished by the power of his addresses, thousands of Saracens who wandered about in that neighbourhood were baptized. The best-known Stylites, next to him, are a certain *Daniel* (near Constant. *ob.* 489) and a younger *Simeon* (near Antioch, *ob.* 596).

5. Even after *Pachomius*, *Hilarion*, and *Basilius* had given fixed rules to the various monasteries, individual associations of hermits refused to submit to any regulation. Among them we may mention the Sarabaites in Egypt, and the Remoboth in Syria. Irregular associations of monks wandered about through Mesopotamia, under the name of Βοσκοί, *pabulatores*, from the circumstance that they lived on herbs or roots. Since the fifth century we read of the *Gyrovagi* (as they were called), in Italy and Africa, who, under the designation of monks, led a dissolute and vagrant life.—The Euchites and Eustathians, who appeared in the second half of the fourth century, were *heretical* and *schismatic* monks. The former — who are not to be confounded with the heathen Euchetai (§ 42, 5) — bore also the names of *Messalians* and *Choreutai* (from their mystical dances). They claimed to have attained the highest point of spirituality, and on that ground to be above the law. Pretending to be absorbed in silent prayer, and honoured with heavenly visions, they went about begging, since labour was unbecoming perfect saints. They taught that, in virtue of his descent from Adam, every man brought an evil spirit with him into the world, who could only be overcome by prayer. Thus alone would the root of all evil be removed. After that was done, man required no longer either the law, the Scriptures, or the sacraments. He might give reins to his passions, and even do what would be sinful in one who was still under the law. They employed the lascivious imagery of sensual love to describe their mystical communion with God. The Gospel history they regarded as only an allegory, and considered fire to be the creative principle of the universe. *Flavian*, Bishop of Antioch, by artifices and accommodation, obtained knowledge of their secret principles and practices (381). But, despite the persecution to which they were subjected, they continued till the sixth century.—The Eustathians derived their name from *Eustathius*, Bishop of *Sebaste*, the founder of Monasticism in the Eastern provinces of the empire. In their fanatical contempt of marriage, they went so far as to regard communion with married persons as impure, and to institute religious services of their own. They rejected the feasts of the Church, enjoined fasting on Sundays and feast-days (§ 31), and entire abstinence from animal food. Their women went about dressed as men. They also

insisted that persons of property should give up all their possessions. Servants left their masters, wives their husbands, to join the commu nion of these saints. But the vigorous measures taken by the *Synod of Gangra* in Paphlagonia (between A. D. 360 and 370) arrested the spread of the sect.

§ 45. THE CLERGY.

Gradually the separation between the clergy and laity became more and more marked, while the superior ecclesiastical functionaries formed a spiritual corresponding to the secular aristocracy. It was maintained that the priesthood occupied the same relation to the laity as the soul to the body. Withal, the number of aspirants to the clerical office increased to a degree to render it necessary for the State to regulate their admission by certain laws. The *clergy* were *appointed* by the bishops, but with the formal concurrence of the people. In the East, bishops were chosen by all the prelates of a province, under the presidency of the metropolitan, on whom also devolved the ordination of the person elected. But in the West the old practice continued, and bishops, clergy, and people combined in making the choice. The Council of Nice interdicted the *translation* of bishops, characterizing it as spiritual adultery (Eph. v. 23, etc.); still the practice was by no means uncommon. The monarchical power of the bishop over his clergy was admitted by all parties. According to the practice in Rome, one-fourth of the total *revenues* of a congregation went to the bishop, another fourth to the rest of the clergy, a third portion to the poor, and the remainder was employed for ecclesiastical buildings and furniture. In the course of time the episcopal functions and privileges of the *chorepiscopoi* were more and more limited; they were subordinated to the city bishops, and ultimately (about 360) the office was wholly suppressed. After the reaction against episcopal claims had ceased, the *presbyters*—especially those who ministered in affiliated or rural congregations — obtained a position of greater independence than before as regarded the administration of worship and of the sacraments. By and by the extension of congregational relationships gave rise to a variety of *new ecclesiastical offices*.

1. *Training of the Clergy.*— The few *theological schools* which existed in Alexandria, in Cæsarea, in Antioch, in Edessa, and in Nisibis, were manifestly quite insufficient for the requirements of the Church.

Besides, most of them went down during the political and ecclesiastical turmoils of the fifth and sixth centuries. In the West there were not any such institutions. So long as the heathen seminaries of learning flourished at Athens, Alexandria, Nicomedia, etc., many Christian youths obtained in them their preparatory literary training, and afterwards supplemented what was wanting in a religious aspect by retiring into solitude or into monasteries, and there devoting themselves to asceticism and theological study. Others, despising classical training, contented themselves with a monastic education. Others, again, commenced their clerical career, when still boys, as lectores or episcopal clerks, and were trained under the superintendence and direction of bishops or experienced clergymen. *Augustine* constituted his clergy into a kind of monastic community (*monasterium clericorum*), and transformed it into a clerical seminary. This arrangement met with general approbation; and, when the North African bishops were expelled by the Vandals from their country, was imported into Sicily and Sardinia.

2. Ultimately the *Canonical Age* of priests was fixed at 30 years, that of deacons at 25. Neophites, those who had been baptized when sick (clinici), penitents and energumenoi, *bigami*, mutilated persons, eunuchs, slaves, actors, dancers, soldiers, curials, etc., were not to be *admitted to the clerical office.* At so early a period as the fourth century the *African* Church insisted that candidates for the ministry should undergo a strict *examination* as to their attainments and orthodoxy; *Justinian I.* required that the bishops should at least inquire into the orthodoxy of candidates.

3. *Ordination* (χειροτονία) was regarded as analogous to the chrisma of baptism, and hence as a sacrament. If the latter admitted into the general priesthood, the former made a person a priest in a special sense; both imparted a "*character indelebilis.*" Its effect was regarded as almost magical. To impart ordination was the privilege of bishops only; but presbyters were wont to assist in the ordination of their colleagues. The principle, "ne quis vage ordinetur," was universally acted upon — the only exception being in the case of missionaries. According to the Canons, a person was not to be ordained to any superior ecclesiastical office till he had passed through all the inferior grades, commencing with the sub-diaconate. At first, ordination consisted only in imposition of the hands; but at a later period the person set apart was, after the analogy of baptism, also *anointed* (with chrism, *i. e.*, oil mixed with balsam). This ceremony was preceded by the Lord's Supper, taken fasting. Since the sixth century candidates had also to submit to Tonsure. This practice was first introduced in the case of penitents; it was imitated by the monks, as being a symbol of humility, and from them it passed to the regular clergy. According to the *Grecian* mode of tonsure (tonsura Pauli), the hair of the whole

head was clipped quite short; according to the Roman mode (tonsura Petri), a narrow rim of hair was left all round the head (either in remembrance of Christ's crown of thorns, or as a symbol of the royal priesthood, *corona sacerdotalis*). The anniversaries of episcopal ordinations (*natales Episcoporum*) were frequently celebrated as festivals. Gradually, INVESTITURE, or the solemn putting on of the *insignia of office*, was introduced. It formed the only real mark of distinction in ordination between the different grades of the clerical office. — The practice among the clergy of wearing a PECULIAR DRESS on all ordinary occasions, and *official robes* when administering the ordinances, had its origin in the circumstance that the clergy still retained a style of dress after fashion had abolished its use among the laity. The desire to attach a symbolical meaning to everything, and to imitate the dresses worn by the priests under the Old Testament dispensation, gave rise to various other modifications and additions.

4. *Injunction of Celibacy.* — Following the precedent of the *Spanish* Provincial Synod of *Elvira* (A.D. 305), the first Council of Nice (325) felt inclined to enjoin clerical celibacy throughout the whole Church, at least so far as the "ordines majores" were concerned. But this measure was opposed by *Paphnutius*, a confessor and Egyptian bishop, who from his youth had been an ascetic. He maintained that not only abstinence, but marriage also, was chastity; and his influence decided the question. The former practice was therefore maintained, which ruled that bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were not to have been twice married, nor to contract a marriage after their ordination, but were allowed to use their own discretion in reference to marriages contracted before their ordination. These comparatively liberal views continued for a considerable period to be entertained in the East; and in opposition to the Eustathians (§ 44, 5), the *Synod of Gangra* defended the sanctity of wedlock, and the rights of married priests. In the fourth and fifth centuries frequent instances of married bishops occurred (for example, the father of Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Synesius of Ptolemais, and many others). *Justinian I.* prohibited married persons to be elected bishops. The *second Trullan Council* (A.D. 692) confirmed this mandate, prohibited all clergymen from marrying a second time; but allowed presbyters and deacons, before their ordination, to contract a first marriage, only enjoining a temporary separation during the period of their service at the altar. To this a special protest against the unnatural severity of the Roman Church was added.— In the *West* the principles promulgated in Spain were generally entertained, and *Leo the Great* applied them also to *sub-deacons*. But there also the frequent instances of contravention rendered a degree of indulgence necessary.

5. The number of *Ecclesiastical Functionaries* was largely increased by the employment of clerical attendants on the sick, or PARABOLANOI

(from παραβάλλεσθαι τὴν ζωήν), and GRAVE-DIGGERS (κοπιαταί, fossarii), whose number increased to a very great extent in the larger cities. Where a bishop was arrogant, imperious, or prone to violent measures, he had in these officials a kind of standing army and body-guard. In A.D. 418, *Theodosius II.* limited the number of parabolanoi in Alexandria to 600, and that of the copiatai in Constantinople to 950. The property of the churches was administered by οἰκόνομοι; their causes were carried through the courts of law by special ADVOCATES (ἔκδικοι, σύνδικοι, defensores); the proceedings at ecclesiastical assemblies were taken down by *notarii*, ταχύγραφοι. Besides these officials, *record-keepers* (χαρτοφύλακες), *librarians*, *thesaurarii* (σκευοφύλακες), etc., were employed. All these were unordained persons. Among the *ordines majores*, also, new grades were introduced. In the fourth century an *archdeacon* was placed over the deacons. He was the right-hand man, the substitute and plenipotentiary of the bishop, and frequently succeeded to that office. The College of Priests also was presided over by an ARCHPRESBYTER. The superintendence of several congregations was entrusted to a city presbyter, who was called the PERIODEUTES, or visitator. — The *seniores plebis* of the African churches were lay elders, and not ordained in the same manner as the clergy. The office of *deaconesses* gradually lost in importance, and ultimately ceased entirely.

§ 46. THE PATRIARCHAL OFFICE AND THE PRIMACY.

COMP. *Le Quien*, Oriens Christianus. Par. 1740. 3 Voll. fol.—*Janus*, de origg. Patr. chr. Vit. 1718. — *Wiltsch*, kirchl. Geogr. u. Statistik. (Eccl. Geogr. and Statist.). I. 56 etc.

The institution of *Metropolitan Sees* (§ 30) had, during the period preceding that which we describe, prepared the way for introducing hierarchical distinctions among bishops. This movement was greatly furthered by the political division of the empire under *Constantine the Great.* The bishops of capital cities now claimed a *spiritual* sway analogous to that which the imperial governors exercised in secular matters. But former privileges and later claims prevented anything like a complete correspondence between the secular and the hierarchical arrangements. The first *Council of Nice* (325) expressly confirmed the preponderance of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, which these prelates had long enjoyed. The second general *Council of Constantinople* (in 381) exempted the Bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE (διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην) from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Heraclea, in Thracia, and assigned to him the first rank *after* the Bishop of Rome. The bishops thus distinguished

bore the title of *Patriarchs* — a designation which the Roman bishops refused, in order not to be on the same level with other prelates, choosing in preference the title of *Papa*, Πάπας. The fourth general *Council of Chalcedon* (A.D. 451) placed the Patriarch of the metropolis of the East on a footing of *perfect* equality with his colleague of Rome; put the three dioceses of Thracia, Pontus, and Asia under his jurisdiction; and invested him with the power of receiving complaints against the metropolitans of any diocese. The same council also raised the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom the Council of Nice had in 325 already declared as entitled to special honours, to the dignity of Patriarch, and invested him with supremacy over the whole of Palestine, while formerly that prelate had been under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Cæsarea. Still, some metropolitans—and among them especially those of *Salamis* in Cyprus, of *Milan*, of *Aquileia*, and of *Ravenna*, in Italy—refused to acknowledge that their sees were, in any sense, subject to their respective patriarchs. — The district under the jurisdiction of the bishop was called *parochia*, παροικία, that of the metropolitan *provincia*, ἐπαρχία, that of the patriarch *diœcesis*, διοίκησις; but these terms were often interchanged. — The patriarchs were entitled to have at the Imperial Court resident legates, who were called *Apocrisiarians*. The σύγκελλοι acted as clerical councillors and assistants of the patriarchs. — From the sixth century the popes began to confirm the election of oriental metropolitans, by sending them the *pallium*, as the archiepiscopal insignium. — From this period it was considered to be necessary for the validity of a general council, that all the five patriarchs should be represented in them. But when in 637 *Jerusalem*, in 638 *Antioch*, and in 640 *Alexandria*, became subject to the *Saracens*, the Patriarch of Constantinople remained the sole representative of that dignity in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire. His *Roman* colleague was his only rival, and he was no way able to compete with him. On the contrary, the pretensions of Rome to the primacy rapidly secured universal assent.

1. *The Rivalry between Rome and Byzantium.*—(Comp. besides the works referred to in § 30, 4: *Archinard*, les origines de l'égl. Rom. 2 Voll Par. 1851.—*H. G. Hasse*, über d. Vereinig. d. geistl. u. weltl. Obergewalt im röm. Kirchenstaate (On the Combinat. of Spir. and Secul. Supremacy in the States of the Ch.). Haarl. 1852. 4to. — *F. Maassen* (Rom. Cath.), der Primat d. Bischh. zu Rom u. d. ältesten Patriarchal

kirchen (The Primacy of the Bish. of Rome and of the oldest Patr. Ch.). Bonn 1853.)—Since the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) the Patriarch of Constantinople alone claimed equal power and honours with the Bishop of Rome. Justinian I. gave indeed to the Bishop of Constantinople the designation of *Œcumenical Patriarch;* but this remained an empty title, while the Bishop of Rome took every opportunity to declare, by word and deed, that, according to Divine appointment, he exercised supremacy over the whole Church, and over all prelates, including the Patriarch of Constantinople. Even in so far as the principles were concerned on which each of these two prelates rested his claims, those of Rome were much more full and intelligible. In the East the episcopal sees ranked according to the political importance attaching to the cities in which they were placed. As Constantinople was the residence of the ruler of the whole οἰκουμένη, its bishop was likewise held to be œcumenical. But, in the opinion of the world, the position of ancient Rome was higher than that of her modern rival. All the proud reminiscences of history clustered around the capital of the West. On the other hand, the visible decline and the threatening decay of the empire were associated with Byzantium. But neither did the West admit the principle on which the pretensions of the see of Constantinople were founded. Not the will of the Emperor, it was argued, nor the growing decrepitude of the empire, could decide the spiritual rank of a bishop; the history of the Church and the will of its Divine Founder and Lord must determine the question. Measured by this standard, the see of Constantinople was not only inferior to those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, but even to those in many cities whose bishops indeed were not metropolitans, but whose churches had been founded by apostles; while, on the other hand, Rome undoubtedly occupied the first rank. There the two princes of the apostles had lived, taught, witnessed, and suffered; their graves and bones were there. More than that, Peter, whom the Lord Himself had made primate among the apostles, had been the first occupant of the see of Rome, and the Roman bishops were his successors and the heirs of his privileges. The Patriarch of Constantinople depended for the support of his claims only on the influence of the court. But frequently that very court, which had seconded and fostered his claims, deserted him, in order, through the wide influence of the Bishop of Rome, to strengthen its tottering power in Italy. Again, he was selected and deposed by the court; too often he fell a sacrifice to its intrigues, or became the tool of its policy and the advocate of its heretical views. How favourable, in comparison with this, was the position of the Bishop of Rome! In his selection the court could but rarely exercise any influence, much more rarely could it bring about his deposition. While the East was torn by a number of ecclesiastical disputes, in which truth and error (if only for a time) alternately prevailed, the West, ranged under the leadership of Rome, presented almost always a close and

united phalanx. To Rome disputants appealed for ultimate decision, oppressed parties for advocacy and protection; and since the Bishops of Rome always lent their authority to truth and right, the party whose case was supported by them always ultimately carried off the victory. Even at that period, "Roma locuta est" was in itself a power. Thus, in the opinion of Christendom, Rome gradually rose in authority, and soon it claimed, as of right, what at first personal confidence or the urgency of circumstances had accorded in special and individual instances. Besides, during the lapse of ages, Rome always learned, but never forgot. The consciousness of common interests, supported by a deep hierarchical spirit, had sprung up and gathered around the chair of Peter, — influences by which even worthless or weak popes were upheld. Thus, despite all opposition and resistance, Rome steadily advanced towards the mark which all along it had kept in view. At last the *East* was only able to preserve and assert its ecclesiastical independence by an act of complete and final separation.

2. *History of the Pretensions of Rome to the Primacy.* — The COUNCIL OF NICE (325) assigned to the Bishop of Rome spiritual supremacy over the (ten) suburbicarian provinces, *i. e.*, over Middle and Lower Italy, and the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. This arrangement had been made in conformity with the political position of Rome at the time. But long before that, Rome enjoyed a much more extensive authority (§ 30, 4), from the circumstance that it was the only *sedes apostolica* in the West. Indeed, when any difficulty occurred, it was the practice in all parts of the West to apply to Rome for guidance. As early as the fourth century, the official answers to these appeals assumed a tone of command rather than of advice (EPISTOLÆ DECRETALES). But until the year 343, no attempt was made to assert any claim of authority over the East. But in that year, the pressure of circumstances obliged the COUNCIL OF SARDICA (§ 50, 2) to decree that *Julius*, Bishop of Rome, had, as the consistent and trustworthy advocate of orthodoxy, the right of hearing appeals from bishops in any part of the empire; and, if he found the complaints just, of appointing judges and instituting a fresh trial, the verdict in that case to be final. But this decree applied only to Julius as an individual, and must be regarded as only a temporary expedient adopted by a minority which was hardly beset. Hence it scarcely excited attention, and was soon forgotten. But Rome did not forget it; and in 402–417, INNOCENT I. made it the basis of a claim to the effect that all *causæ majores* should be submitted to the Apostolic See for decision. Still, even then the claim to primacy was based only upon human authority. LEO THE GREAT (440–461) was the first, in his instruction to his legates at the *Council of Ephesus* (449), to rest it on Divine authority, by appealing to Matt. xvi. 18 (§ 30, 3). Formerly, Western authorities, such as Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and Innocent I. himself, had adopted the interpretation of the passage by Cyprian, who applied it

to all the apostles, and hence to all bishops; while they understood the word πέτρα as applying either to the confession of Peter, or to the person of Christ. *Leo I.*, however, applied it to Peter exclusively, and to the Pope as his sole successor. Of course, the Fathers of Ephesus, and afterwards also those of *Chalcedon* (A. D. 451, comp. § 52, 4), refused to receive this interpretation. The claims of Leo received fuller acknowledgments in the West. On the occasion of a resistance to them by *Hilary, Bishop of Arles*, the Pope procured from the youthful Emperor VALENTINIAN III. a rescript (A. D. 445), which ordained that in future none should venture to resist or to doubt the primacy of the Pope, which the Lord Himself had instituted. The suburbicarian bishops of Italy readily submitted. The SYNODUS PALMARIS of Rome (A. D. 503), which *Theodoric*, King of the East Goths, had summoned to inquire into the charges brought against Pope *Symmachus*, absolved the latter without an investigation; and *Ennodius of Pavia* openly proclaimed the principle that, since the Pope was judge over all, he could not be subject to the jurisdiction of any. Still, the metropolitans of NORTHERN ITALY (of *Aquileia, Milan, and Ravenna*) steadily opposed these views, and for centuries maintained the independence of their sees. However great their reverence for the "cathedra Petri," the bishops of NORTH AFRICA ascribed to the Pope only a "principatus honoris;" at all periods they firmly resisted the aggressions of Rome; and when *Apiarius*, a presbyter who had been deposed, sought protection in Rome (A. D. 418), they interdicted, on pain of excommunication, every appeal "ad transmarina judicia." They also refused to acknowledge the validity of the decree of the Council of Sardica, even when Pope *Zosimus* pretended it had come from the Council of Nice. — In A. D. 590–604, GREGORY THE GREAT still admitted that the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch occupied the same rank with himself, and that even the other bishops were subject to his jurisdiction only in case of an accusation preferred, but that in other respects their office was the same as his. That prelate also refused the proud title of "episcopus universalis," which *Johannes Jejunator*, Patriarch of Constantinople, had shortly before assumed (A. D. 587), and in token of humility called himself "servus servorum Dei." But the protest of Rome against the assumption of the see of Constantinople remained unheeded, till the usurper and murderer PHOCAS interdicted the use of this appellation to his patriarch, and acknowledged the see of Peter as the "caput omnium ecclesiarum" (A. D. 606).—The firm and energetic bearing of Rome during the Monothelete controversy (§ 52, 8) secured for it another brilliant triumph. The sixth œcum. Council of *Constantinople* condescended, in 680, to make to the Pope a humble report of its proceedings, and to request his confirmation of them. However, the SECOND TRULLAN COUNCIL, A. D. 692 (§ 63, 3), amply made up for this by a sweeping condemnation of the decrees of Rome, thereby laying the foundation for the later schism between the East and the West

III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

§ 47. THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AND TENDENCIES.

The ancient Church attained its highest stage of literary eminence during the fourth and fifth centuries. As the number of seminaries of theological learning was very small (§ 45, 1), most of the great theologians of that period were self-taught. But the fewer the outward means, opportunities, and stimuli for calling forth and developing the mental activity, the greater must have been the intellectual resources of that period, and the stronger its general impetus towards such culture. These schools still, however few, served as points whence a more scientific theology issued, and where it found a rallying-place. Their extinction marks the general decadence of scientific studies and of original investigation. Probably the middle of the fifth century —the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451—formed the turning-point. After that period, science, and in general every ecclesiastical movement, stagnated or declined.—The theological directions prevalent at the time may be distinguished as those of *traditionalism* and of *free scientific inquiry*. The collisions between them gave rise to the various dogmatic discussions of that period. The *former* of these parties defended the results of the development of doctrine already achieved, as being established and sanctioned by tradition, and even sought conclusively to settle, in the same manner, the doctrinal questions which arose in the progress of subjective development. The *latter* of these schools represented the cause of the freedom of Christian intellect, and resisted every attempt at narrowing the province of free inquiry. The first had its most numerous adherents among the Latins of Italy and North Africa; the second, among the Grecians of the East and of Egypt. But this division was not by any means complete, nor was the distinction perfectly marked and established. From the lively intercourse subsisting between different parts of the empire, the germs of traditionalism were carried to the East (and especially to Egypt), while those of scientific and philosophical inquiry were also brought to the West; and this interchange and admixture gave rise to various intermediate views.—But after the middle of the fifth century the

spirit of free scientific inquiry gradually disappeared in the Eastern as in the Western Church, and a traditionalism, which became more and more ossified, attained supreme and unlimited sway. Political troubles, hierarchical aggressions, a narrow-minded monasticism, and the spread of barbarism, arrested every liberal or scientific movement. In place of the youthful vigour of independent inquiry, we find the industry of mere compilers, or laborious but vain attempts to appropriate the intellectual products of centuries gone by. Such was now the authority of the older Fathers, and so binding, in common esteem, were their dicta, that the discussions in councils were almost entirely carried on by citations from those Fathers whose orthodoxy was acknowledged.

1. *The School of Antioch* may be regarded as representing liberal and scientific investigations (§ 39, 6). At first, following in the wake of the inquiries and general principles of Origen, it became, in the course of its development, independent of, and indeed frequently diverged from, that great teacher. More especially did it substitute a method of grammatical and historical exegesis for the allegorical interpretations of the Origenists, and calm, sober reflection in place of their extravagant speculations. It endeavoured to ascertain the plain meaning of the Scriptures, and to derive from them a purely Biblical theology. Thoroughly opposed to all mysticism, these divines viewed Christianity in its intellectual and rational aspect; and, by a process of clear and logical thinking, sought to deduce its dogmas. Hence they attempted carefully to distinguish between the Divine and the human in Christ and in Christianity, to view each of these elements separately, and to secure its right place especially for the human element. But in this they frequently strayed into rationalistic sentiments. Still the school impressed its stamp on the East properly so called. Its most celebrated representatives were Diodorus of Tarsus, and his pupils, the three great Antiochians (as they are called): Theodorus, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret.—Diodorus was first a monk and presbyter at Antioch, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia (*ob.* 394). In consequence of a later condemnation of the Church (§ 52, 6), his numerous writings were suppressed. He gave to the school its peculiar dogmatic character.—Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (*ob.* 429), was a friend and fellow-student of Chrysostom. The ban of the fifth œcumenical Council of Constantinople attached also to his writings and teaching. At a later period, the Syrian Church honoured him with the designation of "*Interpres.*" He was considered one of the deepest thinkers of the age.—John of Antioch, whose name was afterwards almost forgotten in the title of Chrysostom, by which he was designated. His pious mother *Anthusa*, who had early become a widow,

bestowed great care on his education. He attended the rhetorical school of *Libanius*, and practised at Antioch with great success as an advocate. But after his baptism he gave up this profession, became the pupil of *Diodorus*, and a monk and presbyter in his native city. Ultimately, his brilliant eloquence procured for him the patriarchal see of Constantinople (A. D. 397). On his activity there, comp. § 51, 3 He died in exile, A. D. 407. Along with Athanasius and the three Cappadocians (§ 75), he may be ranked as the most eminent of the Greek Fathers (Ed. of his works by M. Montfaucon. Par. 1713. 13 Voll. fol.).—THEODORET, Bishop of Cyros in Syria, was a pupil of Theodorus (*ob.* 457). He was the most learned and fertile writer of his age — a profound thinker, and a diligent pastor, a man of straightforward and noble character, and one who could avoid the extreme views of his cotemporaries (§ 52, 3, 4). Still, during the imperial attempts at bringing about a union, he was branded as a heretic (§ 52, 6). Best ed. of his works by J. Sirmond et J. Garnier. Par. 1642; and by J. L. Schulze. Halle 1769.

2. The theology of the *national, East Syrian Church*, which had for its seminary the *theological school of Edessa* (§ 39, 6), was still more bound by tradition, than that of the Antioch (Greek) Syrian Church. There the oriental spirit reigned still more absolutely, showing itself in a play of fancy with excessive pathos and exuberant imagery, a leaning to theosophy, mysticism and asceticism, fertility in hymnology, additions to the liturgy, the service of the Church, and constitution, combined with doctrinal stability. In exegesis it adopted, like that of Antioch, the opposite of Origen's allegorical arbitrariness, but was not scientific and critical, but rather purely practical and mystical; hence the errors of Origen's school were rationalizing, those of the school of Edessa anthropomorphistic, as in the case of the Audians (§ 62). But their local proximity, and the active intercourse between the teachers and pupils of both schools, resulted in a greater agreement between them. In the christological controversies, especially, the school at *Edessa*, and its daughter at *Nisibis*, attached themselves closely to the interests and doctrines of the school at Antioch (§ 52, 3). The most renowned teachers of the East Syrian Church were:

(1.) JAMES OF NISIBIS (*ob.* circa 350), founder of the school there, champion against the Arian heresy, distinguished by zeal in performing his duties as a bishop, and one of the most revered fathers of the Syrian Church.

(2.) EPHRAEM SYRUS, deacon, and second founder of the theological school at Edessa (350), the most celebrated poet, exegete, and preacher of the national Syrian Church (*propheta Syrorum*), was a zealous adherent of Nicene orthodoxy, and in old age made (372) a journey to Cappadocia, to become acquainted with Basil.

(3.) IBAS OF EDESSA (*ob.* circa 470) teacher, then bishop at Edessa, translator of the writings of Diodorus and Theodorus. Like them he

was accused of Nestorianism, and acquitted at Chalcedon (451), but pronounced a heretic at Constantinople (553).—(Cf. § 52, 4, 6.)

3. After the discussion between Dionysius of Alexandria and his namesake of Rome (§ 40, 5), the *theology of Alexandria* had assumed a twofold type. The Old School remained faithful to the views of Origen, and generally assumed a position antagonistic to the theology and tradition of the West, asserting the right of free and unrestricted investigation. While revering the memory of Origen, the representatives of that school discarded most of his extravagant speculations. The best known theologian of that party was *Eusebius of Cæsarea* (*ob.* 338) the historian. He was on terms of intimate friendship with *Pamphilus* the confessor, whom he called father, and whose admiration of Origen he shared. He also enjoyed the fullest confidence of Constantine the Great, who furthered his historical studies by giving him access to all the archives of the empire. His learning was extensive, and his diligence untiring; but he was not profound, and lacked speculative talent and doctrinal consistency. All the more credit is, therefore, due to his comprehensive and laborious historical investigations. He and most of his friends were semi-Arians. The school became extinct during the latter half of the fourth century. Since that time, enthusiastic admirers of Origen have not, indeed, been wanting; but their influence on the development of the Church has been small, and the suspicion of heterodoxy has always attached to them (comp. § 52, 6).[7]

4. It was otherwise with the *New Alexandrian School*, whose influence became, after the fourth century, co-extensive with that of Alexandrian culture generally. This party also (at least the earlier representatives) sincerely respected the memory of Origen, and in their speculative treatment of Christian doctrine followed in his footsteps. But they disowned his unbiblical errors, and consistently carried out what was sound in his teaching. More especially did this school, by firm adherence to the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son, keep clear of all *subordinatianism*, and thus draw more closely to the divines of the *Western Church* (§ 40, 6). A predilection for what in Christianity was mysterious, and a dislike of the intellectual tendency in theology, were the characteristics of the school of Alexandria as contrasted with that of *Antioch*. It regarded the union of the Divine and the human in Christ and in Christianity as a glorious mystery, which it was impossible to analyze or explain. But it lost sight of the human aspect of these realities, or rather merged the human in the Divine. While energetically maintaining the intimate connection of these two elements, it lost sight of their diversity, and fell into an error the opposite from that towards which the school of Antioch verged. Its leading and most orthodox representatives were *Athanasius*, the three great Cappadocians (*Basilius* and the two *Gregorys*) and

Didymus the Blind. The leaven of error in the New Alexandrian School appeared for the first time in *Cyril* of Alexandria, although that Father was still regarded as orthodox. After that period the school rapidly declined. The tendency of the teaching of *Synesius* was philosophical rather than theological. Almost his counterpart was *Epiphanius*, whose glowing zeal for traditionary orthodoxy inclined him towards the New Alexandrian School, although he had not the least sympathy with its speculative tendencies.

(1.) Probably the most prominent ecclesiastical personage in the fourth century was ATHANASIUS, whom his successors, in acknowledgment of his merits, have called "*Pater orthodoxiæ.*" He was every inch a Church-Father, and his history is at the same time that of the Church of his day (comp. § 50). His was a life of heroism in the midst of contests, of faithfulness, of power and wisdom in construction; nor was he less great when defeated than when successful; rich and varied talents, energy, determination, earnestness and gentleness, extensive learning and humble faith, were beautifully blended in him. In 319 he became a deacon in Alexandria. *Alexander*, the bishop of that see, perceiving his talents, took him to the Council of Nice (325), where he first engaged in that great contest to which his life was devoted. Soon afterwards, when Alexander died, Athanasius was chosen his successor (328). He held the episcopal office for forty-five years: during that period he was ten times banished, and passed twenty years in exile, chiefly in the West (*ob.* 373). His writings are mainly directed against Arianism. (His works edited by *Montfaucon.* Par. 1698, 3 vols.)

(2.) BASIL THE GREAT, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia—his native city—was truly a "*royal*" personage in history (*ob.* 379). His mother *Emmelia*, and his grandmother Macrina, early planted the seeds of piety in his breast. When studying at Athens he entered into close friendship with his like-minded countryman, *Gregory of Nazianzus.* This connection, based upon attachment to the Church and to science—which afterwards also embraced *Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, the brother of Basil—lasted through life. Having spent a considerable period in ascetic retirement, and distributed his property among the poor, Basil first became presbyter and then bishop. His life was that of a faith which overcomes the world, of self-denying love, of high aims, and of royal dignity. By the power of his spirit he kept together the Catholic Church of the East during the frightful persecutions inflicted by *Valens*, the Arian. Perhaps his best monument was the foundation of a great hospital at Cæsarea, to which he devoted the rich revenues of his see, living himself in poverty. His writings also entitle Basil to a distinguished place among the Fathers. His 365 letters are a faithful reflex both of his own mind and of those stormy times.—(Comp. *W. Close*, Bas. d. Gr. nach Leben u. Lehre (Basil the Gr., his Life and Teaching). Strals. 1835.—*Böhringer*, Kirchengesch. in Biogr., vol. I. 2 (his writings, edited by *J. Garnier* and *P. Maranus.* Par. 1721. 3 Voll. fol.)

(3). Gregory of Nazianzus was born at Arianzus about the year 328. Gregory, his father, who had been a Hypsistarian, was converted through his pious wife *Nonna*, and became Bishop of Nazianzus. Gregory the Younger became the assistant and, though against his will, the successor of his father. From his see he first retired into the wilderness, then became bishop of the small community at Constantinople which had remained faithful to the Nicene creed (the church of Anastasia, where he delivered the celebrated orations which procured for him the designation of ὁ Θεόλογος), and was nominated Patriarch by *Theodosius the Great* in 380. Driven the year following from that post through the envy of his enemies, he returned to Nazianzus, where he died in 391.—(Comp. *C. Ullmann*, Greg. of Naz. the Theol. Darmst. 1825, and *Böhringer* ut supra I. 2 (best ed. of his writings by *D. Clemencet*. Par. 1788. 2 Voll. fol.).

(4.) Gregory of Nyssa, the younger brother of Basil. He excelled his two friends in philosophic acumen and scientific acquirements. His theological views were more closely connected with those of Origen than theirs, but he was equally zealous in opposing Arianism. Both among his cotemporaries and with posterity his fame has scarcely been less than that of his friends.—(*J. Rupp*, Greg. v. Nyssa, Leben u. Meinungen (Greg. of Nyssa, his Life and Opinions).—Leipz. 1834 (best ed. of his writings by *Fronton le Duc*.—Par. 1615.—2 Voll. fol.).

(5.) Though Didymus the Blind had lost his sight when only four years old, he acquired very extensive learning. He acted as catechist in Alexandria, where he died about the year 395. He wrote many works, of which, however, only few have been preserved. An enthusiastical admirer of Origen, he shared some of the extravagant views of that Father; but in consequence of the discussions of that period his theology gradually came to be more in accordance with that of the Catholic Church.

(6.) Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt, was a pupil of the celebrated *Hypatia* (comp. § 42, 3), and an enthusiastic disciple of Plato (*ob.* about 430). Happy as husband and father, wealthy, and devoted to the study of philosophy, he felt considerable difficulty in accepting a see. He openly confessed his heterodoxy in respect of the doctrine of the resurrection, and stated his determination to continue in the married relation even after his consecration. In the discharge of his office he was equally distinguished by zeal and by undaunted courage. He composed several hymns and philosophical tractates. (His works edited by *Petavius*.—Par. 1612. fol.).

(7.) Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, was born in Palestine of Jewish parents, and trained by *S. Hilarion* and his monks (*ob.* 403). As bishop he was a pattern of faithfulness and devotedness, being specially distinguished for his self-denying care of the poor. But the main characteristic, both of his inner and outer life, was zeal for ecclesiastical orthodoxy. He was honest, truthful, and kindly, but some-

what narrow-minded, without much breadth of culture or knowledge of the world, incapable of taking a comprehensive view of matters, stubborn and very credulous, though at the same time learned, diligent, and not without talent or acuteness. His monkish teachers had filled his mind with a perfect horror of heretics, and he firmly believed that Origenism was the source of the Arian, and indeed of all other heresies. Comp. § 51. (His works edited by *D. Petavius*. Par. 1622. 2 Voll. fol.).

(8.) Cyrillus, Patriarch of Alexandria, the nephew, pupil, and successor of *Theophilus*. The bigoted and violent measures adopted by Theophilus were not without their influence in forming the character of this Father. As to his life and labours comp. § 52, 3. (His works edited by *J. Aubertus*. Par. 1638. 6 Voll. fol.).

5. *The Western Church* insisted on the necessity of carrying Christianity into every relationship of life, of fully developing its dogmas, and of distinctly expressing and guarding them against all innovations. Hence it became the great focus of traditionalism. But as yet the connection between the East and the West was so close, that many of the views broached in the East found at least partial reception in the West also, and led to many discussions. We have, therefore, to distinguish four directions, which, however, frequently coalesced. The *genuine Latin School*, following in the wake of Tertullian and Cyprian, embodied the theology of the West in its most distinctive features. Among the representatives of that party we reckon *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Leo I.* At first it joined the New Alexandrian School in its opposition to the semi-Arian followers of Origen, and the Nestorian leanings of the theologians of Antioch. But when, by their one-sided views, the Alexandrians themselves verged towards heresy, the Western School declared, with equal decision, in favour of that aspect of the truth which the School of Antioch represented. *Another* party in the West owned to a certain extent the influence of Origen, without, however, giving up the distinctive theological characteristics of the West. Among these divines we name *Hilary*, *Jerome*, and *Rufinus*. The practical and merely intellectual tendency of the West, which was wanting in spiritual depth, gave rise to *Pelagianism*, a heresy first broached by *Pelagius*, a British monk (comp. § 53, 3). Lastly, a fourth party, the *Massilian* (or semi-Pelagian) theologians, sought to leaven the theology of the West with ideas derived from the School of Antioch. This school was founded by *John Cassianus* (comp. § 85, 5).

(1.) Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (*ob.* 397), was Governor of the province of Milan, and had not been baptized when the voice of a child designated him as bishop. In vain he resisted the offer. He was baptized, distributed his property among the poor, and eight days afterwards occupied the episcopal see. The duties of his new office he discharged with a zeal truly apostolic. He proved a father of the poor, the protector of those who were oppressed, an unwearied pastor, and a powerful opponent both of heresy and of heathenism. The eloquence

which formerly he had displayed in the forum, became more brilliant when employed in the service of Christ. To redeem captives he would even part with the sacred vessels of his church. To affability and gentleness he joined a firmness which neither the fear of men nor threats and dangers could shake. *Theodosius the Great* venerated him as a father, and openly declared that he was the only bishop who deserved that title. His claim to such an acknowledgment he proved in a conflict with this emperor, in which it were difficult to say whether bishop or emperor deserved greater admiration. When, in a fit of passion, Theodosius had committed great cruelties among the rebellious Thessalonians, the bishop publicly refused to admit him to the altar till he had done public penance. Ambrose was a zealous advocate of Monasticism, and in his sermons extolled the merits of virginity so much that many mothers prohibited their daughters from attending his church.—(Comp. *Böhringer*, I. 3.—*Rudelbach*, chr. Biogr. I. 2 (best ed. of his works by *N. le Nourry* and *J. du Frische*. Par. 1686. 2 vols. fol.)

(2.) Aurelius Augustine was born at Tagaste in Numidia. His pious mother, Monica, had early led him to Christ, but during the time he studied at Carthage he lapsed into sensuality and worldliness. The Hortensius of Cicero again awakened in him a longing for something higher and better than pleasure. We next find him professing rhetoric at Carthage, at Rome, and at Milan, when ambition, worldliness, doubts, and higher aspirations led him in turn to oscillate between the world and religion. During the next nine years he held Manichæan views. Finding himself grievously deceived in that sect, he would have wholly given himself up to the world, if he had not for a time been kept back through the influence of Platonism. But philosophy could not give peace to his soul. At last, the sermons of Ambrose (who had comforted Monica with the assurance that a son of so many prayers and tears could not be lost) became the means of directing him to the truth, which the Spirit of God applied to his heart and conscience. Ambrose administered baptism to him in 387. Immediately afterwards Augustine gave up his employment as rhetorician, returned to Africa, became first a presbyter, and in 396 Bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia, where he died in 430. Augustine was the greatest and most influential among the Fathers. He combined in a rare degree acuteness with breadth of mind, clearness and depth with dialectic versatility, Christian experience with simplicity of faith, and strength of mind with energy of will. His writings bear upon almost all the departments of theology, and may be characterized as forming an era in theological literature. This remark applies especially to his elucidation of the doctrines of the Trinity (comp. § 50, 6), and of those of sin and grace (comp. § 53). In his "Confessiones" he lays before the Lord the whole of his past life, indicating in a spirit of deepest humility, and of holy, prayerful solemnity, both its errors and His gracious

leadings; in his "Retractiones" he displayed the same conscientiousness in regard to his writings.—(Comp. *Böhringer*, I. 3.—*C. Bindemann*, S. Augustine, 3 vols. Berl. 1844. 69.—*K. Braune*, Monica and Augustine. Grim. 1846 (his works ed. by *Th. Bamplin et P. Constant.* Par. 1679. 11 Voll. fol., and frequently since).

(3.) Leo I., the Great, Bishop of Rome, 440–461. Even when a deacon he was the most prominent person in Rome. Elevated to the see of the capital, he found a fitting sphere for the exercise of talents of a peculiarly high order. From the energy and consistency with which he advocated the idea of the primacy of Rome, he may be regarded as really the founder of its spiritual supremacy (comp. § 46, 3). With vigorous hand he guided the Church; he introduced reforms or a better organization, restored discipline and order, advocated orthodox views, refuted heretics, and even conciliated the barbarians (Attila 452, Genseric 455). His sermons and letters have been preserved (best ed. by the brothers *Ballerinii.* Venet. 1753. 3 Voll. fol.).—(Comp. *Böhringer* I. 4; *E. Perthel*, Leo's I. Leben u. Lehre. Vol. I. Jen. 1843.)

(4.) Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (*ob.* 368), was the Athanasius of the West. His zealous opposition to Arianism was punished with four years of exile. After his return he undertook a journey to Italy, in order, if possible, to convert *Auxentius*, Bishop of Milan, the leader of the Arians in Italy. But this prelate avoided the encounter through means of an imperial ordinance, which enjoined Auxentius to leave Italy. He was specially distinguished for the philosophical acumen with which he defended this doctrine. (Best ed. of his writings by *P. Constant.* Paris, 1693. fol.; and by Sc. Maffei. Veron. 1730. 2 Voll. fol.)

(5.) Jerome, a native of Stridon in Dalmatia (*ob.* 420). His life and labours were devoted partly to the East and partly to the West. He was the most learned among the Fathers of his time, a zealous advocate of monasticism, of asceticism, and work-righteousness. His character was not without its blemishes, among which we reckon vanity, ambition, jealousy, passionateness, bigotry, and a peculiarly acrimonious mode of polemics. He resided successively in Gaul, Italy, Syria, Egypt, Constantinople, Rome, and Palestine. *Damasus*, Bishop of Rome, honoured him with his implicit confidence, and commissioned him to revise the "Itala" (comp. § 34, 3). His many and successful efforts to recruit the number of monks and virgins from among the youthful nobility of Rome raised so many enemies that he was at last obliged to leave the city. He returned to the East in 385, and settled at Bethlehem, where he founded a monastery, over which he presided till his death, with only an interruption of two years, during which he had to withdraw from the persecution of his enemies. At one time he had been an enthusiastic admirer of Origen; but fear of being stigmatized as a heretic afterwards led him to take a position directly antagonistic to that school (comp. § 51, 2). His contributions to exegesis, especially his translation of the Bible — the *Vulgate*, as it is called —

proved of greatest service to the Church. (Best edition of his works by *D. Vallarsi.* Veron. 1734. 11 Voll. 4.)—(Comp. *F. Lauchert* and *A. Knoll*, Hist. of S. Jerome. Rottw. 1846.)

(6.) Rufinus of Aquileia (*ob.* 410) had from his youth been the intimate friend of Jerome, in whose vicinity he settled (on the Mount of Olives, by Jerusalem). But the controversy about Origen and his writings changed this friendship into the bitterest hostility (comp. § 51, 2). Rufinus considered it the mission of his life to translate the writings of Origen, and of others of the Greek Fathers, in order to make them accessible to readers in the West.

6. *The Theology of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries.*—The brightest period of theological literature had gone by. Study was indeed still carried on, and the writings of the Fathers were assiduously perused and adapted to the wants of the times; but we miss every trace of genius or life, of creative power or originality. About the year 550 *John Philoponus*, a Monophysite at Alexandria, wrote a commentary on Aristotle, and applied to theology the categories of that philosophy. After that Platonism, which, from its idealism, had hitherto been chiefly in vogue with those Fathers who cultivated philosophical studies, gradually gave place to the fuller and more developed forms of the Aristotelian philosophy. Already the theology of the Greeks assumed the type of *scholasticism.* But along with this tendency a *theosophic mysticism* also appeared, founded chiefly on spurious writings of *Dionysius*, which embodied the neo-Platonic ideas that had lately been broached. The writings of *Maximus*, the confessor, exhibit a mixture of areopogite mysticism with the dialectics of Aristotle. In the West, the troubles connected with the breaking up of the Roman Empire contributed to and hastened on the decay of theological literature. Still, at the commencement of the sixth century, flourished some theologians who recalled better times; among them, in Africa, *Fulgentius* of Ruspe; in Gaul, *Cæsarius* of Arles. In Italy, *Boëthius* and *Cassiodorus* gained immortal fame by cultivating and preserving classical and patristic lore at a time when it seemed threatened with complete extinction. *Gregory the Great* closed the series of Latin Fathers in the strict sense of that term.

(1.) The spurious writings of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts xvii. 34) first made their appearance about the year 532, and among the monophysite sect of the Severians. Most probably the real author of these compositions belonged to that party, and lived about that time (comp. § 48, 5). They met with little opposition, and soon passed as genuine. (Best ed. by *B. Corderius.* Antv. 1634. 2 Voll. fol.; transl. into German, and with dissertations, by *Engelhardt.* Sulzb. 1823. 2 vols.)

(2.) Maximus Confessor was the most acute and profound thinker of his time, and favorably distinguished by firmness, adherence to

his convictions, and courage, at a time when such qualities were rare. At first private secretary to the Emperor *Heraclius*, he afterwards became monk and abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, where he contended and suffered for duothelete orthodoxy (comp. § 52, 8). He died in exile in 662. (Best ed. of his writings by *Fr. Combefisius*. Par. 1675. 2 Voll. fol.)

(3.) Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, was exiled by *Thrasimund*, King of the Vandals, on account of his zeal for Catholic doctrine (*ob.* 533). He was one of the ablest defenders of the views of Augustine. (Opp. ed. *J. Sirmond.* Par. 1612.) His life was written by *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, his excellent pupil, who took a prominent part in the controversy about "the Three Chapters" (comp. § 52, 6).

(4.) Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles (*ob.* 542), was one of the most prominent and deserving men of his time, and specially distinguished for practical usefulness in the Church, and for able advocacy of Augustinian views.

(5.) Boethius occupied high offices under *Theoderic*, King of the Ostrogoths. His enemies charged him with treason, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison and executed in 524. While in confinement, he wrote his work, "de consolatione philosophiæ,"—a book very popular in the middle ages, but which of late has given rise to doubts whether the writer had been a Christian, although legend has even transformed him into a Christian martyr. The theological writings attributed to him are spurious. In point of form, his philosophy agrees with that of Aristotle; in point of substance, with that of Plato.

(6.) Aurelius Cassiodorus retired, after fifty years' public service under *Odoacer* and *Theodoric*, into the monastery of Vivarium in Lower Italy, which he had founded, and where he died in 565, at the advanced age of nearly one hundred years. To his conduct in office, Italy was indebted for the blessings of an excellent administration; to his learned researches and retirement from the world the literary history of Europe owes the preservation of what of classical and patristic lore still remained at the time.

(7.) Gregory I., the Great, Bishop of Rome, 590–614. The Roman Catholic Church numbers him (with Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine) among the four great Fathers ("doctores ecclesiæ"). Although his theological writings were not distinguished by great depth or originality, he deserves the appellation of Great on account of his successful labours. With a remarkable strength of purpose he combined mildness and gentleness, and with humility and unfeigned piety a full consciousness of what became his position as the supposed successor of Peter. But with all his knowledge, circumspectness, and liberality, he was full of monkish prejudices, and clung tenaciously to the traditionalism of the Roman Church in respect of forms and dogmas. He lived in the most retired and simple manner, as a strict ascetic, spending all

his property and income in deeds of charity. His lot was cast in troubled times, when the throes of a new historical period were felt over Europe. All the more precious, therefore, was it that Providence had called such a man to act as spiritual father and guide of the Western Church. He was a strenuous advocate of monasticism and of all similar institutions; nor can posterity feel otherwise than grateful for it, since, at that troubled period of transition, monasticism was almost the sole depositary and centre of intellectual culture and of spiritual aspirations.—(Comp. *Th. Lau*, Gregor d. Gr., nach s. Leben u. s. Lehre. Leipz. 1845; *G. Pfahler*, Greg. d. Gr. u. s. Zeit. Vol. I. Frkf. 1852. (Opp. ed. Sammarthanus. Par. 1705. 4 Voll. fol.)

§ 48. THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

1. *Exegetical Theology.* — As yet the critical study of the text of Scripture had not been commenced. Jerome himself was only a translator. In regard to the Old Testament, the LXX. was considered a satisfactory version, and its divergences from the Hebrew text were set down to Jewish interpolations. With the exception of Jerome, the Fathers were entirely ignorant of Hebrew. The *allegorical mode* of interpretation was that most in favour. The school of Antioch, however, adopted, both in theory and practice, the historical and grammatical mode of interpretation. *Diodorus* of Tarsus disputed the propriety of the method of Origen in a tractate (Τίς διαφορὰ θεωρίας καὶ ἀλληγορίας), which has not been handed down. In the same strain wrote his pupil, *Theodorus* of Mops. (de allegoria et historia); while Gregory of Nyssa defended the opposite view in his Prœm. in Cant. Cant. The first attempt at a work on Hermeneutics was made by *Tychonius*, a Donatist (Regulæ VII. ad investigandam intelligentiam ss. Scr.), which, however, is far inferior to the tractate of Augustine on the same subject, entitled, "de doctrina christiana." In Book I. Augustine gives a summary of the "analogia fidei," as the ultimate standard for the interpretation of special points; the two following books detail the canons of interpretation; while Book IV. explains how the truth thus ascertained was to be communicated to the people. The "liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiæ," by *Eucherius*, a Gaul (*ob.* 450), is a practical manual for allegorical interpretation. The Εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, by *Adrianus*, a Greek, is a kind of hermeneutical manual. — For the study of the Introduction to the Scriptures, the Prœmia of Jerome were of some service. *Theodorus* of Mops. denied the genuineness of the superscriptions to the Psalms, and the canonicity of Chronicles, Esther, and the General Epistles. *Junilius*, an African, was the first (about 560) to attempt a scientific Introduction to the study of the Bible, in a work entitled, Libri II. de partibus div. legis; the "Institutio div. literarum," by *Cassiodorus*, was mainly designed for popular use. — The Τοπικά, or Bibl. Geography, of *Eusebius*, preserved in Latin, as recast

by *Jerome* (de situ et nominibus loc. Hebr.), and the tractate of *Epiphanius*, περὶ μέτρων καὶ στάθμων (on measures and weights), may be regarded as contributions towards the study of BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES.—The most celebrated and fertile among the allegorical COMMENTATORS of the East was *Cyril* of Alexandria. The school of *Antioch*, on the other hand, furnished a succession of able interpreters of the historical meaning of the Scriptures. Among them we mention *Eustathius* of Antioch, *ob.* 360 (whose writings have been lost), *Eusebius* of Emisa, *ob.* 360 (writ. lost), *Diodorus* (writ. lost), *Theodorus* of Mops. (considerable fragm. preserved), *Chrysostom* (Homilies and Comment.), and *Theodoret*. *Theodorus* referred most of the Messianic predictions to cotemporaries of the prophets—to Hezekiah, Zerubabel, etc.—and pronounced the Song of Songs "libidinose pro sua mente et lingua meretricia." The exegesis of Theodoret was much more trustworthy; the Song of Songs he regarded as an allegory. *Chrysostom* combined with grammatical commentation a deep practical tendency. The same remark applies to the commentaries of Ephræm, written in Syriac. All the Western divines — *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, the *Ambrosiaster* (a commentary on the Epistles of Paul by Hilarius, an unknown writer, which is found among the works of Ambrose), *Jerome*, and *Augustine* — more or less adopted the allegorical mode of interpretation; although *Jerome*, on principle, applied himself also to grammatical commentation. *Pelagius* was the only writer who busied himself exclusively with the literal meaning (of the Epistles of Paul). After the sixth century, independent exegetical investigations were almost entirely given up, and theologians contented themselves with making compilations from the commentaries and homilies of the Fathers (*Catenæ*). This species of composition originated in the East with *Procopius* of Gaza (in the sixth cent.), and with *Anastasius* Sinaita (in the seventh cent.); in the West, with *Primasius* of Adrumetum, about 560. Only *Gregory* the Great possessed sufficient originality and confidence in himself to write an original commentary (Expositio in l. Jobum s. Moralium libri 24).

2. *Historical Theology.* — The study of General Church History was especially cultivated during the fourth and fifth centuries (comp. § 4, 1). The history of the rise and of the various forms of heresy was traced by *Epiphanius* (Πανάριον or Κιβώτιον — *i. e.*, medicine-chest — κατὰ αἱρέσεων 80), by *Theodoret* (Αἱρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή, s. hæretic. fabulæ), by *Leontius* of Byzance (about the year 600: L. de sectis); — among Latin writers, by *Augustine* (de hæresibus), by *Philastrius*, *ob.* 397 (de hæresibus), and by the author of the "Prædestinatus" (comp. § 53, 5).—Many biographies of eminent Fathers, dating from that period, have also been preserved. *Jerome* was the first to compose something like a theological literary history in the form of biographies (Catalogus, s. de viris illustr.). This work was continued by *Gennadius* of Massilia. *Palladius* (Hist. Lausiaca, *i. e.*, dedicated to Lausus), *Theodoret* (φιλό-

θεος ἱστορία, s. hist. religiosa), and *Rufinus* (Hist. eremitica s. Vitæ Pp.), collected the accounts circulating about the great monastic saints. But even the writings of *Gregory the Great* (Dialogorum Libri IV. de vita et miraculis Pp. Italicorum), and of *Gregory of Tours* (Libri VII. de miraculis), are couched in the tone of later legends, and exhibit immense credulity and love of the miraculous. The *correspondence* of the Fathers, which in many instances has been preserved and handed down, is of great importance as an authority on all subjects connected with the history of their times. The *Cyclus paschalis* of *Dionysius* Exiguus (comp. § 43, 3), which gave rise to the Æra Dionysiaca, still in use, forms an important contribution to the science of *Ecclesiastical Chronology*. In *Ecclesiastical Statistics* the Τοπογραφία χριστιανική of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, a Nestorian, who as a merchant had travelled a good deal in the East (about the year 550), deserves attention. — The παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία s. Chronicon, by Eusebius, in two books — of which the second was recast in Latin by Jerome — was designed to illustrate the connection between Biblical and profane history. The original of this tractate has been lost, but a complete Armenian translation of it has lately been discovered. At the suggestion of Augustine, *Orosius*, a Spaniard, wrote a secular history for the purpose of proving that the decline of the Roman Empire was not attributable to Christianity (Hist. adv. Paganos, Libri VII.).

3. *Apologetics.*— The controversial tractate of Julian (comp. § 42, 4) was answered by *Cyril* of Alexandria (πρὸς τὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀθέοις Ἰουλιάνου), by *Gregory* of Nazianzus (λόγοι στηλιτευτικοί s. Invectivæ in Jul.), and by *Chrysostom* (in his oration on S. Babylas). *Ambrose* and *Prudentius* the poet (see below, Note 8) wrote against the design of Symmachus (comp. § 42, 3). The insinuations of Zosimus, Eunapius, and others were met by the history of *Orosius*, and by *Augustine* in his dogmatical and apologetical work, "de civitate Dei,"— by far the ablest apology put forth by the ancient Church. For the same purpose, *Salvianus*, a Gaul, composed eight books, "de gubernatione Dei." *John Philoponus* replied to the objections of Proclus against the Christian doctrine of creation. The controversy with the Jews was carried on by *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, and *Gregentius*, Bishop of Taphar in Arabia, who, in presence of a vast concourse, for four days carried on a discussion with *Herban*, a Jew. Apologetic works of a more general character were composed by *Eusebius* of Cæsarea (the "Præparatio evangelica," in fifteen books, and the "Demonstratio evangelica," in twenty books), by *Athanasius* (two books, κατὰ Ἑλλήνων — Book II. bearing also the title, περὶ τῆς ἐναρθρωπήσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου), by *Gregory* of Nyssa (πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν), by *Theodoret* (de curandis Græcor. affectionibus), and by *Firmicus Maternus* (de errore profanarum religg. ad Constantium et Constantinum. Comp. § 42, 4).

4. But by far the greatest energy, talent, acuteness, and research

was displayed in the *Polemical* writings of that period, which was directed partly against old and partly against recent heresies.—(Comp. below, the history of Theol. Controv.)

5. *Dogmatics.*—The precedent of Origen in constructing a general theological system was not followed. But theologians addressed themselves to the elucidation of Christian doctrines for practical purposes, especially for the instruction of catechumens. Among such works we reckon those of *Cyril of Jerusalem, ob.* 386 (twenty-three addresses to catechumens, of which the last five treat of the Christian mysteries); of *Gregory* of Nyssa (Oratio catech. magna); of *Epiphanius* (to defend Catholic truth against Arianism); of *Augustine* (in the last books of the "civitas Dei," in Book I. de doctrina Christ., and in the "enchiridium ad Laurentium"); of *Fulgentius of Ruspe* (de regula veræ fidei); and of two semi-Pelagian writers, *Gennadius* (de fide sua), and *Vincentius Lirinensis, ob.* 450 (Commonitorium pro cath. fidei antiquitate et universitate, comp. § 53, 5). The tractates written on special topics, more particularly for controversial purposes, greatly contributed to the elucidation of certain dogmatical questions. The works of the *Pseudo-Dionysius* (§ 47, 6), in which the main elements of Christianity were represented as a theosophic and gnostic mysticism, understood only by the initiated, acquired a place of very great importance. Their author distinguished between a θεολογία καταφατική, in which truth was presented under the garb of a symbol, of history, or of the traditionary teaching of the Church, and a θεολογία ἀποφατική, which dispensed with such *media*, and in which the initiated rises by contemplation or the ecstatic state to an immediate view of things divine. The writer also discussed at considerable length the different grades among heavenly beings, of which he supposed the earthly hierarchy was a type. His system was based on Neo-Platonism, and derived only its terminology and forms from the theology of the Church. This mysticism assumed a higher and decidedly Christian cast in the hands of *Maximus Confessor*, who in numerous writings attempted to combine these speculations with orthodox views.

6. *Ethics and Asceticism.*—The tractate of *Ambrose*, "de officiis ministrorum," was specially designed for the clergy, while that of *Gregory the Great* (expositiones in l. Jobum s. Moralium Ll. 24) discussed moral questions generally. Special tractates were frequently devoted to particular topics, especially to those connected with asceticism. Among them we instance *Chrysostom's* four books, "de Sacerdotio," and *John Cassian's* tractate, "de institutis cœnobiorum, Ll. 12," and the "Collationes Patrum, 25" (comp. § 53, 5).

7. *Practical Theology.*—The most distinguished preachers of that age were *Macarius* the Great, an hermit, *ob.* 390 (distinguished for fervour and a profound mysticism, in which he approximated the views

of Augustine), *Basil* the Great, *Gregory* of Nazianzus, *Ephræm* (the Chrysostom of the Syrians), above all, *John Chrysostom* (the twenty-one orations, "de statuis," delivered when the Antiochians had thrown down the statue of Theodosius I., are specially noteworthy),—*Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Leo* the Great, *Cæsarius* of Arles, and *Gregory the Great*. The fourth book of Augustine's "doctr. christ." may be considered as a kind of *homiletics*. On the *catechetical* writings, comp. § 59, 4; on eccles. law, § 43, 3.

8. *Christian Poetry*.—When first Christianity made its appearance, the poetic inspiration of antiquity had already vanished from among the people. But the Gospel possessed energy sufficient to revive the ancient spirit. Despite the decay of taste and language at the time, it evoked a new school of poetry, which will bear comparison with classical poetry in point of depth and ardour, if not in purity and elegance of form. The Latins, to whom Christianity was chiefly matter of experience, of the heart and inner life, were more distinguished in this branch than the Grecians, who regarded the Gospel rather as an object of knowledge and of speculation. For further information about *Hymns* comp. § 59, 2; about the controversial poetry of *Arius*, § 50, 1, 6. The most celebrated among Greek Christian poets were *Gregory* of Nazianzus (especially the satirical "Carmen de vita sua"), *Nonnus* of Panopolis, *Eudocia*, the wife of Theodosius II. (author of a canto on the History of Jesus, consisting of Homeric verses, and of poetic paraphrases of portions of Scripture), and *Paulus Silentiarius* (author of a poetical description of the Church of Sophia, built by Justinian I., and of the Ambon of that church—chiefly of archæological interest). Among Latin Christian poets we mention *Juvencus*, a Spaniard, who flourished about 330 ("Hist. evangelica," in four books, the first Christian epos, which is distinguished for elevation of sentiment, simplicity, and the absence of oratorical turgidity); *Prudentius*, likewise a Spaniard (*ob.* 413), perhaps the ablest among ancient Christian poets (L. peristephanon, or fourteen hymns in honour of the martyrs; Apotheosis, a poem in honour of Christ's Divine nature; Hamartigenia; Psychomachia, contra Symmachum, comp. § 47); *Paulinus*, Bishop of Nola in Campania, *ob.* 431 (thirty poems, of which fifteen are in honour of Felix the Martyr); *Sedulius* (Mirabilia divina, being a poetical version of Old and New Testament history, a "hymnus acrostichus" on the Life of Jesus); *Prosper Aquitanicus* (de libero arbitrio c. ingratos, an indignant expostulation addressed to those who despised grace, comp. § 53, 5); *Avitus*, Bishop of Vienne, *ob.* 523 (de mundi principio); and *Venantius Fortunatus*, Bishop of Poitiers, who flourished in the sixth century (Ll. IV. de vita Martini, a description of a journey on the Moselle, etc.).

IV. DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES AND HERESIES.

§ 49. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINES.

During the preceding period, Christian truth had chiefly developed subjectively, and hence assumed various directions. But now the altered state of outward affairs pointed out the necessity, increasingly felt, of arranging the doctrines which had already been formulated, of combining and giving them solemn ecclesiastical sanction. The tendency to scientific development also, which was inherent in Christianity, increasingly asserted its power and influence. Accordingly the different types of doctrine were no longer confined to particular countries; through the intercourse between the various branches of the Church, opposing views were marshalled in hostile array; the court, the people, and the monks took part in these controversies, and the Church became the scene of violent contests which endangered its unity and purity. These dangers called for a combined defence of the truth, by which all error should be eliminated as heresy — a result which, through the presence of the Spirit with the Church, was ultimately always accomplished, though not without considerable struggles.

1. The *Dogmatic Controversies* of that period had their bright and their dark side. Occasionally, indeed, truth was made subservient to personal ambition and to self-seeking; instead of contending only with spiritual weapons, state interference, court intrigues, and popular passions were not unfrequently called into requisition; in the ardour for pure doctrine, holiness of life was sometimes lost sight of; differences, which might have been adjusted if the passions of controversialists had not been at play, became grounds of separation; subordinate points acquired an undue importance, etc. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the destiny of Christianity, to become the religion of the whole world, rendered it necessary that its dogmas should receive the most close, scientific, and consistent examination; that, accordingly, the Church had to engage in certain contests in order to put aside all errors; that Christianity would not have been able so firmly to meet the shock of barbarism, which it had soon to encounter in its contact with those nations which subverted the Roman Empire, if the unity of the Catholic Church had not been so well guarded by strict definitions of doctrine; and, lastly, that if Christian truth had not been so fully and strictly formulated, the admission of heathen nations into the

Church, and the partial importation of their pagan modes of thinking, would have become the source of much greater dangers than those which were actually encountered.

2. The *Heresies* of the preceding period were, in great measure, *syncretistic* (§ 26); those of the period under review, *evolutionary*,—*i. e.*, in the development of Christian doctrine, they sprung from an exclusive advocacy and from exaggerated views of one particular aspect of the truth, which, by this process, became changed into error; while, on the other hand, orthodoxy sought to view truth under all its aspects, and to harmonize its different bearings. Only echoes of the syncretistic heresies of a former period were still heard (§ 54). The revolutionary form of heresy had as yet appeared only in isolated instances (§ 62). Catholic doctrine might be represented as an unhealthy excrescence — either unjustly, in which case the Church would be interrupted or disturbed in the exercise of its proper and necessary life-functions; or *justly*, but in such a manner that, in the general charge, truth was not properly distinguished from error, and that, in reality, the attempt was made to remove the one along with the other.

§ 50. THE TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY (318—381).

Comp. *J. A. Stark*, Versuch e. Gesch. d. Arianism. (Hist. of Arian.). Berl. 1783. — *Ad. Möhler*, Athanas. d. Gr. u. seine Zeit. 2d edition. Mayence 1844. 2 vols.—*F. Chr. Baur*, d. chr. Lehre von d. Dreieinigk. (The Chr. Doctr. of the Trinity). 3 vols. Tübg. 1844. — *J. A. Dorner*, d. Lehre von d. Person Christi (The Dogma about the Person of Christ). 2 vols. 2d ed. Stuttg. 1845, etc. — *H. Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Philos. Vol. II.

The doctrine of the Trinity formed the subject of the first—or Arian—controversy. In it the discussion chiefly turned upon the nature and essence of the *Logos*, who in Christ had become incarnate, and about his relation to the Father. Since the controversy between Dionysius of Alexandria and his namesake of Rome (§ 40, 6), the view that the Son was of the same essence and equal with the Father, had gained adherents in Alexandria also, and given rise to a new school (§ 47, 4). But an apprehension—excited by the teaching of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata (§ 40, 7) — lest this doctrine should lead to Monarchianism, influenced many to retain the views known as Subordinatianism. The School of *Lucian*, the Antiochian (§ 39, 6; 47, 1), especially furnished able opponents to homoousian principles. *Origen* had held these two apparently antagonistic views (subordination

and eternal generation from the substance of the Father), comp. § 40, 5. But now they were no longer combined. One party rejected subordination, maintained the doctrine of eternal generation, and completed their system by admitting the homoousia of Christ; another held subordinatian views, and carried them as far as heteroousianism. A third party—chiefly followers of Origen—attempted to reconcile these antagonisms, by a sort of intermediate view, known under the term of ὁμοιουσία. During the course of these controversies, which for almost a whole century agitated the Christian world, the Divine Personality of the *Holy Ghost* was established as a logical and theological deduction from orthodox principles. After many contests, the homoousia of the Son and that of the Holy Ghost were ultimately acknowledged as the orthodox view of the Church.

1. *First Victory of Homoousian Principles* (318—325).—ARIUS, a pupil of Lucian, and from 313 a presbyter at Alexandria, an acute but not a profound thinker, was, in 318, charged by two presbyters—adherents of Western views—with having promulgated opinions incompatible with the Divinity of the Saviour. Arius had publicly taught that the Son had, before the commencement of time, but not from all eternity (ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν), been created out of nothing (κτίσμα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων) by the Will of the Father (θελήματι θεου), in order that the world might be called into existence through Him. He also maintained that, as Christ was the most perfect created image of the Father, and had carried into execution the Divine purpose of creation, He might be called θεὸς and λόγος, though not in the proper sense of these terms. ALEXANDER, who at that time filled the see of Alexandria, was devotedly attached to the doctrines of the eternal generation of the Son, and of His equality with the Father. He convoked a *synod* (321), which condemned the views of Arius, and deposed him from his office. But the populace, which looked upon him as an ascetic, and many of the bishops, who shared his opinions, took his part. He also implored the protection of foreign prelates,—among them, that of *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, a former fellow-pupil, and of the influential *Eusebius of Cæsarea*. The former of these prelates pronounced in his favour, while the latter declared his views at least harmless. Arius spread his opinions among the people by means of hymns adapted to various conditions of life (to millers, sailors, travellers, etc.). The controversy led to a schism which extended wellnigh over the whole East. In Alexandria passions ran so high, that the heathens made it the subject of ridicule on the stage. *Constantine the Great* received, with much displeasure, tidings of these disputes. He issued an order—of course without success—that such "useless discussions" should be discontinued. But *Hosius*, Bishop of

Cordova, who came to Alexandria as bearer of this imperial ordinance, learned, during his stay in that city, the real state of matters, and the importance of the controversy. On his return, he convinced the Emperor that this was not a trivial dispute. Constantine now summoned a General Council at Nice (325), which was attended by himself and by 318 bishops. The majority of members, headed by *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, were followers of Origen, and occupied a kind of intermediate position; nor was the party of Arius, which was led by *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, inconsiderable. The Homoousians were in a decided minority; but the enthusiastic eloquence of the youthful Deacon *Athanasius*, whom Alexander had brought with him, and the influence of the Emperor, procured them the victory. The Homoousian formulas (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, γεννηθεὶς οὐ ποιηθεὶς, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί) were inserted into the Creed, Arius was excommunicated, and his writings condemned. Fear of being deposed, and a desire for peace, induced many to subscribe who were not convinced. Only *Arius* himself, and two Egyptian bishops, *Theonas* and *Secundus*, refused to submit, and were exiled into Illyria. *Eusebius of Nicomedia* and *Theognis of Nice*, who subscribed the creed, but not the formula of condemnation, were also banished (to Gaul).

2. *Victory of Eusebianism* (328–356). — The concord brought about by subscription to the Nicene Creed was neither real nor lasting. The remonstrances of *Constantia*, the sister of the Emperor, when on her death-bed, and the advice of some of the leading prelates, induced Constantine to revert to his first opinions regarding this controversy. Arius made a confession of his faith, couched in general terms, and was recalled from exile along with his fellow-sufferers (328). Soon afterwards the Emperor ordered him to be restored to his office (330). But *Athanasius*, who in the meantime had succeeded to the see of Alexandria (328), declared himself unable to comply with this demand. The Emperor threatened to depose the bishop; till, in a personal interview, the latter made so deep an impression, that Constantine yielded. But the enemies of Athanasius, especially those Meletians, (§ 38, 4) instigated by Eusebius of Nicomedia, were continually representing him to the Emperor as one that fomented discord and rebellion. Ultimately, a *synod convoked at Tyre* (335), and consisting entirely of Arians, was charged with a new investigation of these questions. Athanasius appealed against the sentence of deposition pronounced against him, which, however, was confirmed by another synod, that met at Constantinople; and the Emperor banished him to Treves (336). Despite the protest of the Bishop of Constantinople, *Arius* was now to have been solemnly restored to church-communion in the capital of the empire, when he suddenly died the evening before the day of his restoration (at an age of upwards of 80 years). Soon afterwards Constantine also died; and *Constantine II.*, immediately on his accession, restored Athanasius, who was enthusiastically received by his flock

But *Constantius* favoured the Arians, and his sentiments were shared by the court and capital. In every street and market, in every shop and house, these questions were now discussed. The majority of bishops in the East, headed by *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, in their desire to find an intermediate position, adopted the expression ὁμοιούσιος; the Arian party was led by *Eusebius of Nicom.*, who since 338 was Bishop of Constantinople (*ob.* 341). Common opposition to the adherents of the Nicene Creed formed a bond of union between these two parties (the *Eusebians*). The West was entirely in favour of the Nicene Creed. In 340 the Eusebians held a council at *Antioch*, which sat for several days. It once more deposed *Athanasius*, and in his room elected *Gregorius*, a rude Cappadocian. Athanasius fled to Rome, where his orthodoxy and innocence were solemnly acknowledged by a council under Bishop *Julius* (341). A new council in *Antioch* (341), summoned to consecrate a Church, prepared successively four symbols, each approximating as closely as possible to that of Nice, (to conciliate the West), but carefully evading the ὁμοούσιος. To restore harmony, *Constantius*, at the suggestion of *Constans*, his brother, convoked a general *Council at Sardica* in Illyria (343). But as the Latins admitted Athanasius to a seat and vote, without paying any regard to his deposition by the Council of Antioch, the Eastern bishops immediately withdrew, and held a separate council at *Philippopolis* in Thracia. In Sardica, where important privileges were assigned to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome (comp. § 46, 2), the Nicene Creed was confirmed, and Athanasius restored to his see. Even before that, Gregorius, who, by his violence and acts of oppression, had incurred additional unpopularity, was murdered by the populace of Alexandria. Athanasius was again welcomed with enthusiasm by his flock. But after the death of Constans (350), *Constantius* once more favoured the Arian party. The latter assembled in *council at Sirmium* in Pannonia (351); but forbearing directly to attack Athanasius himself, they confined their opposition, in the first place, to a friend and adherent of the Bishop of Alexandria. In his zeal for Nicene views, Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, had fallen into Sabellianism. Already, in 336, the Synod of Constantinople had deposed him, and deputed Eusebius of Cæsarea to refute his tenets. But he continued to enjoy the protection of the West, and of the Council of Sardica, till Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, a pupil of Marcellus, promulgated what undoubtedly were Monarchian views (§ 40). These opinions had been declared heretical, not only by the Council of Antioch, but by that of Milan also (346), the members of which adhered to the Nicene Creed. Photinus was deposed by the Council of Sirmium, and, along with his, the tenets of Marcellus were also condemned. But even this did not satisfy the Eusebians. As soon as Constantius had vanquished Magnentius, the usurper, and was thus unembarrassed in his actions, he called two synods at their request, one at *Arelate* in Gaul (353), another at *Milan* (355), by which

Athanasius was anew condemned. They prevailed on Constantius to issue an ordinance, enjoining all Western bishops to subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius. Those who resisted were deposed and banished — among them, *Liberius*, Bishop *of Rome*, *Hosius of Cordova*, *Hilarius of Poitiers*, *Eusebius of Vercelli*, and *Lucifer of Calaris*. Another Cappadocian, of the name of *Georgius* — not less violent than his countryman and predecessor — was to be installed by force as Bishop of Alexandria. Having calmly, and with dignity, finished the celebration of the worship in which he was engaged, Athanasius managed to escape to the monks in the Egyptian desert (356). Thus victory seemed throughout the Roman Empire to have decided in favour of *Homoiousianism*.

3. *Homoiism* (357–361). — But soon the Eusebians began to dispute among themselves. The extreme party, headed by *Aëtius*, a deacon at Antioch, and *Eunomius*, Bishop of Cyzicus, went so far as to maintain that the Son was *unlike* the Father (ἀνόμοιος), from which the party received the name of *Anomoites* or *Exucontians*, (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων). The Homoiousians, who were now designated as *Semi-Arians*, prepared to contest this point. They were led by *Basilius*, Bishop of *Ancyra*, and countenanced by the Emperor Constantius. Ultimately, however, the intrigues of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, the two court bishops, who at heart were Arians, proved successful. With consent of the Emperor, they held *a second council at Sirmium* (357), where it was resolved wholly to discard the unbiblical term οὐσία, which had been the cause of all these dissensions, not to enter upon any definitions about the nature of God, which was incomprehensible, and to unite in simply asserting that the Son was similar to the Father (ὅμοιος — hence their name *Homoiites*). Two of the exiled bishops — *Hosius* of Cordova and *Liberius* of Rome — purchased permission to return to their sees by subscription to this formula. But the other Latin bishops, in a *synod at Agennum*, again declared their adherence to the Nicene Creed; while the Semi-Arians met at *Ancyra* under the presidency of Basilius, and reaffirmed the Confession of Antioch. The latter, also, found access to the Emperor, who had their confession ratified by a *third synod at Sirmium* (358), and compelled the bishops of the court to subscribe it. Even *Liberius* of Rome, softened by an exile of two years' duration, gave his signature, and was allowed to return to Rome. Thereupon, the bishops of the court compromised with the Semi-Arians upon the following formula: — τὸν Υἱὸν ὁμοιον τῷ Πατρὶ εἶναι κατὰ πάντα ὡς αἱ ἁγίαι γραφαὶ λέγουσιν. The Emperor was so much pleased with this formula, that he resolved to have it sanctioned by a general council. To prevent a combination between the Homoiousians and the Homoousians of the West, Ursacius and Valens persuaded the Emperor to summon two councils instead of one, of which that of *Seleucia* was destined for the East, and that of *Rimini* (359) for the West. Both councils rejected the new formula; the one in favour of

the creed of Antioch, the other in favour of that of Nice. But Ursacius managed by intrigues to bring the bishops to submission. For two years the prelates were detained at Seleucia and at Rimini, as it were in exile; while their delegates, after travelling about for half a year, were unable to obtain an audience of the Emperor. Thus coerced, they at last subscribed the new formula. Those who refused to submit (Aëtius and Eunomius) were persecuted as disturbing the peace of the Church. *Homoiism* now became the acknowledged creed of the empire. But the death of Constantius (361) speedily put an end to this temporary prevalence of error.

4. *Final Ascendency of the Nicene Creed* (361–381).—*Julian* gave equal rights to all parties, and recalled the exiled bishops, so that in some churches there were two or even three bishops at one and the same time. *Athanasius* also returned to his see. He convoked a *synod at Alexandria* (362) for the purpose of restoring ecclesiastical order, and, despite the protest of the narrow-minded *Lucifer* of Calaris, with equal moderation and prudence, received into church-fellowship those bishops who had been misled into Arian views, but repented of their error. The success which attended the endeavours of Athanasius, determined the Emperor once more to send him into exile, on pretence that he was the occasion of disturbances. *Jovian*, the successor of Julian, favoured the Nicene party, and allowed Athanasius to return to his see (364); while, at the same time, he also extended toleration to the Arians. But *Valens*, to whom Valentinian I., his brother, committed the government of the East, was a zealous Arian (364–378). He persecuted with equal cruelty both Athanasians and Semi-Arians, a proceeding which led to an approximation between these two parties. Athanasius was obliged to flee; but after the lapse of four months was allowed to return, and to spend the remainder of his life without further molestation. He filled the episcopal see for forty-five years, of which twenty were spent in exile (*ob.* 373). The persecutions of Valens were, however, kept in check by the urgent representations of Valentinian, his brother, and by the dignified and energetic resistance of eminent prelates, especially of the three great Cappadocians. The intrigues of the Empress *Justina* in the West, during the minority of her son, Valentinian II., were frustrated through the watchfulness of *Ambrose* of Milan. The soldiers who were to take possession of his church, and to hand it over to the Arians, met with passive but successful resistance, in finding the edifice occupied by a congregation engaged in prayer and the singing of psalms.—*Theodosius I. the Great*, a Spaniard (379–395), who for a short period ruled over the East and West, banished Arianism from the empire. He appointed *Gregory of Nazianzus*, Patriarch of Constantinople. It was intended that this prelate should preside over the SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381). But as his authority was impugned on the ground that he had changed his see (comp. § 45), he laid down his office, and *Gregory of*

Nyssa presided in his stead. The Nicene Creed was enlarged by the addition of a formula affirming the equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. From that time the Arians were only allowed to hold their worship outside the city. Somewhat later all their churches in the empire were taken from them.

5. *The Pneumatomachoi* (362–381). — According to *Arius* and his adherents, the Holy Ghost was the first being created by the Son. But even zealous advocates of the homoousia of the Son were undecided on this doctrine. In the Nicene Creed nothing beyond a καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον was inserted; and *Hilary* of Poitiers hesitated to enter upon fuller particulars, from fear of going beyond the teaching of Scripture. But *Athanasius* (at the Synod of Alex. in 362), *Didymus* the Blind, and the three Cappadocians, consistently carried out their theological principles, and by their authority succeeded in bringing their party to admit also the homoousia of the Holy Spirit. The Semi-Arians who had adopted the Nicene Creed — and among them especially *Macedonius*, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, whom the Homoiists had deposed — felt extremely reluctant to adopt this view (*Macedonians*, *Pneumatomachoi*). The second œcum. Council (381) sanctioned the homoousia of the Holy Spirit by adding to the expression εἰς Πν. ἅγιον, the words τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.

6. *Literature of the Controversy.*—*Arius* himself explained his views in a semi-poetical tractate Θαλεία (of which Athanasius has preserved fragments). His principles were zealously defended by *Asterius*, a sophist (whose writings have been lost). *Philostorgius*, the historian, attempted to show from history that they were conformable to the views of the apostles and of the early Church. *Eusebius of Cæs.* wrote two tractates in defence of Semi-Arianism, against Marcellus (κατὰ Μαρκέλλου and περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θεολογίας). The ἀπολογητικός by *Eunomius* has been lost. Foremost among the opponents of Arianism stands *Athanasius* — Oratt. IV. c. Arianos; hist. Arianorum ad monachos; Epist. de decretis Nicænis; Epist. de Synodis Arimini et Seleuciæ habitis; Ἀπολογητικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειάνους, etc. *Basil the Great* wrote four books against Eunomius; the Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος; and the Ad Amphilochium (against the Pneumatomachoi);—*Gregory of Naz.*, five λόγοι θεολογικοί (§ 47, 4); *Gregory of Nyssa*, twelve λόγοι ἀντιῤῥητικοὶ κατὰ Εὐνομίου; — *Didymus* the Blind, three books *de Trinitate*; — *Epiphanius* the Ἀγκυρωτός (§ 78, 5); — *Cyril of Alex.*, a Θησαυρὸς περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίας Τριάδος; — *Chrysostom* delivered twelve orations against the Anomoites; *Theodoret* wrote *Dialogi VII. de s. Trinit.* *Ephræm Syrus*, also, frequently controverted in his sermons the views of the Arians. Among Latin writers the most distinguished controversialists were: *Lucifer of Calaris* ("Ad Constantium Imp. Ll. II. pro Athan.," in which he denounces the Emperor as an apostate, as

Antichrist and Satan; the "moriendum pro filio Dei;" the "De non conveniendis cum hæreticis); *Hilary of Pictavium* ("De Trinitate, Ll. XII.;" "de Synodis s. de fide Orientalium;" "Contra Constantium Aug.;" "Contra Auxentium," § 47, 5); *Phœbadius*, Bishop of Agennum about 359 ("c. Arianos"); *Ambrose* ("de fide ad Gratianum Aug. Ll. V."); *Augustine* ("c. sermonem Arianorum;" "Collatio cum Maximino Arianorum Episc.;" "c. Maximinum"); *Fulgentius of Ruspe* ("c. Arianos," and three books addressed to Trasimund, the Arian King of the Vandals).

7. *Later Development of Nicene Views.*—Even the formula adopted by the second Council of Constantinople was not entirely free from all traces of Subordinatianism. At least the expression, εἷς θεὸς, as applied to the Father *exclusively*, might give rise to misunderstanding. *Augustine* completely removed any uncertainty still hanging over this doctrine ("de trinitate Ll. XV."). But as yet the personality of the Holy Ghost, and His relation to the Son, had not been defined with sufficient accuracy. This afterwards gave rise to the schism between the Eastern and the Western Church. In this respect also Augustine correctly taught that the Holy Spirit proceeded both from the Father and the Son. Among those who advocated these truths, *Fulgentius of Ruspe* ("de s. trinit.") deserves special mention. The so-called (pseudo-) *Athanasian Creed*, or *Symbolum Quicunque* (from the word with which it commences), dates probably from the beginning of the sixth century. It originated in Spain, and simply inserted the words, "qui procedit a Patre *Filioque*."

§ 51. ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES (394–438).

The controversies about the Trinity were, in due course, followed by discussions about the person of Christ (§ 52). Before these took place, another question, however, engaged the attention of the Church. Although the Origenistic controversy was a personal dispute rather than a discussion of importance to the Church generally, it served to confirm the impression that Origen had really been a heresiarch.

1. *The Monks of the Scetian and of the Nitrian Desert.*—The most strenuous advocates of Nicene views (*Athanasius*, the three great Cappadocians, Didymus, Hilary, etc.) had held Origen in great repute. But as the Arians continually appealed to his authority, the more narrow-minded opponents of Arianism, especially those in the West, and the monks of the Scetian Desert in Egypt, headed by *Pachomius*, gradually began to suspect the orthodoxy of Origen. By and by they denounced the speculations of that Father as the source of every heresy, and came to entertain grossly anthropomorphic views of God

and of Divine things. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of Salamis (§ 47, 4), was trained in their school. In direct opposition to these monks, others, who inhabited the mountains of *Nitria*, were enthusiastic admirers of Origen, and adopted a lofty spiritualism, coupled with a devout and contemplative mysticism.

2. *Controversy in Palestine and Italy* (394–399).—In Palestine, JOHN, Bishop of Jerusalem, and the two Latins, JEROME and RUFINUS, were ardent admirers of Origen (§ 47, 5). But when, in the year 394, two strangers from the West expressed their astonishment about this, Jerome, anxious to retain his reputation for orthodoxy, immediately prepared to denounce the errors of Origen. Meantime, the Scetian monks had also called the attention of the aged and over-zealous EPIPHANIUS to the existence of a nursery of heresy in Palestine. He immediately took ship, and employed the pulpit which *John* had kindly opened to him for delivering a vehement denunciation of Origenistic views. Upon this, John preached against anthropomorphism. Epiphanius anathematized these views, but insisted that John should pronounce similar sentence against Origenistic principles. On the refusal of the latter, Epiphanius indignantly left Jerusalem, renounced, with Jerome and the monks at Bethlehem, church-communion with John and Rufinus, and even interfered with the episcopal functions of John, by ordaining a presbyter for the monks at Bethlehem. All this gave rise to an angry controversy, which was with difficulty settled through the interference of *Theophilus* of Alexandria, who for that purpose deputed *Isidore*, one of his presbyters. Jerome and Rufinus became reconciled at the steps of the altar (396). The latter soon afterwards returned to the West. He translated the work of Origen περὶ ἀρχῶν, leaving out a few of the most objectionable passages; but was so indiscreet as to hint in the preface that even the orthodox Jerome was an admirer of Origen. When informed of this by friends at Rome, Jerome wrote in unmeasured terms against Origenistic views and against the friend of his youth. — At the same time he made a literal translation of the περὶ ἀρχῶν. Rufinus rejoined, and the dispute became the more bitter the longer it continued. *Siricius*, Bishop of Rome, extended his protection to Rufinus; but his successor, *Anastasius*, summoned him to answer for his errors. Instead of appearing in person, Rufinus sent a written defence; but was formally condemned for Origenistic heresy (399). He retired to Aquileia, where he continued to translate the writings of Origen and of other Greek Fathers.

3. *Controversy in Alexandria and Constantinople* (399–438).—*Theophilus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, a luxurious, imperious, and violent prelate, had till the year 399 favoured the cause of the Nitrian monks, and even, during the Easter of that year, spoken in a harsh and contemptuous manner of the heresy of the Anthropomorphists. Indignant at this, a number of monks armed themselves with rods, attacked the

Bishop, and obliged him to pronounce an anathema against Origen. Soon afterwards he lost the support of others, formerly his friends. *Isidore*, an aged and venerable presbyter, and the so-called "*four tall brethren*," of whom two acted as treasurers to his church, refused to entrust him with the moneys of orphans and other trust funds, and escaped from his vengeance to their colleagues in the mountains of Nitria. Accordingly, so early as the year 399, Theophilus anathematized Origen at an endemic synod held in Alexandria; and in 401 published a furious manifesto against Origenistic views. The honest but narrow-minded *Epiphanius* hastened to express his approbation, and *Jerome* translated the document into Latin. Military force was employed to break up the establishments in Nitria, and to expel the monks. Followed by the accusing letters of their bishop, the latter sought protection with *John Chrysostom* at Constantinople; but *Theophilus* rejected with disdain the intercession of that prelate. For the sake of peace, Chrysostom was now anxious to withdraw from the contest. But the monks had meantime found access to the Empress *Eudoxia*, at whose intercession *Arcadius*, the Emperor, summoned Theophilus to appear before a synod to be held at Constantinople, over which Chrysostom was to preside. Theophilus was almost beside himself with rage. By a misrepresentation of the facts of the case, he succeeded in enlisting the aid of *Epiphanius*. Filled with zeal and prejudices, the honest old man hastened to Constantinople, when, on learning the real state of matters, he immediately withdrew with the remark: "I leave to you the court, and dissimulation." But Theophilus knew how to get on with the court and with dissimulation. During the interval Chrysostom had, by his faithfulness, incurred the displeasure of the Empress. Calculating upon this, Theophilus arrived at Constantinople, accompanied by a large suite; and at the imperial country-seat of *Drys* (Oak), near Chalcedon, organized a council (*Synodus ad Quercum*) — in 403 — which declared Chrysostom guilty of immorality, of heterodox views, and of treason. The Emperor banished the obnoxious preacher, who, after appeasing the popular fury excited by this measure, quietly allowed himself to be carried away. But an earthquake, which took place the following night, and the increasing popular excitement, induced the Empress to send messengers and recall the exile. After an absence of only three days, he was brought back to the capital in triumph. Theophilus fled to Alexandria. Soon afterwards, however, when Chrysostom had again incurred the anger of the Empress for denouncing in a sermon the noisy inauguration of her statue, he expressed himself, on the anniversary of St. John, in the following unguarded language: Πάλιν Ἡρωδίας μαίνεται, πάλιν ταράσσεται, πάλιν ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου ζητεῖ λαβεῖν. Theophilus was now certain of success; his party knew how to fan the flame at court. During Easter 404, armed men burst into the church of Chrysostom, and dragged him to Cucusus

in Armenia, into exile. He bore undauntedly the fatigues of the journey, the rigour of the climate, and the vicinity of robbers. He kept up continuous pastoral intercourse with his flock, and addressed to them a consolatory tractate: Ὅτι τὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ ἀδικοῦντα οὐδεὶς παραβλάψαι δύναται. Nor did his zeal for the mission among the Goths flag. In vain *Innocent I.*, Bishop of Rome, and *Honorius*, the Emperor of the West, interceded for him. In 407 he was sent to a still more dreary place of exile — at Pityus, on the shores of the Black Sea. But he succumbed to the fatigues of that journey, and died by the way, uttering his favourite motto: Δόξα τῷ θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν. A large portion of his flock at Constantinople refused to acknowledge the authority of *Arsacius*, his successor; and, despite persecutions, continued as a separate body (by the name of *Johnites*) until Theodosius II., in 438, caused the bones of their loved pastor to be brought to the capital, and solemnly deposited in the imperial burying vaults. Among these personal disputes, the Origenistic controversy had for a time been lost sight of, but was soon afterwards renewed (§ 52, 6).

§ 52. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

Comp. *Walch*, Ketzerhist. (Hist. of Heres.). Vols. V.–IX. — *Dorner*, Person Christi. Vol. I. — *Baur*, Dreieinigk. (on the Trinity). I. II.

If, in the discussions about the Trinity, the question of the eternal existence and of the Divine nature of Christ had been agitated, His historical manifestation as the incarnate Son of God, the connection between the Divine nature of the Logos and the human nature of the Son of Mary, and the mutual relation of these two became now the leading subjects of inquiry. These questions had in part been raised during the Arian controversy. For while the Church had, against Arius, defended the absolute Divinity of Christ, it also maintained, in opposition to *Apollinaris*, His perfect humanity. The discussion now assumed three new phases. In the *Nestorian* controversy, the Church defended the unity of the person of Christ against the views of the Antiochians, whose distinction between the two natures of the Saviour almost amounted to separation into two persons. In the *Monophysite* controversy, the opposite or neo-Alexandrian error, which, in view of the unity of Christ's person, lost sight of the distinctness of His natures, was set aside. Lastly, in the *Monothelete* controversy, an erroneous mode of viewing the union of the two natures — when their distinctness was admitted in words, but denied in fact, by assuming the

existence of only one will — was disavowed. Thus the controversies about the Trinity and the person of Christ — both of which sprung up in the East — were closely connected.

1. *The Apollinaristic Controversy* (362–381). — Older Modalists, as Beryllus and Sabellius, had already taught that, at the incarnation, the Logos had assumed only a human body. *Marcellus* held the same tenet (§ 50, 2); *Arius* also, though opposed to him in other respects, had maintained this view, in order to avoid the inference, that in Christ two creatures were combined. *Athanasius*, on the other hand, held, with *Origen*, that the human soul of Christ had been the necessary bond of connection between the Logos and the body, and the medium through which the Logos acted upon the body. Hence, at the *Synod of Alexandria*, in 362, the perfect humanity of the Lord was declared the orthodox dogma on the subject. *Apollinaris*, Bishop of Laodicæa, a very talented and highly educated man, who had sent a deputy to this Council, although disapproving of the idea of a σῶμα ἄψυχον, denied the perfect humanity of Christ. Starting from the view that man was composed of three parts, he maintained that Christ had only assumed a σῶμα and a ψυχὴ ἄλογος, and that the Divine Logos Himself occupied the place of the ψυχὴ λογικὴ (ὁ νοῦς). He imagined that a contrary opinion would render it necessary to assume two personalities in Christ, and that Christ would thus be represented as merely an ἄνθρωπος ἔνδεος; he also believed that only on his principles would it be possible to maintain the perfect sinlessness of Jesus. But *Athanasius* and the two *Gregories* regarded these views as incompatible with the full idea of the incarnation and of the atonement. The *second Œcum. Council* (381) rejected the views of Apollinaris, who some time before had, along with some adherents, left the communion of the Church.

2. *Antagonism between the different Theological Schools* (381–428). — The Arian controversy had issued in the general recognition of the perfect Divinity, the Apollinaristic in that of the perfect humanity, of the Saviour. But the relation between these two natures, implied in their union, had not yet been accurately defined. According to *Apollinaris*, the Divinity was so closely united with the (partial) humanity of the Saviour, that in reality there ceased to be two natures. By a "communicatio idiomatum," what was predicated of one nature was transferred to the other, so that the body of Christ was deified, and hence adored; but the predicates of being born, suffering, and dying, were also applied to His Divinity. Although the Alexandrian School rejected the peculiar tenets of Apollinaris about the imperfect humanity of Christ, predilection for what was mystical, inconceivable, and transcendental, led it into kindred views. In opposition to Arianism, these divines laid special emphasis on the Divinity of Christ, and maintained an ἕνωσις φυσική of the two natures. According to them, it was only

lawful to speak of *two* natures, *before* the union of these two natures, and *in abstracto*,—*after* the incarnation, and *in concreto*, we could only speak of *one* nature, that of the God-man. Hence Mary was generally designated as "the Mother of God," θεοτόκος. *Athanasius* expressly states: οὐ δύο φύσεις, μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ μίαν ἀπροσκύνητον, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει. The Cappadocians spoke indeed of *two* natures (ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο), but held that they were mingled (σύγκρασις, κατάμιξις), that there was a "συνδραμεῖν" of the two natures into one, a μεταποιηθῆναι of the σὰρξ πρὸς τὴν θεότητα.—In opposition to *Apollinaris*, the School of Antioch insisted on the perfect, immutable, and continuous humanity of Christ, both *during* and *after* its conjunction with His Divinity. These divines only admitted a συναφεία or ἕνωσις σχετική (in virtue of which the two natures had entered into that particular *relationship*—σχέσις—by which they co-existed and co-operated). Such expressions as θεοτόκος, θεὸς ἐγέννηθεν, θεὸς ἔπαθεν, they regarded as absurd, if not blasphemous. They acknowledged, indeed, that the σάρξ of Christ should be adored, but only in respect of its being the organ through which the Logos had accomplished the work of redemption, not as if itself had become endowed with the properties of Divinity. These views were most fully and consistently propounded by *Theodorus of Mops.* He regarded the history of the God-man as typical of the history of redemption. Christ had taken upon Himself our humanity, with its sinful affections and propensities. But He had overcome the latter; and, by continuous contests and victory, elevated His human nature to that absolute perfection which, by the working of His Spirit, we also shall reach, and that in exactly the same manner. He expressly guarded himself against the objection that his system implied a two-fold personality in Christ. The Saviour was not ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, but ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, since, at the incarnation, His human nature had lost its personality and independence. Each of these schools presented *one* aspect of the truth; satisfactorily to exhibit the truth in its *entireness*, it was necessary to combine them. But instead of uniting them, these views were carried out in the most one-sided manner, till they issued in positive error. Thus two heresies sprung up, against which the *Church* had first to protest, in order afterwards to combine the truths which they had embodied, though in a distorted form. This office was performed by the Theology of the West. In opposition to Antiochian views, it ranged itself on the side of the Alexandrians, at one time even to the full extent of its one-sided representations. Thus *Julius of Rome* expressly maintained μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου. But gradually this error was removed. *Augustine*, for example, still uses the expression *mixtura*; but, in point of fact, he correctly indicated the relation between the two natures, quite in accordance with what the Church at a later period declared the orthodox view. Again, when the errors of the Alexandrians were under discussion, Western divines

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took the opposite side, and combined what was true in the two antagonistic schools (*Leo the Great*). — It is remarkable that this discussion originated in the West. But it was so speedily suppressed as to leave no trace behind. *Leporius*, a monk in the south of Gaul, had expressed himself about the union of the two natures in the same manner as the theologians of Antioch. In 426 he went to Africa, was opposed by Augustine, and at once recanted.

3. *The Nestorian Controversy* (428–444).—In 428 NESTORIUS, a monk of Antioch, and a most eloquent man, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. He was honest and pious, but rash, destitute of experience, and harsh towards heretics. The position of the inexperienced monk was sufficiently difficult. He had to contend against the hatred of an unsuccessful rival for his see, with the jealousy of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who besides regarded him as a representative of the School of Antioch, and with the suspicions of *Cœlestine*, Bishop of Rome, whom he had provoked by extending protection to fugitive Pelagians (§ 53, 4). Anastasius, a presbyter whom Nestorius had brought with him, objected to the frequent use of the term Θεοτόκος, and preached against it. Nestorius took his part both against the people and the monks; and when some of the latter offered the Patriarch personal insults, he caused bodily chastisement to be administered to them, and at a National Synod condemned the views of his opponents (429). *Cyril*, Patriarch of Alexandria, now entered the lists in defence of the teaching of his school. He gained for his views *Cœlestine*, Bishop of Rome, *Memnon*, Bishop of Ephesus, and *Juvenalis*, Bishop of Jerusalem, and at court *Pulcheria*, sister of the Emperor (Theodosius II., 408–450); while the Empress *Eudocia* and the Syrian bishops took the part of Nestorius. All attempts at reconciliation were frustrated by the unyielding disposition of the two patriarchs. Cœlestine of Rome called upon Nestorius to recant within ten days (430); and at a synod held in Alexandria (430), Cyril issued twelve *Anathematismoi*, to which Nestorius replied by a similar edict. These measures served to embitter both parties. To settle the question, the Emperor convoked a THIRD ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL AT EPHESUS IN 431. The Emperor himself was decidedly in favour of Nestorius; the imperial representative at the Council was a personal friend of the Patriarch, and part of the Imperial Guard attended Nestorius to Ephesus. But Cyril appeared with a large suite of bishops, and a strong body-guard of servants and sailors, prepared, if necessary, to demonstrate with their fists the soundness of his arguments. At the same time, *Memnon of Ephesus* had excited the clergy, the monks, and the people of Asia Minor on the subject. As the deputies from Rome and the Syrian bishops (the former probably of set purpose) did not appear at the proper time, Cyril, without waiting for their arrival, opened the Council, which consisted of 200 bishops. Nestorianism was condemned, Nestorius excommunicated and deposed, and the Anathematismoi of Cyril recog-

nized as a test of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. The deputies from Rome acknowledged the authority of the Council; not so the imperial representative and the Syrians, who immediately, on their arrival, held a counter-council, over which *John of Antioch* presided, and which excommunicated Cyril and Memnon. Nestorius voluntarily retired into a monastery. Meantime, the populace of Constantinople, instigated by Pulcheria, rose in favour of Cyril. The Emperor deposed the three leaders in the dispute—Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon,—and gave his authority to a sort of intermediate formula, drawn up by Theodoret, which admitted the correctness of the term θεοτόκος, but also maintained an ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις. But Cyril and Memnon continued in their sees. While they signed the formula of Theodoret, John subscribed the condemnation of Nestorius (433). The latter remained deposed and a prey to his enemies. Torn from his asylum and maltreated, he died (440) in misery. But the compromise of the two leaders was rejected by their followers. The Syrian Church was indignant about the manner in which their patriarch had betrayed the cause in the person of Nestorius. *John* proceeded to depose all his opponents—a fate which had almost befallen even the noble-minded Theodoret. But in his case the Patriarch agreed to dispense with a formal condemnation of the person of Nestorius in consideration of an ample rejection of his teaching.—The Egyptians also accused their patriarch of having surrendered orthodox views. But this prelate endeavoured, by increased zeal, to make up for his former compliance. He laboured—not without success—to bring the anathema of the Church upon the leaders of the School of Antioch. *Rabulas*, Bishop of *Edessa*, one of his adherents, dispersed the theological school at Edessa, which at the time was presided over by the celebrated presbyter *Ibas*. After the death of Rabulas (436) this school again attained its former celebrity. Meantime, *Theodoret* and *Cyril* hurled violent tractates against each other, till, in 444, the death of the Patriarch of Alexandria put an end to the controversy. *Ibas* translated the writings of Theodoret into Syriac, and addressed—in favour of these views—a tractate to *Maris*, Bishop of Hardashir in Syria, which the Nestorians afterwards regarded as a kind of confession of faith. *Thomas Barsumas*, Bishop of Nisibis, spread Nestorianism in the *Persian* Church. In 489, the School of Edessa was again broken up, by command of the Emperor *Zeno*. Teachers and students migrated into Persia, where they founded a school in Nisibis, which for a long time enjoyed considerable celebrity. At last, *at a synod held in Seleucia* in 498, the Persian Church wholly separated from the orthodox Church in the Roman Empire, and adopted the name of *Chaldean Christians*. Their Patriarch bore the title of *Yazelich* (καθολικός). From Persia the Nestorian Church spread to India, where its adherents were called *Thomas-Christians*.

4. *The Monophysite Controversy. A. Eutychianism* (444–451).—*Cyril* was succeeded by DIOSCURUS, a man of much inferior talent, but

of much greater violence and tyranny than even the opponent of Nestorius. In Constantinople, an aged Archimandrite, called EUTYCHES, openly taught that, after His incarnation, Christ had only had *one* nature, and that, since the body of Christ was that of the Deity, it could not have been of the same substance with ours. *Theodoret* wrote against him a tractate, entitled Ἐρανιστὴς ἤτοι Πολύμορφος, in which he characterized the teaching of Eutyches as a combination of various heresies. *Dioscurus* now interfered, and prevailed on the Emperor Theodosius II., whose Minister of State and wife (*Eudocia*) he had gained, to adopt strict measures against the Syrians, and especially against Theodoret, who was forbidden to travel beyond the bounds of his diocese. The Antiochians, on the other hand, laid an accusation against Eutyches before the Patriarch *Flavian*, at a synod held in Constantinople (448). Eutyches appeared, attended by an imperial guard; but, on his refusal to recant, was excommunicated and deposed. Eutyches appealed to an œcumenical council, and at the same time to LEO THE GREAT of Rome. *Flavian* also appealed to Rome. *Leo* took the same view as Flavian; and in a letter to that prelate, with equal acuteness and precision, defined the doctrine about the two natures in Christ. But the Emperor summoned an œcumenical council to Ephesus (449), over which *Dioscurus* was to preside, at which *Flavian* and his party, however, were not to vote, and from which *Theodoret* was wholly excluded. The Council proceeded in the most arbitrary and violent manner. The deputies from Rome were not allowed to speak; the doctrine of two natures was condemned; Flavian and Theodoret were deposed. The former met even with bodily violence, and died after the lapse of only three days. Leo the Great energetically protested against the decrees of this "ROBBER-SYNOD" (*latrocinium Ephesinum*). But meantime *Theodosius* had quarrelled with *Eudocia*, dismissed his ministers, and made his peace with *Pulcheria*. Accordingly, the body of *Flavian* was carried in state to Constantinople, and buried with all honours. Further measures were arrested by the death of *Theodosius* in 450. He was succeeded by *Pulcheria*, and her husband *Marcian*. Another ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (the FOURTH) was now convened at CHALCEDON in 451, which deposed *Dioscurus* and *Eutyches*, and condemned both Nestorianism and Eutychianism. The Synodical Epistle of *Cyril* and the Letter of *Leo* were made the basis of the decrees enacted at Chalcedon, which affirmed, "that Christ was true God and true man; that, according to His divinity, He was begotten from all eternity, and equal to the Father; that, according to His humanity, He was born of Mary the Virgin, and mother of God; and was like us in all things, yet without sin; and that, after His incarnation, the unity of His person consisted of *two natures*, which were *unmixed* (ἀσυγχύτως) and *unchanged* (ἀτρέπτως), but also *undivided* (ἀδιαιρέτως) and *not separated* (ἀχωρίστως)."

5. *B. Imperial Attempts to bring about a Union* (451–519).—The

Alexandrian theologians left the Council full of indignation about the defeat which they had sustained. They were now called *Monophysites.* Indeed, the whole Church was violently agitated by these questions. In *Palestine*, *Theodosius*, a monk, secretly aided by *Eudocia*, the widow of the Emperor, incited the populace to rebellion. In *Egypt* the commotion was still greater. *Timotheus Aelurus* took possession of the see of Alexandria, and expelled *Proterius*, the orthodox patriarch. Similarly, *Petrus Fullo* intruded himself into the bishopric of *Antioch.* These tumults were only suppressed after much blood had been shed. But the usurper *Basiliscus* published an edict (*Encyclion*) in which both the Creed of Chalcedon and the Epistle of Leo were condemned; Monophysitism was declared the religion of the State (476); and *Fullo* and *Aelurus* were reinstated in their sees. Soon afterwards *Acacius*, the Patriarch of Constant., organized a counter-revolution in the interest of the Dyophysite party; Basiliscus was deposed; and the Emperor *Zeno*, who had formerly been expelled, again mounted the throne (477). About that time Aelurus died; his party chose *Petrus Mongus* (*blæsus*) his successor; but the Court appointed *John Talaja*, a Dyophysite, to the see. But when the latter quarrelled with *Acacius*, that patriarch took the part of *Mongus*, the rival of Talaja. The two prelates now agreed as to a project for union, which, being approved by the Emperor Zeno, obtained in 482 legal sanction by an edict, called the Henoticon. Nestorianism and Eutychianism were still condemned; the Anathematismoi of Cyril were confirmed; the "Chalcedonese" was abrogated; the Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum alone enjoined as the orthodox creed; and all controverted points were to be carefully avoided. Of course both parties objected to such a union. The strict Monophysites in Egypt separated from Mongus, and were now designated Ἀκέφαλοι. On the other hand, *Felix II.* of Rome, as leader of the Dyophysites, renounced all church-communion with Acacius. This *Schism* between the East and the West lasted for thirty-five years (484–519). The Acoimetai (§ 44, 4) were the only party in Constantinople who continued in communion with Rome. The Henoticon was only abolished when Justin I. meditated the reconquest of Italy, since the schism to which it had given rise was prejudicial to his interests. Its adherents were now deposed, and ecclesiastical communion with the West was restored (519).—(Comp. also the third part of the Eccl History of *John, Bishop of Ephesus*, by *Cureton.* Oxf. 1853.)

6. *C. The Decrees of Justinian I.* (527–553). — Amid these tumults, Justinian I. began his long and — so far as political matters are concerned — glorious reign (527–565). He considered it his great mission to establish orthodoxy, and to bring back the heretics, especially the numerous Monophysites, to the bosom of the Church. But the good intentions of the Emperor, who was but partially conversant with these intricate questions, were often frustrated by the intrigues of the court

theologians and the machinations of the Empress *Theodora*, who was at heart a Monophysite. Justinian first interposed in the THEOPASCHITE CONTROVERSY. *Petrus Fullo* had added to the doxology (the Trisagion or Ter-Sanctus) the expression: θεὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, which had been inserted into the Liturgy of Constantinople. This expression the *Acoimetæ* declared to be heretical; *Hormisdas* of Rome pronounced it, at any rate, liable to misunderstanding, and needless. It obtained, however, the sanction of *Justinian* (533). Encouraged by this first success, Theodora managed to procure the appointment of *Anthimus*, a Monophysite, to the see of Constantinople. But when *Agapetus*, Bishop of Rome, brought out the real views of the new patriarch, he was again deposed from his office, to which *Mennas*, a friend of Agapetus, succeeded (536). All Monophysite writings were to be burned, and any one who ventured to make copies of them was to have his hands cut off. Still, *Domitian* and *Theodorus Ascidas*, two abbots from Palestine, secret Monophysites and devoted followers of *Origen*, lived at court in great favour. In order to put an end to their influence, *Mennas* again condemned — at a National *Synod* held at *Constantinople* in 541 — the arch-heretic and his writings. But the court theologians subscribed this sentence without hesitation, and only concocted the more zealously with Theodora measures of reprisal. For some time past Justinian had been concerned about the state of public feeling in Egypt, which was the granary of the empire. He deemed it necessary to do something to allay the excitement among its Monophysite population. Theodora persuaded him that the Monophysites would easily be appeased if, along with the writings of *Diodorus*, the father of Nestorianism, the controversial tractates of *Theodoret* against Cyril, and the letter of *Ibas* to Maris (the so-called "tria capitula"), were also condemned. Accordingly, the Emperor issued in 544 an edict to that effect, and insisted that all bishops should subscribe it. Only those in the East complied. But in the West resistance was offered on all sides, and the so-called CONTROVERSY OF THE THREE CHAPTERS commenced. Vigilius of Rome, a creature of Theodora, who had secretly promised his co-operation, was afraid to face the storm in the West, and broke his word. Justinian had him brought to Constantinople (547), and there obliged him to make a written declaration — the so-called *Judicatum* — in which he approved the condemnation of the three chapters. The Africans, led by *Reparatus* of Carthage, now excommunicated the successor of Peter, and courageously defended the Fathers whose writings had been attacked (*Fulgentius of Ruspe* wrote "Pro tribus capitt.; *Facundus of Hermiana*, "Defensio III. capitt.;" and *Liberatus*, a deacon of Carthage, a "Breviarium causæ Nestorian. et Eutychianorum," which is a leading authority in the history of these controversies). At length *Justinian* summoned a FIFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL TO CONSTANTINOPLE (553), which confirmed all the edicts of the Emperor. *Vigilius* wrote a "*constitutum* ad Imp.,"

in which he rejected the teaching of the three capitula, but refused to condemn their writers. A period of imprisonment, however, induced him to yield in 554. He died on his return to his see in 555. *Pelagius*, his successor, formally acknowledged the decrees of Constantinople; and North Africa, North Italy, and Illyria separated from the see of Peter, which had so basely succumbed. Only *Gregory the Great* succeeded — not without much trouble — in gradually healing this schism.

7. *D. The Monophysite Churches.* — Justinian had not attained his object. The *Monophysites* refused to return to the Church so long as the decrees of Chalcedon remained in force. But they suffered even more from endless internal divisions than from the persecutions of the orthodox State Church. First of all, *Julianus* and *Severus*, the two leaders of the party in Alexandria, disputed. The SEVERIANS (φθαρτολάτραι) held that the body of Christ had been subject to decay (φθορά), while the JULIANISTS (ἀφθαρδοκῆται) denied it. This discussion was followed by many others.—The Monophysites numbered most adherents in *Egypt*. From dislike to the Greek Catholics, they excluded the Greek language from their ecclesiastical forms, and chose a *Coptic* patriarch of their own. They even favoured the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens (640), who, in gratitude for such services, expelled the Catholic patriarch. From Egypt their views spread into *Abyssinia*. *Armenia* had in 536 surrendered to the Persians, when the Monophysites in that country, hitherto oppressed under Byzantine domination, obtained full liberty. In *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* the indefatigable activity of *Jacobus Zanzalus*, a monk (commonly termed *el Baradai*, from the circumstance of his going about in the disguise of a beggar) preserved the existence of the Monophysite Church during the persecutions of Justinian. From this their leader the Syrian Monophysites were called JACOBITES; while they designated the Catholics as *Melchites* (Royalists). The patriarch of the party resided at Guba in Mesopotamia; his suffragan at Tagrit had the title of *Maphrian* — *i. e.*, fruit-bearing. The Armenian Monophysites were ruled by the Patriarch of Ashtarag, who took the title of *Catholicos*. The Abyssinian Church was under the direction of a metropolitan, designated as *Abbuna*.

8. *The Monothelete Controversy* (633–680). — Increasing difficulties in the State made union with the Monophysites more and more desirable. Accordingly, the Emperor *Heraclius* (611–641) was advised to attempt a reconciliation of the two parties by means of an intermediate formula, which bore that Christ had accomplished His work of redemption by *one* manifestation of His will as the God-man (μιᾷ θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ). Several Catholic bishops sanctioned this formula, which had already been propounded by the Pseudo-Dionysius (§ 47, 6). On this basis, the Patriarchs *Sergius of Constantinople* and *Cyrus of Alexandria*, in 633, agreed to unite, when most of the *Severians* returned to the State Church. *Honorius of Rome* was also in favour of this movement. But

the monk *Sophronius*, who soon afterwards became Patriarch of Jerusalem (634), was decidedly opposed to a union which, in his opinion, necessarily led back to Monophysite views. Soon afterwards the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens (in 637) deprived him, however, of the means of making opposition. In 638 the Emperor issued an edict — the Ecthesis — designed to put an end to all discussion, and which gave the sanction of law to the Monothelete view. *Maximus*, a monk (§ 47, 6), now entered the lists in defence of discarded orthodoxy. He betook himself to Africa, where, since the time of Justinian, the Confession of Chalcedon had been most zealously upheld. Thence he, along with some African divines, launched controversial tractates. In Rome also a reaction in favour of the old sentiments had, after the death of Honorius (638), taken place. The real aim of these attempts at union — to retain Syria and Egypt — was not attained. In 638 the Saracens took Syria, and in 640 Egypt. Still, for the sake of consistency, the court persevered. But difficulties daily increased. Already Africa and Italy were in open rebellion, both politically and ecclesiastically. At last the Emperor Constans II. (642–668) resolved to abolish the Ecthesis. In room of it he published, in 648, another law — the Typos—by which the *status quo* previous to the Monothelete movement was to be restored; and divines were enjoined neither to propound the dogma of one nor that of two wills. But at *the first Lateran Synod*, held at Rome in 649, *Martin I.* condemned, in the strongest terms, both the Ecthesis, the Typos, and those who had issued them. These acts of the Synod were transmitted to the Emperor. The Emperor replied by ordering *Olympius*, the Exarch of Ravenna, to make the bold prelate a prisoner. He did not obey; but his successor sent the Pope in chains to Constantinople, where he was declared guilty of treason, and banished to Cherson. Martin I., who in his exile literally suffered from hunger, died after six months (655). Even more dreadful was the punishment awarded to *Maximus*, who was cruelly scourged, had his tongue torn out, his hand cut off, and was in that state banished into the country of the barbarous Lacians, where he died in 662, at the advanced age of eighty. These barbarous measures seemed for a time successful, and every opposition ceased. But under the reign of *Constantinus Pogonnatus* (668–685) the two parties prepared for another contest. The Emperor resolved to put an end to it by convoking a universal council. Pope *Agatho* held a splendid council at Rome in 679, where it was resolved not to abate one iota from the decrees of the Lateran Synod. Armed with these resolutions, and an autograph letter of the Pope's, the legates from Rome appeared AT THE SIXTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN 680 (called also the *Concil. Trullanum I.*, from the peculiar shell-like shape of the hall Trullus, in the imperial palace, where it met). As in Chalcedon the Epistle of Leo, so now the definitions of Agatho (δυὸ φυσικὰ θελήματα ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμεριστως, ἀσυγχύτως, οὐκ ὑπεναντια ἀλλά ἑπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ

ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θεῷ) were made the basis of the decrees. Nay, the Synod went so far as to transmit to the Pope an account of its transactions, and to request him to ratify its decrees. Still the Greeks managed to put some wormwood into the Pope's cup, by prevailing upon the Council to anathematize Pope *Honorius* along with the other representatives of the Monothelete heresy. — After that, Dyotheletism was universally received as orthodox doctrine. Monotheletism continued only in that portion of Asia which the arm of the State Church was unable to reach. The scattered adherents of these views gathered around the monastery of *S. Maro* on Mount Lebanon, and made its abbot their ecclesiastical chief. They took the name of *Maronites*, and preserved their ecclesiastical and political independence both against the Byzantines and against the Saracens.

§ 53. CONTROVERSIES CONNECTED WITH THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION (412—529).

Comp. *Walch*, Hist. d. Ketz. IV. V. — *Fr. Wiggers*, prag. Darstell. des Augustinism. u. Pelagianism. (Pragm. Sketch of Aug. and Pelag.). Berlin 1821, 1833. 2 Volls.

Although the controversies about the Trinity and the Person of Christ had originated and were most zealously carried on in the East, they also exercised considerable influence in the West; and when, ultimately, they issued in favour of orthodoxy, this result was mainly due to the influential advocacy of the see of Rome. But even before the commencement of the controversy about the Person of Christ, a discussion had sprung up in the West, which continued for upwards of a century, but failed to enlist more than a merely passing and indirect interest in the East. This discussion concerned the fundamental doctrines of Sin and of Grace. While *Pelagians* maintained the *efficacy* of *unaided* human liberty, and *semi-Pelagians* the co-operation of Divine grace with human freedom, *Augustine* and his party insisted on the *operation* of Divine grace as *alone* efficacious in the work of salvation. Victory ultimately remained with the party of Augustine.

1. *Preliminary History.* — The entire corruption of human nature, and the need of Divine grace in Christ in order to redemption, had from the first been generally admitted in the Church. But a considerable period elapsed before it was authoritatively and finally settled whether, and in how far, the moral freedom of man had been weakened or lost through sin, and what was the relation between human activity and Divine grace. In their controversies with the Gnostics and Manichæans the Fathers were led to lay the greatest possible emphasis on the doc-

trine of human freedom. Some of them went so far even as to deny *innate* sinfulness — an error which was not a little encouraged by the views concerning "Creationism" then prevailing. This tendency appeared most prominently among the older *Alexandrian* writers. — The *Neo-Alexandrian School*, on the other hand, sought to trace the universal prevalence of sin to the fall of Adam, but failed to carry out this view so far as the principle of *hereditary* or innate sinfulness. Accordingly, this school afterwards kept by the statements formerly made by Alexandrian writers, who traced salvation to a *Synergism*, or the co-operation of human freedom with Divine grace. The *theologians of Antioch*, in their anxiety to assign a place to the operation of the human will, while admitting the necessity of Divine grace, reduced the doctrine of original sin to that of hereditary evil. Thus *Chrysostom* allowed that the children which Adam begat after he had become mortal must also have been subject to death; but he failed to perceive that after his sin his descendants must also have been sinful. The first man, he held, had brought into the world sin and misery, which we confirmed and continued by our sins. If, in the exercise of his free will, man only did his part, grace would certainly not be withheld. In short, the East was unanimous in decidedly rejecting anything like Predestinarianism.—It was otherwise in the *West*, where the "*Traducianism*" or "Generationism" of *Tertullian* (tradux animæ tradux peccati) prepared the way for the doctrine of original sin, and for the views of Augustine concerning grace. Even *Tertullian*, proceeding on the fact that from his birth a man had an unconquerable inclination towards sin, spoke very distinctly about a "vitium originis." *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, and *Hilary*, held the same views. Still, even these Fathers were not quite free from Synergistic views. By the side of passages which savour of extreme Predestinarianism, we find others in which great stress is laid on the co-operation of man in conversion. *Augustine* was the first to carry these principles to their fullest consequences, and taught that the operation of God was alone efficacious in salvation (Divine Monergism); while *Pelagius* perverted the Synergism propounded by former authorities into a *Monergism* on the part of *man*, which had not been mooted before him.

2. *Doctrinal Views of Augustine.* — During the first period of his Christian experience, and while antagonism to the Manichæan system occupied so prominent a place in his thinking, *Augustine* also regarded faith as a free act of the human will. He deemed it requisite that, to a certain extent, the human will should co-operate in conversion, and hence denied that man was entirely helpless and undeserving of any good. But a deeper experience (§ 47, 5) obliged him to acknowledge the natural inability of man to contribute in any way towards the acquisition of salvation, and to trace both faith and conversion entirely to the grace of God. These views became thoroughly formed, and were completely developed, during the controversy with the Pelagians. The

following are the leading outlines of the *doctrinal system of Augustine.* Originally man had been a free agent, created in the image of God, capable of, and destined for, immortality, holiness, and blessedness; but also free to sin and to die. In the exercise of his freedom, he had to make a choice. If he had chosen to obey the Lord, the possibility that he might not sin, and hence not die, would have become an impossibility to sin or to die (the "posse non peccare et mori" a "non posse peccare et mori"). But by the wiles of the enemy he fell, and it became impossible for him not to sin and not to die ("non posse non peccare" and "non mori"). All the distinguishing features of the Divine image were now lost, and man was only capable of an external, civil righteousness (justitia civilis) and of *being redeemed.* But in Adam all mankind have sinned, since he constituted all mankind. By generation the nature of Adam, as it was *after* the fall, with its sin and guilt, with its death and condemnation—but also with its capability of redemption—has passed upon all his posterity. *Divine grace* avails itself of what remains of the image of God in man, which appears in his need and capability of redemption. But grace alone can save man, or give him eternal blessedness. Hence grace is absolutely necessary—it constitutes the commencement, the middle, and the close of the Christian life. It is imparted to man not *because* he believes, but in order *that* he may believe; for faith also is the work of God's grace Grace, having first *awakened* a man through the *law* to a sense of his sin and *desire* after salvation, next leads him by the *Gospel* to believe in the Saviour ("gratia prævenieus"). Grace then procures pardon of sin by the appropriation of the merits of Christ through faith, and imparts to man the powers of a divine life by bringing him into living communion with Christ (in baptism). Our free-will towards that which is good being thus restored ("gratia operans"), henceforth manifests itself in a devoted life of holy love. But the old man with his inclination towards sin, is not wholly destroyed even in those who are regenerated. In the contest between the new and the old man, believers are continuously aided by Divine grace ("gratia cooperans"). The last act of grace, which, however, is not accomplished in this life, consists in the entire removal of all sinful inclinations ("concupiscentia"), and in transformation into perfect likeness to Christ by the resurrection and eternal life ("non posse peccare" and "mori"). — But this thoroughly evangelical view of nature and of grace Augustine developed into the unevangelical doctrine of an *absolute predestination.* Experience, he argued, showed that *all men* were *not* converted and saved. But as man could not in any way contribute to his conversion, this must ultimately be traced back, not to the conduct of man, but to an eternal and unconditional decree of God (decretum absolutum), according to which He had resolved, to the praise of His grace, to deliver some of the human family, which lay entirely under sentence of condemnation (the "massa perditionis"), and, to the praise of His justice,

to leave the rest to the condemnation which they had deserved. This choice depended alone on the all-wise but secret good pleasure of the Divine will, and not upon our *faith*, which indeed was also a gift of God. It is indeed written: "God wills that *all* men should be saved," but this only means—"all who are predestinated." As the reprobate ("reprobati") are unable in any way to obtain grace, so the elect cannot resist it ("gratia irresistibilis"). Hence continuous perseverance in grace ("donum perseverantiæ") was the only sure evidence of election. Augustine held that even the best among the heathen could not be saved (although he thought that there were various degrees in their punishment), and that children who died *unbaptized* could not go to heaven. The apparent contradiction between this statement and his other assertion, "contemtus, non defectus sacramenti damnat," was removed by an appeal to the eternal decree of God, who suffered not the elect to die without having received this sacrament.

3. *Pelagius and his System.*—Far different from the inner history of Augustine was that of *Morgan* or *Pelagius*, a British monk of respectable acquirements and of moral earnestness, but without depth of mind or capacity for speculation. At a distance from the struggles and trials of life, having no experience of inward temptations, nor strong tendency to outward and manifest sins, destitute, moreover, of deeper Christian experience, his ideal of religion consisted in a kind of monastic asceticism. His dislike to the views of Augustine about the total corruption of human nature, and its entire inability to contribute in any way towards conversion or sanctification, was increased by the knowledge that some careless persons had made them an excuse for carnal security and moral indolence. This circumstance confirmed him in the idea that it was much better to preach a moral law, the demands of which, as he thought, men were able to fulfil, provided they were in earnest about it. During his stay at Rome, about the year 410, he commenced to diffuse these views. The following are the *leading outlines of his system*. Man had originally been created liable to physical death; eternal, not physical death, was the consequence and the punishment of sin. The fall of Adam had not caused any change in the moral nature of man, nor did its influence extend to the posterity of Adam. Every man came into the world exactly as God had created our first father, *i. e.*, without either sin or virtue. In the exercise of his yet undiminished freedom, he was left to choose the one or the other. The universal prevalence of sin depended on the power of seduction, of evil example, and of custom; but perfectly sinless persons may, and indeed actually have existed. The grace of God made it *more easy* for man to attain his destiny. Hence grace was not *absolutely* but *relatively* necessary, on account of the actual prevalence of sin. Grace consisted in spiritual enlightenment through revelation, in the forgiveness of sins as the manifestation of Divine indulgence, and in the strengthening of our moral powers by bringing the incentives

of the law and the promise of eternal life to bear upon them. The grace of God was designed for all men; but man must deserve it by making sincere endeavours after virtue. Christ had become incarnate in order, by His perfect doctrine and example, to give us the most powerful incentive to amend our ways, and thus to redeem us. As by sin we *imitate* Adam, so ought we by virtue to imitate Christ. *Baptism* he held to be necessary (the baptism of *infants* "in remissionem *futurorum* peccatorum"). Infants who had died without this sacrament enjoyed an inferior degree of blessedness. The same inconsistent adherence to Church views appears in his admission of the received doctrines concerning revelation, miracles, prophecy, the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ. If Pelagius had carried his principles to all their legitimate consequences, he would no doubt have discarded from his system all that is supernatural.

4. *The Pelagian Controversy* (412–431).—From the year 409 *Pelagius* resided at *Rome*, where he made a convert of *Cœlestius*, a man of much greater talent and learning than himself. By their zeal for morality and asceticism the two gained high repute at Rome; and continued to diffuse their principles without let or hindrance. In 411 they went to *Carthage*, whence Pelagius passed into Palestine. Cœlestius remained at Carthage, and became a candidate for the office of presbyter. His errors were now for the first time discussed. *Paulinus*, a deacon from Milan, who happened to be at Carthage, laid a formal accusation against him; and when he refused to recant, a provincial *synod*, held at Carthage in 412, excommunicated him. In the same year Augustine published his first controversial tractate: "De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum. Ll. III. ad Marcellinum."—In Palestine, Pelagius joined the followers of Origen. *Jerome*, whom he had at any rate offended by a disparaging opinion of his literary labours, opposed his views, and declared them a logical sequence of the Origenistic heresy (Ep. ad Ctesiphontem — Dialog. c. Pelag. Ll. III.); and *Paulus Orosius*, a young presbyter from Spain, denounced him at a *synod held at Jerusalem* (415), under the presidency of *John*, the bishop of that see. But the Synergistic orientals could not be convinced of the dangerous character of these views, which, besides, were somewhat disguised by their author. Another accusation laid by two Gallican bishops before the *Synod of Diospolis* (415), held under the presidency of *Eulogius*, Bishop of Cæsarea, ended in the same manner. Upon this, *Augustine* ("de gestis Pelagii") showed to the divines of Palestine that they had been deceived by Pelagius. *Orosius* also published a controversial tractate ("Apologeticus c. Pel."); while, on the other side, *Theodorus* of *Mops.* wrote five (now lost) letters (probably directed against Jerome). The Africans now took part in the controversy. Two synods — held at *Mileve* and at *Carthage* (416) — renewed the former condemnation of these doctrines, and laid their charges before *Innocent I.* of Rome, who approved of the conduct of the African

Church. *Pelagius* now transmitted a confession, in which his views were carefully disguised, while Cœlestius appeared personally at Rome. But Innocent had died before his arrival (417). *Zosimus*, his successor — perhaps a Greek divine, at any rate an indifferent theologian — having been gained by Cœlestius, addressed bitter reproaches to the African Church, against which the latter energetically protested. Soon afterwards, however, the Emperor *Honorius* issued (in 418) a "*sacrum scriptum*" against the Pelagians, while a *General Synod*, held at *Carthage* in 418, condemned their views in even stronger terms than before. These circumstances induced *Zosimus* also to condemn them ("*epistola tractatoria*"). Eighteen Italian bishops—among them *Julianus of Eclanum*, the ablest defender of Pelagianism — refused to sign this document, and were banished. They requested and obtained an asylum from *Nestorius*, Bishop of Constantinople. But this connection was fatal both to the bishop and his protégés. *Cœlestine*, Bishop of Rome, took the part of the opponents of Nestorius in the controversy about the person of Christ (§ 52, 3); while the Eastern Church, at the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus in 431, condemned, along with Nestorius, also Pelagius and Cœlestius, without, however, entering upon a definition of the doctrine in question. To this result the efforts of *Marius Mercator*, a learned layman from the West, who resided at Constantinople, had greatly contributed. He had composed two "Commonitoria" against Pelagius and Cœlestius, and a controversial tractate against Julianus of Eclanum. Nor had Augustine been idle during the interval. In 413 he wrote "De spiritu et litera ad Marcellinum;" in 415, "De natura et gratia" against Pelagius, and "De perfectione justitiæ hominis" against Cœlestius; in 416, "De gestis Pelagii;" in 418, "De gratia Dei et de peccato originali Ll. II. c. Pelag. et Cœl.;" in 419, "De nuptiis et concupiscentia Ll. II." (in answer to the objection that his system cast contempt upon the Divine institution of marriage); in 420, "C. duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium I." against the apologies of Julianus and his friends); in 421, "Ll. VI. c. Julianum;" and somewhat later an "Opus imperfectum c. secundam Juliani responsionem."

5. *The Semi-Pelagian Controversy* (427–529).—Gross Pelagianism had been refuted, but extreme inferences from the principles of Augustine in reference to the doctrine of Predestination excited fresh discussions. The monks at *Hadrumetum*, in North Africa, had gone on evolving sequences from this doctrine, until some had fallen into perplexity and despair, some into security and unconcern, while others deemed it requisite to avoid these and other consequences by ascribing to human activity a certain amount of merit in the acquisition of salvation. Under these difficulties, the abbot of that monastery addressed himself to *Augustine*, who endeavoured to remove the scruples and mistakes of the monks in two tractates (a. 427): "De gratia et libero arbitrio" and "De correptione et gratia." But about the same time

an entire school of divines in Southern Gaul protested against the doctrine of Predestination, and maintained the necessity of asserting that human freedom to a certain degree co-operated with Divine grace, so that sometimes the one, sometimes the other, initiated conversion. This school was headed by *Johannes Cassianus* (*ob.* 432), a pupil and friend of Chrysostom, and the founder and president of the monastery at Massilia. His adherents were called *Massilians* or *Semi-Pelagians.* Cassianus himself had, in the 13th of his "Collationes Patrum" (§ 48, 6), controverted the views of Augustine, without, however, naming that Father. The ablest of his pupils was *Vincentius Lirinensis* (from the monastery of Lirinium), who, in his "Commonitorium pro catholicæ fide antiquitate et universitate," laid down the principle, that Catholic doctrine consisted of all "quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum sit." Tried by this test, of course the teaching of Augustine was not Catholic. The second book of his tractate — which has been lost—controverted Augustinianism, and was, probably on that account, suppressed. *Hilary* and *Prosper Aquitanicus* — two laymen in Gaul (§ 48, 8) — devoted adherents of Augustine, wrote to inform him of these proceedings. The Bishop of Hippo now composed two tractates against the Massilians ("De prædestinatione Sanctorum" and "De dono perseverantiæ"). Death put an end to further controversy on his part (430). But *Hilary* and *Prosper* took up the cause. When *Cœlestine,* Bishop of Rome, to whom they applied for redress (in 431), gave a reply in terms which might mean anything or nothing, *Prosper* himself entered the lists by an able tractate, "De gratia dei et libero arbitrio contra Collatorem," in which, however, he involuntarily smoothed off the extreme points in the system of Augustine. This remark applies even in higher degree to the able work "De vocatione gentium," which perhaps was composed by *Leo the Great,* afterwards a pope, but at that time only a deacon. The other party (*Arnobius* the younger?) published a remarkable tractate, entitled "Prædestinatus," in which a supposed follower of Augustine expresses his views about predestination, carrying them to a most absurd length, of course in a manner never intended by the Bishop of Hippo. (Book I. gives a description of ninety heresies, of which Predestinarianism is the last; Book II. furnishes, by way of proof, this pretended tractate by a Predestinarian; and Book III. contains a refutation of it.) A Semi-Pelag. *synod,* which met at *Arles* in 475, obliged *Lucidus,* a presbyter and a zealous advocate of the doctrine of Predestination, to recant; and *Faustus,* Bishop of *Rhegium,* transmitted to him, in name of that Council, a controversial tractate, "De gratia Dei et humanæ mentis libero arbitrio." In the same year a *synod* held at *Lugdunum* (in 475) sanctioned Semi-Pelagianism. Although the tractate of Faustus was moderate, and, so to speak, intermediate between extreme views on both sides, it caused very great commotion among a community of Scythian monks at Constantinople (520). Through *Possessor,* Bishop of Carthage, they

complained to *Hormisdas*, who, however, replied in general and indefinite terms. The African divines in Sardinia, whom the Vandals had banished from their sees, now took up the cause. They held a council in 523; and, in their name, *Fulgentius of Ruspe* composed a very able defence of Augustinian views ("De veritate prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei Ll. III."), which made an impression even in Gaul. At the same time, *Avitus of Vienne* and *Cæsarius of Arles*, two excellent Gallican bishops, undertook the advocacy of moderate Augustinianism. At the *Synod of Arausio* (Oranges), in 529, these views were generally acknowledged as orthodox truth. Augustine's principles about original sin, the entire worthlessness of all human works, and the absolute necessity of *grace*, were admitted to the fullest extent; faith was declared to be the effect of grace alone, while the predestination of the "reprobate" was defined as merely foreknowledge, and predestination to sin entirely rejected as blasphemous. A *synod* held *at Valencia* (529) in the same year confirmed the decrees of *Oranges*, which also received the approbation of *Boniface II.* of Rome in 530.

§ 54. REVIVAL OF FORMER SECTS.

The *Montanists* (Tertullianists) and *Novatians* continued to exist till the fifth or sixth century. During the fifth century *Manichæism* still counted numerous adherents both in Italy and in North Africa. Gnostic and Manichæan tendencies reappeared in Spain under the name of *Priscillianism*, and (towards the close of this period) in Armenia under that of *Paulicianism* (§ 71, 1).

1. *Manichæism.*—The most prominent representative of this heresy in the West was *Faustus of Mileve*, an African, who composed a number of controversial tractates against Catholic doctrine. *Augustine*, who had at first been misled by him, wrote against him the thirty-three books "c. Faustum," the most comprehensive of his numerous works against the Manichæans.—Since the reign of *Valentinian I.*, the emperors frequently issued strict edicts, decreeing punishment upon the members of that sect. In Africa also they were persecuted by the Vandals. *Huneric* (since 477) transported whole shiploads of them to the continent of Europe. At the time of *Leo the Great* (*ob.* 461) the party numbered many adherents in Rome. On inquiry, it turned out that they held antinomian principles, and secretly indulged their lusts. But, notwithstanding the rigour employed against them, the sect had many secret adherents even during the middle ages.

2. *Priscillianism* (380–563).—(Comp. Sal. van Fries, diss. crit. de Priscillianistis eorumque fatis doctr. moribus. Ultraj. 1745.—*J. H. B. Lüb-*

kert, de hæresi Priscill. Han. 1840.—*J. M. Mandernach*, Gesch. des Priscillianism. Trier 1851.)—*Marcus*, an Egyptian, is said, in the fourth century, to have brought the germs of Gnostico-Manichæan views to Spain. *Priscillian*, a wealthy and educated layman, adopted these principles, and elaborated them into a dualistic system, in which the "emanation theory" occupied a prominent place. Marriage and the use of flesh were interdicted; but it is said that, under the guise of a strict asceticism, the sect secretly cherished antinomian views, and indulged in licentious orgies. At any rate, it sanctioned both lying and perjury, hypocrisy and dissimulation, for the purpose of spreading and protecting its principles.—Gradually Priscillianism extended over the whole of Spain, where even some of the bishops became converts to it. The glimmering fire was fanned into a flame by the intemperate zeal of *Idacius*, Bishop of Emerida. A *Synod* held at *Saragossa* in 380 excommunicated the sect, and commissioned *Ithacius*, Bishop of Sossuba, a very violent and also an immoral man, to carry its decrees into execution. In connection with Idacius, he procured from the Emperor an edict threatening all Priscillians with exile. But Priscillian's bribe brought about a repeal of this edict, and an order for the arrest of Ith., which the latter escaped by flight into Gaul. Here he gained over *Maximus*, the usurper (the murderer of Gratian), who, to obtain their possessions, applied the torture to some of the sect, and caused Priscillian and some of his adherents to be beheaded at Treves (385). This was the first instance in which heretics were punished with death. *Martin*, the noble-minded Bishop of *Tours*, to whom the Emperor had promised to employ mild measures, hastened to Treves, and renounced communion with Ithacius and all those bishops who had consented to the sentence of death. *Ambrose* also, and other bishops, expressed their disapprobation. Maximinius was thus induced to institute the military inquisition against them. But the glory of martyrdom heightened the enthusiasm of the sect, and their principles rapidly spread among the barbarians who, in 409, invaded Spain. In a "Commonitorium de errore Priscillianist," addressed to *Augustine* (in 415), *Paulus Orosius* (§ 53, 4) earnestly implored the assistance of that Father; but other cares and controversies prevented him from energetically taking part in this discussion. Greater success attended the endeavors of *Leo the Great*, whose aid was invoked thirty years later by *Turribius*, Bishop of Astorga. In accordance with the instruction of that Pontiff, a "Concilium Hispanicum" in 447, and at a subsequent period, the *Council of Braga* in 563, adopted efficient measures for the suppression of this heresy. After that professed Priscillianism seems to have disappeared, but the principles of the sect continued in secret tradition for many centuries.

V. WORSHIP, LIFE, DISCIPLINE, AND MANNERS.

§ 55. WORSHIP IN GENERAL.

When Christian worship was secured by Constantine against persecution, it developed extraordinary wealth of forms and material, an indescribable fulness of ceremonial beauty and glory. But as yet doctrinal controversies absorbed public attention too much, to leave time or space for submitting ritual questions to the ordeal of discussion and examination. Hence the special manner of conducting public worship was in each case very much left to be regulated by the spirit of the times, and by national peculiarities. Still, the common spirit of the Church gave to this ecclesiastical development a great uniform direction, and the differences which at first obtained gradually disappeared. Only, such were the national differences between the East and the West, that even the continual efforts made after catholic unity could not efface these characteristics from public worship.

The right relation between DOCTRINE and WORSHIP doubtless is, that the latter should be regulated and determined by the former. Such was the case at the commencement of this period. But afterwards the relationship was reversed; and the unevangelical views so generally entertained may, in no small measure, be traced to this aberration. The change took place principally during the time of *Cyril of Alex.* It is quite natural that, when the principles of that school about the close interconnection between the Divine and the human prevailed, they should also have been embodied in public worship. But as yet these views were one-sided, and liable to be perverted into error. The labours of Leo and Theodoret were indeed so far successful as to exclude from Church doctrines the *monophysite* element. But already it had struck its roots so deeply in public *worship*, that its presence was not even recognized, far less removed. During the following periods it gradually increased (in the worship of saints, of images, of relics—in pilgrimages, the sacrifice of the mass, etc.), and exercised the most pernicious influence on the development of the doctrines which, as yet, had not been accurately defined (for example, those about the Church, the priesthood, the sacraments, especially that of the Lord's Supper, etc.)

§ 56. TIMES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS.

Comp. *G. B. Eisenschmidt*, Gesch. d. Sonn- and Festtage (Hist. of the Lord's Day and of Feast Days). Leipz. 1793.—*J. G. Müller*, Gesch. d. christ. Feste. Berl. 1843.—*Fr. Strauss*, d. evang. Kirchenjahr (The Eccles. Year of Evang. Ch.). Berl. 1850. — *E. Ranke*, d. kirchl. Perikopensystem. Berl. 1847.—*M. A. Nickel* (Rom. Cath.), d. heil. Zeiten u. Feste in d. kath. K. (Sacred Seasons and Fest. in the Cath. Church). Mayence 1836. 6 vols. — *H. Alt*, d. chr. Cultus. Abth. II., Das Kirchenjahr mit s. Festen. Berl. 1858.

The idea of a *weekly* and an *annual* cycle in commemoration of the great facts of salvation, had been entertained even during the previous period (§ 31). But gradually the idea of this *weekly cycle* gave way before a richer and fuller development of that of the *Christian year*. From the first essential differences prevailed in this respect between the East and the West; the former embodied rather the Jewish-Christian, the latter the Gentile-Christian tendency. But during the fourth century many of these divergences were removed, and the three great cycles of Christian festivals were celebrated in the same manner by both Churches. During the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the former differences again reappeared. The Eastern Church increasingly yielded to its early inclination for Jewish-Christian forms of worship; while the Western Church, in conformity with its Gentile-Christian tendency, adopted the natural year as a basis for the ecclesiastical. Hence the ecclesiastical year of the West obtained fuller organization, and became more closely intertwined with popular life. But even in the West, the increasing tendency towards the worship of saints prevented the full carrying out of the idea of the Christian ecclesiastical year.

1. *The Weekly Cycle.* — So early as the year 321 Constantine the Great enacted a law, that neither public business nor work of any kind should be done on the Lord's Day. Somewhat later he interdicted military exercises on that day. His successors extended this inhibition to public spectacles. Besides Sunday, the Jewish Sabbath also was, for a long time, observed in the East by meeting for worship, by the intermission of fasts, and by prayer in the standing posture; fasting was only allowed on the Sabbath of the Great Week. Wednesday and Friday, the "dies stationum," were kept in the East as fast days. In the West, the fast on Wednesdays was abrogated, and in its room that on the Jewish Sabbath introduced.

2. *Horæ and Ember-Days.*—During the fifth century the number of fixed *hours for prayer* (the 3d, 6th, and 9th during the day, comp. Dan. vi. 10, 13; Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, x. 9) increased to eight (*horæ canonicæ:* Matutina at 3 o'clock in the morning, Prima at 6, Tertia at 9, Sexta at 12, Nona at 3, Vespers at 6, Completoria at 9, and Mesonyction or Vigils at 12). But in order to obtain the sacred number 7 (after Ps. cxix. 164), the two horæ of the night were generally combined into one. The horæ were, in all their strictness, observed only by monks and the clergy.—In accordance with this arrangement of prayer, once every three hours, the year was divided in the West into terms of three months (*quatuor tempora*, quarterly), each marked by a fast. These periods were (according to Joel ii.) to be signalized by repentance, fasting, and almsgiving. The arrangement in question was completed by *Leo the Great* (*ob.* 461). The Ember-days fell at the commencement of Quadragesima, during the week after Pentecost, and in the middle of the seventh and of the tenth month (September and December). They were observed by a strict fast on the Wednesday, the Friday, and the Saturday, and by a Sabbath vigil.

3. *The Calculation of Easter.*—The *Council of Nice* (325) decided in favour of the Roman mode of Easter observance, as opposed to that of Asia Minor (§ 31, 1). The adherents of the latter formed a separate sect (*Quartodecimani*). The Council decided that the first day of full moon after the vernal equinox should be regarded as the 14th of Nisan, and that the Feast of the Resurrection should be celebrated on the Sunday following, yet so as to avoid its coincidence with the Jewish Passover. The annual astronomical calculation of the feast was entrusted to the Bishop of Alexandria, in which city astronomical study was extensively cultivated. This prelate issued an annual circular (*liber paschalis*) — commonly at Epiphany — in which he intimated to the other churches the result of his calculations, and generally also took occasion to discuss some question that was mooted at the time. The Roman mode of calculation differed in some respects from that common in Alexandria. At Rome they calculated according to a cycle of 84, and not of 19 years; the 18th, and not the 21st of March, was regarded as the day of the spring equinox; and if the full moon happened on a Saturday, Easter was celebrated, not the day afterwards, but eight days after it. At last, in 525, *Dionysius* Exiguus brought about a permanent agreement between Rome and Alexandria in the celebration of Easter.

4. *The Easter Cycle of Festivals.*—With the commencement of *Quadragesima* the whole appearance of public life underwent a change. Public amusements were prohibited, criminal investigations arrested, and the noise of traffic in streets and markets ceased as far as possible. In the East, fasting was intermitted on Sundays and Saturdays; in the West, only on Sundays. On this account, *Gregory the Great* fixed the

Wednesday of the seventh week before Easter as the commencement of Quadragesima. This day was called "Caput jejunii," and "*Dies cinerum*" — Ash Wednesday — from the practice of sprinkling ashes on the heads of the faithful, in remembrance of Gen. iii. 19. On the *Tuesday* before that fast, the people were wont, by extravagant festivities (*Carnival*, Carni vale.), to make up for the coming fasts. About the same time the Easter cycle was enlarged in the West, so as to embrace two additional weeks, and commenced on the ninth Sunday before Easter (Septuagesima). The Hallelujah of the mass then ceased, marriages were no more consecrated (*tempus clausum*), and monks and priests already commenced to fast. Quadragesima attained, as it were, its climax during the last or the so-called *Great Week*, which commenced on Palm Sunday (ἑορτὴ τῶν βαΐων), and closed with the *Great Sabbath*, the favourite time for administering baptism. The *Thursday* when the Lord's Supper had been instituted, and the *Friday* on which the Saviour had been crucified, were more particularly observed. Public worship celebrated during the night (*Easter vigil*) formed a transition from these fasts to the rejoicings at Easter. This solemnity was deepened by the prevalence of an old tradition, that Christ would again return during that night. The morning of Easter was ushered in with the joyful salutation, "The Lord is risen;" to which response was made, "Yea, truly He is risen." The festivities of Easter closed only on the following Sunday (pascha clausum, ἀντίπασχα). On that day those who had been baptized on the Great Sabbath wore for the last time their white garments. Hence this Sunday was called "Dominica in albis," also "Quasimodogeniti," from the first words in 1 Pet. ii. 2— among the Greeks, καινὴ κυριακή. The rejoicings of Easter extended over the whole term of *Quinquagesima*, or the period between Easter and Pentecost. A solemn vigil preceded both *Ascension-day* and *Pentecost*, and the latter closed with a *Pentecost-octava* (celebrated by the Greeks as the κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτυρησάντων, and by the Latins — at a much later period—as the Feast of the Holy Trinity). — These festive "*Octavæ*" were kept in imitation of the "solemn assembly" at the Feast of Tabernacles, Lev. xxiii. 36.

5. *The Christmas Cycle of Festivals.*—The first mention of *Christmas* observance (natalis Christi, γενέθλια) occurs in the Western Church about 360. Twenty or thirty years afterwards, it was also introduced in the East. We account for the late introduction of this festival by the circumstance that the ancient Church failed to set value on the day of Christ's birth, and placed it rather in the background as compared with the day of His death (§ 31). But Chrysostom already designates it as the μητρόπολις πασῶν τῶν ἑορτῶν. From the first, the 25th December was commonly regarded as the day on which Christ was born. The Christmas festival was fixed for that day, not on account of, but despite, the heathen *Saturnalia* (in remembrance of the Golden Age, from the 17th–24th December), the *Sigillaria* (on the 24th December,

when children received presents of dolls and figures made of earthenware or wax — sigilla), and the *Brumalia* (on the 25th December, dies natalis invicti solis, the Feast of the Winter Solstice). At the same time it was regarded as far from an accidental occurrence that Christ, the Eternal Sun, had appeared on that day. Christmas commenced also with a *Vigil*, and terminated with an *Octava*, which during the sixth century became the "festum circumcisionis." In contrast with the excesses of the heathen at the *New Year*, the ancient Church set this day apart for humiliation and fasting. The *Feast of Epiphany* was introduced in the West in the fourth century, when it obtained its peculiar Gentile-Christian import as a commemoration of the admission of Gentiles into the Church (Luke ii. 21). (Referring to Ps. lxxii. 10, Tertullian had represented the Magi as kings; the number *three* indicated threefold gifts. In 600 A. D. Bede gave their names: Casper, Melchior, and Balthasar.) In other places this feast was also supposed to commemorate the first miracle of Christ at the marriage in Cana.—Since the sixth century, the period preceding Christmas was observed as "*the Advent*." In the Latin Church this season commenced on the fourth Sunday before Christmas; in the Greek, on the 14th November, and comprehended six Sundays and a fast of forty days — a practice which was also introduced in some of the Western churches.

6. The last festival of our Lord — introduced late in the East — was *that of the Transfiguration* (Aug. 6th), which the Latin Church only adopted in the fifteenth century.—For *Saints' days*, and *feasts in honor of the Virgin*, comp. § 57.

7. *The Ecclesiastical Year.* — In the EAST, the symbolical relation between the natural and the ecclesiastical year was ignored, except so far as implied in the attempt to give to the Jewish feasts a Christian adaptation. To some extent, indeed, Western ideas had been imported in reference to the great festivals, such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, but not in connection with the ordinary Sun and feast-days. At first the ecclesiastical year in the East commenced with Easter, afterwards with Quadragesima or with Epiphany, and ultimately in September, as under the Old Dispensation. The year was divided into four parts, according to the "lectio continua" of the Gospels, and the Sundays obtained corresponding names. The κυριακὴ πρώτη τοῦ Ματθαίου took place immediately after Pentecost. — The LATIN ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR commenced in Advent, and was divided into a "Semestre Domini" and a "Semestre ecclesiæ." But the idea underlying this arrangement was only carried out in reference to the "Semestre Domini" (Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, with the Sundays which they included, indicating the commencement, the development, and the completion of the history of *redemption*). In reference to the "Semestre ecclesiæ," only the commencement of a symbolical arrangement was made. Thus the "*Feast of Peter and Paul*," on the 29th June, repre-

sented the foundation of the Church by the apostles; the feast of *Laurentius* (§ 23, 5) the martyr, on the 10th August, the contest awaiting the "Church militant;" and the *Feast of Michael* the archangel, on the 29th September, the complete success of the "Church triumphant." That these feasts were intended to form the basis of three cycles of festivals, we gather from the circumstance that the Sundays after Pentecost had been arranged as Dominicæ post Apostolos, post Laurentii, post Angelos. But the idea was not developed; the frequency of saints' days not only made this arrangement impossible, but rendered it even necessary to encroach on the "Semestre Domini." The principle of attempting to Christianize the worship of the heathen was authoritatively sanctioned by Gregory the Great, who in 601 instructed the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to transform the heathen tempes into churches, and the pagan into saints' festivals or martyr-days, "ut duræ mentes gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus eleventur." Saints now took the places of the old gods, and the ecclesiastical was made in every respect to correspond with the natural year, only in a Christianized form.

§ 57. THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS, OF RELICS, AND OF IMAGES.

Since persecutions, and with them martyrdom, had ceased, an extraordinary asceticism could alone entitle to the honours of canonization. In awarding this distinction, popular opinion carried the day. Thus the number of saints increased every year; saints who had long been forgotten were discovered by means of visions, while, in the absence of historical reminiscences, tradition supplied names and facts in rich abundance. The more men felt the lukewarmness and worldliness of their own religious experience, as compared with the strength of faith displayed by the first witnesses for the truth, the higher did the *martyrs* rise in popular veneration. Altars and churches were erected over their graves (*memoriæ* μαρτύριαι), or else their bones deposited in the churches (*translationes*). Newly erected churches were consecrated by their names, and persons called after them in baptism. The days of their martyrdom were observed as festivals, introduced by vigils, and celebrated by agapes and oblations at their graves. Ecclesiastical orators extolled them in enthusiastic language, and poets sung of them in their hymns. Nothing could equal the zeal with which their bones were searched out, or the enthusiasm with which men gazed on them, or pressed forward to touch them. Every province, nay, every

town, had its tutelary saint (*Patronus*). In the East, the *Invocation of Saints* originated with the three great *Cappadocians;* in the West, with *Ambrose.* These Fathers maintained that the saints participated in the omnipotence and omniscience of the Deity. *Augustine* alone held that the angels were the medium through which the saints learned the invocations of the devout. In the various liturgies, the former practice of praying FOR the saints was now converted into entreaty for their *intercession.* The common people regarded this worship as taking the place of that of heroes and of the Manes. But theological writers earnestly insisted on the distinction between "adoratio" and "invocatio," λατρεία and δουλεία, of which the former was due to God alone. The *worship of Mary* arose at a period subsequent to that of the martyrs, and chiefly in connection with the Nestorian controversy. Soon, however, it acquired much greater importance than that of the saints. Faint traces of a *worship of angels* occur even in Justin and Origen; but this species of service was neglected for that of the saints. The *zeal for pilgrimages* was greatly quickened after the visit of the Empress-mother *Helena* (in 326) to the holy places in Palestine, where she erected splendid churches. Some of the most eminent Fathers, however, disapproved of these tendencies. The *worship of images* commenced during the time of Cyril of Alexandria. It was specially cultivated in the East. Western divines — and even *Gregory* the Great — admitted pictures only for decoration, for popular instruction, and for quickening the devotional feelings. The worship of *relics,* on the other hand, spread more extensively in the West than in the East.

1. *Saints' Days.* — So early as the fourth century, the octave of Pentecost was celebrated in the East as "*the Festival of all the Martyrs*" (§ 56, 4). In the West, *Pope Boniface IV.* instituted, in 610, a "*festum omnium Sanctorum*" for the Pantheon, which the Emperor *Phocas* had presented to the Holy See, and which was transformed into a church of the most blessed Virgin and of all the martyrs. But this festival (on November 1st), was not generally observed till the ninth century. The large number of canonized saints rendered it possible to dedicate every day in the calendar to one or more saints. Generally, the anniversary of their death was selected for that purpose; in the case of *John the Baptist* alone an exception was made in favour of his birthday (natalis S. Joannis). From its relation to Christmas (Luke i. 26), this festival was fixed for the 24th June; and the contrast of the season in which these two feasts occurred, reminded the Church even in this

respect of John iii. 30. So early as the fifth century, the 29th August was also observed as a *festum decollationis S. Joannis*. The second day of Christmas was the Feast of *St. Stephen*, the proto-martyr (the first-gathered fruit of the Incarnation); the *third* day was devoted to the memory of the disciple whom Jesus loved; the *fourth*, to that of the infants at Bethlehem (*festum innocentum*), as the "flores" or "primitiæ martyrum." The Feast of the *Maccabees* — in commemoration of the woman and her seven sons who suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes — was already celebrated in the fourth, and only discontinued in the thirteenth century. Among the festivals in honour of the apostles, that "*of Peter and Paul*" — in memory of their martyrdom at Rome (29th June) — was generally observed. Besides this, two other "*festa cathedræ Petri*" were observed at Rome — one on the 18th January, in commemoration of Peter's accession to the "Cathedra Romana," the other on the 22d February, in remembrance of his occupation of the "Cathedra Antiochena." For some time the saints' days were so arranged that those devoted to the patriarchs were fixed before Christmas, those of later saints of the Old Testament dispensation during Quadragesima, those of the apostles and first preachers after Pentecost; then followed the martyrs, after them the later confessors, and, lastly, the "Virgines," as the type of the Church in a state of perfection.

2. *The Worship of Mary.* — The Virgin, "blessed among women," and who by the Holy Spirit had predicted: "From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed," was from the first regarded as the highest ideal of maidenhood. Hence the veneration which the early Church paid to virginity, centred in that of her person. Side by side with the contrast between Adam and Christ, Tertullian placed that between Eve and Mary. In the fourth century, the "perpetua virginitas b. Mariæ" was already an article of faith. *Ambrose* applied Ezek. xliv. 2 to her, and spoke of her having given birth "utero clauso;" while the second Trullan Council (692) declared ἀλόχευτον τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου θεῖον τόκον εἶναι. If Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Basil, and Chrysostom had still acknowledged her sinful, *Augustine* no longer numbered her among sinners: "Unde enim scimus, quid ei plus gratiæ collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum?" But for a considerable period no further progress was made towards actual worship of the Virgin. This was partly due to the circumstance, that she had not shared the glory of martyrdom, and partly to the idolatrous and heathenish worship paid her by the *Collyridians* — a female sect in Arabia dating from the fourth century — who offered to her bread-cakes (in imitation of the heathen worship of Ceres). *Epiphanius*, who opposed that sect, maintained: τὴν δὲ Μαρίαν οὐδεὶς προσκυνείσθω, οὔτε ἄγγελοι χώρουσι δοξολογίαν τοιαύτην. On the *Antidicomarianites*, comp. § 62. But through the victory of the doctrine that Mary was the mother of God, in the Nestorian controversy, Mariolatry became

again more general in the Church. In the fifth century, the 25th March was celebrated as *the Feast of the Annunciation*, (incarnat onis, ἑορτὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ, του ἀσπασμοῦ). In the West, *the Feast of Purification* (according to Luke ii. 22) was observed on the 2d February. It was also called Feast of *Candlemas*, from the solemn offering of candles then made. When, in 542, the empire was visited with earthquakes and pestilence, Justinian instituted the "festum occursus," (ἑορτὴ τῆς ὑπαπάντης), with special reference to the meeting with Simeon and Anna (Luke ii. 25). Both these might still be regarded as festivals of our Lord. From a desire to have a series of feasts in honour of the Virgin corresponding to those in commemoration of Christ, the Feast "of the *Ascension* of Mary" (παννύχυις κομιήσεως, f. assumptionis, dormitionis M.) was introduced at the close of the sixth, and during the seventh century that of the *Birth* of Mary. These festivals were celebrated on the 15th August and the 8th September. The former was founded on a legend — first broached by Gregory of Tours, (*ob.* 595)—to the effect that, immediately on her decease, angels had raised the "Mother of God," and carried her to heaven.—(Cf. § 105, 2; 113, 1).

3. *The Worship of Angels.*—So early as the second century, the idea of tutelary angels for nations, towns, and individuals occurs, based on Deut. xxxii. 8 (according to the version of the LXX.); Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1; Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15. *Ambrose* already insisted on the invocation of angels. But when the Phrygian sect of "*Angelici*" carried this practice to idolatrous adoration of angels, the Council of Laodicea (in the fourth century) condemned their views, and *Epiphanius* numbered the sect among heretics. Pretended apparitions of *Michael* the archangel led, in the fifth century, to the institution of the "*Feast of St. Michael*"—on the 29th September—which was celebrated in honour of all the angels, and designed to express the idea of the Church triumphant.

4. *The Worship of Images* (comp. § 35).—The dislike and the jealousy of art which characterized the early Church had not wholly disappeared even in the fourth century. *Eusebius of Cæsarea* speaks of a statue at Paneas (§ 14, 2), and other representations of Christ and of the apostles, as an ἐθνικὴ συνηθεία. He seriously reproved *Constantia*, the Emperor's sister, for expressing a desire to possess a likeness of Christ, and called her attention to the second commandment. *Asterius*, Bishop of Amasa in Pontus (*ob.* 410), censured the custom of rich persons wearing on their dresses embroidered representations of events in Gospel history, and recommended such persons rather to bear Christ in their hearts. *Epiphanius*, in his zeal, tore in pieces a painted curtain that hung in a village church in Palestine, and suggested that the body of a poor person should be wrapped in it. But gradually the Grecian love of art and the popular feeling carried the victory over legal rigor-

ism and abstract spiritualism. In this respect also the age of Cyril became the period of transition. Already in the fifth century, miracles were said to be performed by certain pictures of Christ, of the apostles, and of "the Mother of God." This gave rise to a real worship of images, by lighting before them tapers, kissing them, bowing, prostration, burning incense before them, etc. Soon every church and church-book, every palace and cottage, was filled with pictures of Christ and of saints, commonly drawn by monks. Countless miracles occurred in connection with them. This delusion, however, spread not so rapidly in the West as in the East. Thus *Augustine* complained of the worship of images, and insisted that Christ should be sought in the Bible, and not in images; and although *Gregory the Great* reproved the iconoclastic zeal of *Serenus*, Bishop of Massilia, himself would tolerate pictures in churches "ad instruendas *solummodo* mentes nescientium." The Nestorians, who were entirely opposed to the use of pictures, denounced Cyril as the originator of this new idolatry.—(Cf. § 60, 4; 66.)

5. *The Worship of Relics* (Cf. § 36, 4).—The worship of relics (λείψανα) originated partly in a pious impulse common to mankind, partly in the honours which the early Church was wont to pay the martyrs. The religious services celebrated on the graves of martyrs, the erection of memorials to them, and the depositing of their bones in churches, may be regarded as the commencement of this practice. By and by no altar or church was reared that possessed not its own relic. Gradually, as the small number of known martyrs no longer sufficed to supply the increasing number of churches with relics, their bones were distributed. Places where relics hitherto unknown lay, were miraculously pointed out in dreams and visions. The catacombs now became mines of relics, of which the genuineness was proved by signs and wonders. So early as 386, *Theodosius I.* was obliged to interdict the traffic in relics. Among them were reckoned not only bones, but garments, utensils, and especially the instruments with which the martyrs had been tortured. Their application restored the sick, exorcised demons, raised the dead, averted the plague, detected crimes, etc. The persons thus benefited were in the habit of expressing their gratitude by setting up commemorative tablets, or offering silver and gold casts of the diseased member which had been miraculously healed. In defence of this species of veneration, some appealed to 2 Kings xiii. 21; Sir. xlvi. 14; Acts xix. 12.—According to a legend—which was generally credited in the fifth century—*Helena* had, in 326, discovered the true *cross of Christ*, as well as those of the two malefactors. This story was first attested by Ambrose, Rufinus, and Chrysostom; Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim of the year 333 know nothing of it. The true cross was recognized from the others through a miraculous cure (raising of the dead) performed by means of it. The devout Empress presented one half of the cross to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and sent

the other half along with the nails to her son, who inserted the wood in a statue of his own, and set the nails in his diadem and in the reins of his horse. Pious pilgrims were allowed to carry with them splinters of that portion of the wood which was left at Jerusalem, and thus *particles of the true cross* were carried into and worshipped in all lands. At a comparatively late period, it was said that, in honour of the *discovery of the cross*, ἁ σταυρώσιμος ἡμέρα had been celebrated (on the 14th September) in the East so early as the fourth century. From the time of *Gregory* the Great, a festum inventionis S. Crucis was kept throughout the West on the 3d May. The *Feast* of the *Elevation of the Cross* was instituted by the Emperor *Heraclius* (14th Sept.) to commemorate the defeat of the Persians, who were obliged to restore the holy cross (629), which they had taken away. This festival was also introduced in the West.

6. *Pilgrimages* (Cf. *J. Marx*, d. Wallf. in d. kath. K. Trier 1842).—Pilgrimages to sacred places likewise spring from a prevalent human want. Many were eager to follow the example set them by *Helena* in 326. Even the conquest of Palestine by the Saracens in the seventh century could not arrest the zeal of pilgrims. Not only the sacred localities in Palestine, but Mount Sinai, the tombs of Peter and Paul at Rome (*limina Apostolorum*), the grave of St. Martin of Tours (*ob.* 400), and even the place where Job, the type of Christ, had suffered (in Arabia), were favourite places of pilgrimage.—This zeal for pilgrimages, especially on the part of monks and of women, was most strenuously opposed by *Gregory of Nyssa*, who, in a letter on the subject, in the strongest language indicated the danger accruing both to genuine religion and to morality from this practice. Even *Jerome* moralized: "Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia æqualiter patet aula cœlestis." *Chrysostom* and *Augustine* also objected to the excessive merit attached to such acts of devotion.—(Cf. § 89, 4; 105, 3.)

§ 58. ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The *Church* had not at this period definitely settled either the number or the import of the *Sacraments* (μυστήρια). The term was indiscriminately applied both to the doctrines of salvation in so far as they transcended the intellect of man, and to those rites of worship through which, in a manner incomprehensible, believers received and appropriated redemption. From the first, it was admitted that *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* were the principal sacramental means of grace. But so early as the third century, anointing and laying on of hands was distinguished from baptism, regarded as a special sacrament—that of *Con-*

firmation (χρίσμα) — and in the West administered separately from the initiatory Christian rite (§ 32). The idea of a special order of Christian priesthood as of Divine institution (§ 30), led theologians to regard *Ordination* as a sacrament (§ 45, 3). When the Pelagians charged *Augustine* that his views of original sin and of concupiscence implied that the Divine ordinance of marriage was in itself sinful, he rejoined by characterizing the *ecclesiastical solemnization of marriage* (§ 61, 2) as a sacrament, appealing in proof to Eph. v. 32. Thus marriage was represented as nature sanctified by grace. The *Pseudo-Dionysius* enumerated (in the sixth cent.) six sacraments, viz.: Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, the Anointing of priests, that of monks, and that of the dead (τῶν κεκοιμημένων). As to *extreme unction*, comp. § 61, 3.

1. *The Administration of Baptism* (Cf. § 32).—During this period it was still common to delay baptism, either from indifference, from superstition, or from doctrinal prejudices. These motives also operated against the practice of *infant-baptism*, which had long been recognized, not only as lawful, but as necessary. *Gregory* of Nyssa wrote: "Πρὸς τοὺς βραδύνοντας εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα;"—the other Fathers equally opposed this abuse. In accordance with the view of *Tertullian*, baptized laymen, but not women, were allowed to administer baptism in case of *extreme necessity* (in periculo mortis). The practice of having *Godparents* became general; and the Code of Justinian treated this relationship as a spiritual affinity, and an impediment to marriage. The following were the ceremonies common at baptism. The catechumens, who had kept their heads *veiled*, *unveiled* them on the day of baptism—the former to shut out any object that might distract, and also to symbolize spiritual self-retirement. *Exorcism* was pronounced over the candidates for baptism; next, the officiating priest *breathed* on them (John xx. 22), touched their *ears*, saying: *Ephphata!* (Mark vii. 34), and made the *sign of the cross* on their forehead and breast. In Africa *salt* (Mark ix. 50) was given them; in Italy a piece of money, as symbol of the talent of baptismal grace (Luke xix. 12, etc.). The assumption in baptism of a new *name* indicated entrance into a new life. The person baptized *renounced* the devil, turning at the same time toward the west, and saying: Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ καὶ πασῇ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου, and again to the east, with the words: Συντάσσομαί σοι Χριστέ. The practice of sprinkling was confined to the "baptismus Clinicorum." The person baptized was three times *immersed;* in the Spanish Church only once, to mark even in this their antagonism to Arian views.

2. Hitherto the *Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (comp. § 33) had not been discussed in Synods, and the views of individual Fathers on the

subject were exceedingly vague and undetermined. All of them spoke of it as of a very sacred and awful mystery, and felt convinced that the elements of bread and wine became, in a supernatural manner, connected with the body and blood of Christ. Some regarded this connection as *spiritual*, and in the light of a *dynamic* influence; others viewed it in a *realistic* manner, and as an actual communication of these substances to the elements; but most theologians had not fully decided either for one or other of these views. Almost all described the miracle which took place in this sacrament as a μεταβολή, transfiguratio — an expression, however, which they also employed in connection with the baptismal water and the anointing oil. The school of Origen — especially *Eusebius* of Cæsarea and the *Pseudo-Dionysius*, also *Athanasius* and *Gregory Nazianzen*, though in a less decided manner — adopted the spiritualistic view. In the West, it was advocated by *Augustine* and his school, and even by *Leo the Great*. The principles of Augustine on Predestination led almost of necessity to this, since only believers, *i. e.*, the elect, could partake of this heavenly food. Not unfrequently, however, that Father also made use of language which savours of the opposite view. Among the advocates of the realistic interpretation, some took the *dyophysite* (consubstantiation), others the *monophysite* (transubstantiation) view of the sacrament. A decided tendency to transubstantiation is exhibited in the writings of *Cyril of Jerus.*, of *Chrysostom*, of *Hilary* of Pict., and of *Ambrose*. The view of *Gregory of Nyssa* was somewhat peculiar. He held, that as during the terrestrial life of Christ food and drink, by assimilation, became the substance of His body, so the bread and wine were, by an act of Divine Omnipotence, in the consecration, changed into the *glorified* corporeity of Christ, which became assimilated with our body when we partook of the Lord's Supper. The divergences on this question appeared more distinctly after the Nestorian Controversy, although *Theodoret* and *Pope Gelasius* (*ob.* 496) were the only theologians who fully applied their general dyophysite views in reference to this sacrament. The former says: μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, and the latter: Esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. . . . . Hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum (in regard to the Person of Christ), quod in ejus imagine (as to the Lord's Supper) profitemur. But, in all probability, the mass of the people had long before learned to regard this μεταβολή as a genuine change of substance. The popular view next passed into the prayer-books. We find it in the Gallican and Syrian liturgies of the fifth century, in language which cannot be misunderstood. Even after the Council of Chalcedon had sanctioned dyophysite views as orthodox, the tendency to resolve the human in Christ into the Divine still continued; and towards the close of this period the doctrine of transubstantiation was generally entertained.

3. *The Sacrifice of the Mass.* (Comp. § 33, 4). — Even during the fourth century the body of Christ presented by consecration in the

Lord's Supper, had been designated a sacrifice, though only in the sense of being a representation of the one sacrifice of Christ. But gradually this view of a sacramental feast in remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ gave place to that which made the Eucharist an unbloody, but real *repetition* of this sacrifice. The change in question was much promoted by the ancient custom of connecting with this sacrament intercession for the living and the dead, and *more especially* by that of celebrating the memory of the latter by oblations and partaking of the Lord's Supper, in order thus to express that communion in the Lord lasted beyond death and the grave (§ 35). Such *intercessions* would naturally appear much more powerful, if the sacrifice of Christ, which alone could give them efficacy, was on every such occasion really repeated and re-enacted. Other causes also contributed to this result. Among them we reckon the rhetorical figures and the language of preachers, who applied to the representation terms which really characterized the one sacrifice of Christ alone; the notion about a regular priesthood, which soon led to that of sacrifices; the spread of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the tendency to regard the sacrament as of magical efficacy. The idea that the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice became completely established after the introduction of the doctrine of PURGATORY as a place of punishment — before the resurrection — where venial sins, which had not been atoned for during life, might be expiated. This doctrine, which was not received in the East, was first propounded by *Augustine*, although not without some misgivings, and without any reference to the sacrifice of the Eucharist. But *Cæsarius of Arles* and *Gregory the Great* carried it to all its consequences. The "oblationes pro defunctis," which had long been in use, now assumed the character of "*masses for their souls;*" the object being no longer that the living should partake of the body and blood of Christ, and thereby indicate their communion with the departed, but that the atoning sacrifice should be repeated for the spiritual benefit of the deceased — *i. e.*, in order that the sufferings of purgatory might thereby be alleviated and abridged. Similarly, men had also recourse to the atoning efficacy of the eucharistic sacrifice for the removal of earthly ills, sufferings, and accidents, in so far as these were regarded as punishments of sin. For these purposes, it was deemed sufficient if the sacrificing priest alone partook of the Eucharist (*missæ solitariæ, private masses*). At last the flock ceased to partake of the communion at ordinary seasons of worship, and only joined in it at certain festivals.

4. *The Dispensation of the Supper.* — After the general introduction of infant-baptism, the strict distinction between the "missa catechumenorum" and the "missa fidelium" (§ 33, 1) ceased. In the Eastern and North African branches of the Church, *Infant-Communion* remained in use; in the West it was interdicted, in accordance with 1 Cor. xi. 28, 29. The "*communio sub una*" (scil. specie) was regarded as

Manichæan heresy. In Northern Africa it was in exceptional cases allowed in the case of children, because a little girl had, from dislike to wine, on one occasion spit it out. So early as the sixth century, the communion was taken only once a year in the East; but in the West the Councils insisted, even in the fifth century, that it should be taken every Lord's day, and that those who failed to partake of it at least on the three great festivals should be excommunicated. The *elements* were still furnished by the members of the Church,—the bread being that in common use, hence generally *leavened*. This practice continued in the East; it was otherwise in the West, where unleavened bread was used in the Eucharist. The *colour of the wine* was regarded as matter of indifference; at a later period white wine was preferred, because the red left some colouring matter in the cup. It was, however, deemed necessary to mix the wine with water, either in allusion to John xix. 34, or to the two natures in Christ. Only the Armenian Monophysites used undiluted wine. The bread was broken. It was a common practice in the East to carry to the sick bread dipped in wine, instead of bringing the elements separately. At a later period, in churches also both elements were given together in a spoon. The consecrated elements were called *Eulogia*, in allusion to 1 Cor. x. 16. What of the elements remained unused (περισσεύονσαι) was distributed among the clergy. At a later period, only so much as was requisite for the communion was consecrated, and what of the oblations had been left, without being consecrated, was blessed and divided among non communicants (ἀντίδωρα). The old practice of sending consecrated elements to distant churches or bishops, in token of church communion, was in the fourth century interdicted by the Council of Laodicea.

§ 59. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

In public worship it was prohibited to READ from any non-canonical book (§ 34). Until the fifth century, the common practice was to read continuously through the Bible (*lectio continua*). In the Latin Church it was customary always to read two portions of Scripture—one from the Gospels, the other from the Apostles or Prophets. The Apostolical Constit. prescribed three portions (Proph. Apost., Evang.); similarly the Gallican and the Spanish Church; the Syrian four (Praxapostolus, etc.). As the idea of an ecclesiastical year was developed, the lectio *continua* gave place to a lectio *propria*—*i. e.*, to a selection of *Lessons* adapted to each festival. These selections were in the West called *Lectionaria*. Among them, that termed "*Comes*," or "*Liber comitis*" (of which tradition assigned the arrangement to Jerome), was, after some modification and enlargement,

generally adopted throughout the West. In the East, where the lectio continua remained much longer in use, the lectionaria were only introduced during the eighth century. Commonly the *Lector* read from the desk; but the *Gospel* was, by way of distinction, frequently read by the deacon. From similar motives, candles were often lit at that part of the service. — The text of the SERMON was generally taken from the section of the Bible that had been read. Preaching was considered the special work of the bishop, who might, however, devolve it upon a presbyter or a deacon. Monks were only allowed to preach in the streets, in market-places, or from the tops of roofs, columns, or trees. The bishop delivered the sermon from his episcopal θρόνος; frequently, however, he stood at the end of the chancel, in order to make himself better heard. Augustine and Chrysostom, for this purpose, generally preached from the reading-desk. In the East, where the sermon often lasted for hours, and the preacher strained after theatrical effect, great prominence was given to the homiletic part of worship. The practice of expressing *approbation* — especially in Greece — by waving of handkerchiefs and clapping of hands (κρότος, acclamatio) must have proved very disturbing. In the West, the sermon consisted commonly of a brief and unadorned address. Extempore sermons were more acceptable than memorized ones. The practice of reading sermons was of very rare occurrence; even the reciting of a discourse committed to memory was not popular. After the example of Constantine, his successors in the empire not unfrequently delivered sermons, although not in the churches. — In *singing* they mainly used psalms, hymns, and doxologies. The Gnostics (§ 28, 9), Arians (§ 50, 1), Apollinarians, and Donatists, often succeeded in spreading their opinions by means of hymns. To meet these insidious attacks, the Church felt it desirable to introduce orthodox instead of these heretical productions. The *Council of Laodicea* (360) indeed interdicted the use of ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί in churches, probably to prevent the spread of heterodox compositions. But this prohibition was not obeyed in the West; and when the *rivalry* of the Arians at Constantinople obliged Chrysostom to allow processions at night, he introduced hymns in these services. The practice of going in PROCESSIONS commenced at an earlier period than that of Chrysostom, and was first introduced at funerals and marriages. Since the fourth century processions were also held at the installation of bishops

or of relics, at feasts of thanksgiving, and especially during seasons of public danger or calamity (rogationes, supplicationes, litaniæ). Through the influence of *Mamertus*, Bishop of Vienne (450), and *Gregory the Great*, processions became a regular ceremony which recurred at stated times, when the Gospels, costly crucifixes and banners, torches and burning candles, relics, pictures of the Virgin and of saints, were carried about, and psalms or hymns sung. The religious services on these occasions were called *Litanies*. They consisted of prayers, and of the invocation of saints and angels, to which the people made response, "Ora pro nobis!"

1. *Use of the Scriptures.*—The doubts previously entertained about the authenticity of certain portions of the New Testament (§ 34, 2) gradually ceased. The *Council of Laodicea* omitted from the CANON only the Book of Revelation, manifestly from its dislike to and dread of Millenarianism (§ 40, 8). The *Council of Hippo* (393) settled the canon, which has since been received, including the Old Testament Apocrypha in it.—The inconvenient practice of "Scriptio continua," hitherto common in the copies of the Bible, was abolished by *Euthalius*, a deacon of Alexandria, who introduced a new plan, according to which every line (στίχος) contained only so much as could—without, of course, interfering with the sense—be read without a pause. An attempt, previously made, to arrange the various books into chapters had, however, failed to produce uniformity.—At the request of *Damasus*, Bishop of Rome, *Jerome* emendated the corrupted text of the "*Itala*" (§ 34, 3), and then prepared a Latin TRANSLATION from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which, along with the emendated version of the New Testament, was generally adopted by the Western Church, and bears the name of the *Vulgata*. At the suggestion of *Philoxenus*, Bish. of Maburg, *Polycarp* furnishes the monophysite Syrians a new but slavishly literal translation of the N. T. (508). Bish. *Paula*, of Tela, added the O. T. from the lxx. (617). The Fathers, more especially Chrysostom, insisted that the laity should diligently PERUSE THE SCRIPTURES. Still the belief spread, that study of the Bible was mainly the business of the clergy and of monks. The *second Trull. Council* (692) denounced severe punishments against all who presumed to interpret the Scriptures otherwise than the Fathers had done.

2. *Hymnology.*—To supplant the hymns of Harmonius and Bardesanes, the Syrian Gnostics, which had in so many cases served to promote error, Ephraim Syrus (*ob.* 378) composed a number of orthodox hymns, which soon became very popular. He, *Isaac* the Great (in the fifth cent.), and *Jacob of Sarug* (in the sixth cent.), were the three most celebrated ecclesiastical poets of the Syrian Church. Their com-

positions were allowed to be used in public worship. *Gregory of Nazianzus*, and *Synesius* of Ptolemais, wrote orthodox hymns in the *Greek* language; but the interdict of the Council of Laodicea prevented their introduction into public worship. But the most effective hymns were those composed by members of the *Latin* Church. With *Hilary* of Pictavium (*ob.* 368) commenced a series of religious poets (embracing *Ambrose*, *Augustine Cœlius Sedulius* from Ireland, *Ennodius*, Bishop of Pavia, *Prudentius*, a Spaniard, *Fortunatus* of Pictavium, *Gregory* the Great), who have left a number of hymns, remarkable alike for their beauty, their depth and devoutness, their power and simplicity.—(Comp. *H. A. Daniel* thes. hymnolog. 4 vols. Halle 1841, etc.—*F. J. Mone*, lat. Hymnen. Freib. 1853.)

3. *Psalmody and Hymnody.*—The former practice of congregational psalm-singing (in *symphony*) gradually ceased, when regular clerical "Cantores" (§ 30, 1) began to be employed. Indeed, the Council of Laodicea prohibited it entirely, although their ordinance failed to secure general obedience. The practice of *antiphonal* or alternate singing was much in vogue. Notwithstanding the increasing attempts of the clergy to exclude the people from participating in the services of the Church, the laity continued for a long time the practice of *hypophonous* chants, which consisted of *responses* to the intonation, the reading, and the prayers of the clergy, and of the so-called *Acroteleutia*, or responses to the psalms sung by the clergy. The practice of chanting the prayers, lessons, and consecrations, dates from the sixth century. The earliest church-music was simple and inartificial. But the rivalry of heretics obliged the Church to pay greater attention to the requirements of art. *Chrysostom* already inveighed against the secular and theatrical melodies introduced in churches. The practice of *instrumental accompaniment* was longer and more tenaciously resisted, and even singing in parts was not allowed at that period. The Western Church bestowed great attention on the cultivation of psalmody. *Sylvester*, Bishop of Rome, instituted in 330 a school for the training of professional church-musicians. *Ambrose* of Milan introduced a new kind of psalmody (*Cantus Ambrosianus*), which, for melody, modulation, aptness, and simplicity, far surpassed any that had formerly been known. *Augustine* speaks in enthusiastic terms of the impression which it had made upon him, but at the same time expresses a fear lest the sweetness of the music should captivate the senses, and weaken the influence of the word on the mind. His apprehension proved well-grounded; and in the sixth century the "Cantus Ambrosianus" had almost entirely lost its ecclesiastical character. Under these circumstances, *Gregory the Great* introduced a new style of church music (the *Cantus Romanus*, firmus, choralis), for which, in order to have it inserted in a hymn-book (antiphonarium), he devised a special kind of notation called *neumæ* (either from πνεῦμα to indicate the tone, or from

πνεῦμα to designate the notation of tones),—a curious compound of points, strokes, and little hooks. The Gregorian music was symphonious, slow, and measured, without rhythm or time. While in this respect it resembled the church music anciently in use, the greater art which it displayed, and the richer modulations it contained, indicate also considerable progress. Although destitute of the liveliness and freshness characteristic of the Ambrosian, it introduced in its place a style more solemn and dignified, and better adapted for worship. It was a more serious objection that the Gregorian music could only be performed by a well-trained clerical choir (hence cantus choralis), for whose instruction *Gregory* accordingly founded a great *Singing School at Rome.* Thus the people were deprived of the part they had formerly taken in the public services of the Church.—(Comp. *J. N. Forkel,* allg. Gesch. d. Musik. 2 vols. Leipz. 1790.—*R. G. Kiesewetter,* Gesch. d. abendl. Musik. Leipz. 1834.—*Fr. Brendel,* Gesch. d. Musik in Ital., Deutschl. und Frankr. Leipz. 1855. 2 vols.—*J. E. Häuser,* Gesch. d. chr. Kirchen gesangs (Hist. of Chr. Ch. Mus.). Quedl. 1834.—*Dr. Burney,* Hist. of Music.—*D. Antony,* Arch. Lehrb. d. Greg. K. Ges. Münster 1829.)

4. *The Liturgy.*—All the numerous liturgies which appeared since the fourth century were framed after the common type of the liturgy in the Apostolical Constitutions (§ 33, 1). The following are the principal orthodox liturgies of that period:—1. That of *Jerusalem,* ascribed to the Apostle James; 2. That of *Alexandria,* assigned to the Apostle Mark (§ 17); 3. That of *Byzantium,* framed by S. Basil, and condensed and recast by Chrysostom, which by and by was generally adopted in the orthodox churches of the East. The following are the oldest and principal liturgies used in the West:—1. The *Gallican Masses,* dating from the fifth cent. (edit. by Mone, Frkf. 1850); 2. The *Milan Liturgy,* ascribed to Barnabas, but probably introduced by Ambrose; 3. That of *Rome,* or of S. Peter, elaborated successively by Popes *Leo the Great* (*ob.* 461), *Gelasius I.* (*ob.* 496), and *Gregory the Gr.* (*ob.* 604), which was gradually introduced throughout the West. It consisted of the *Sacramentarium* (or mass-prayers), the *Antiphonarium* (or hymn-book), the *Lectionarium,* and the *"Ordo Romanus"* (or Directions for the Celebration of the Mass). These were, at a later period, combined together in the *Missale Romanum.*—In the *Greek Liturgy,* vespers, matins, and the principal worship of the day, were intended to form three parts of a great religious *drama,* representing the entire course of the history of redemption, from the creation to the ascension of the Lord. The principal events of this history were also symbolized by the lighting and extinguishing of tapers, by locking and opening the doors of the sanctuary, by burning incense and by other oblations, by the successive putting on of the various priestly robes, by processions and gestures of the clergy, by certain rites in connection with the sacramental elements, etc. The *text* of the liturgy (the intonations,

responses, prayers, reading, singing), which accompanied these ceremonies, was considered of secondary importance, and only formed a running commentary to the great drama enacted.—The liturgy of the *Latin* Church, on the other hand, was more *dogmatic* than *dramatic* in its character. It was intended rather to exhibit how the sinner shared in the benefits of salvation, than objectively to present the story of grace. Conscious of his guilt and need, the sinner approached the altar of the Lord, where he sought and found consolation and instruction, pardon and grace. Hence, in the Latin Liturgy, the *word* constituted the main part of the service; the symbolical part being entirely subordinate, and only designed to afford an outward representation of the truths conveyed. The liturgy consisted of certain fixed portions which recurred whenever mass was celebrated, and of others which were adapted to the calendar and to the peculiar character of each festival. The most important, indeed the central part in the liturgy, was the *Canon of the Mass*, which consisted of the formulas employed in the consecration of the Eucharist, and of the sacrificial prayers connected with it.—Among liturgical works, considerable interest attaches to the so-called *Diptycha* (from δίς and πτύσσω, bis plicare), or writing tablets covered with wax. They were a kind of official registers containing the names of those persons who were to be objects of special liturgical intercession. They were divided into δίπτυχα ἐπισκόπων, which contained the names of the foreign bishops with whom church-fellowship was maintained; δίπτυχα ζώντων, or registers of the members of a particular church, and of those who made offerings; and lastly, διπτυχα νεκρῶν.

5. *Symbolical Rites.*— During the whole of this period it was still the custom to give the *brotherly kiss*. When entering the church, it was the practice to kiss the door or the threshold; before reading the liturgy, the priest kissed the altar, similarly the lector the gospel. Relics and images were also kissed. When making confession of sin, it was customary to strike one's breast. Every ecclesiastical rite was accompanied by the *sign of the cross*, which was also frequently made at home on any solemn occasion. The practice of *washing one's hands*, when entering church, dates from a very early period; but *sprinkling with holy water* was not introduced till the ninth century. The custom of *lighting candles* in churches is of very ancient date; that of *burning incense* originated late in the fourth century. Before that period, it was supposed to attract evil spirits who fed upon the incense, although afterwards it was represented as the most potent means of exorcising them. The practice of *consecrating churches*, and of holding an annual festival in commemoration of it, is mentioned in the writings of *Eusebius* (ἐγκαινίων ἑορταί). At the time of Ambrose, the possession of some relic was a necessary condition for this ceremony.

§ 60. PLACES OF WORSHIP AND WORKS OF ART.

Comp. *C. Schnaase*, Gesch. d. bildenden Künste (Hist. of Art). Düsseld 1844. 3 vols.—*Fr. Kugler*, Handb. d. Kunst-Gesch. 5th, ed. Stuttg. 1872.—*Bellermann*, *Münter*, and *Kinkel* (§ 35).—*L. Stieglitz*, Gesch. d. Baukunst (Hist. of Archit.). 2d ed. Nürnb. 1837.—*Fr. Kugler*, Gesch. d. Baukunst. Stuttg. 1855.—*J. Kreuser*, d. chr. Kirchenbau, Bonn 185?. 2 vols.—*A. H. Springer*, die Baukunst d. chr. M. A. (Arch. of the Middle Ages). Bonn 1854.—*C. Schiller*, Ueberblick d. Entwickelungsganges d. Kirchenarchit. (Survey of the Progress of Develop. in Eccl. Arch.). Braunsch. 1856.—*Fr. Kugler*, Handb. d. Gesch. d. Malerei (Mem. of the Hist. of Paint.). 2d ed. Berl. 1847.—*N. Sorg*, Gesch. d. chr. Malerei, Regensb. 1853.—*F. Laib* u. *J. Schwarz*, Studien ü. d. Gesch. d. christl. Altars. Stuttg. 1858. 4to.

The form in which heathen temples — destined only to hold the statues of the gods — were constructed, was in every respect unsuited to the purposes of Christian churches. But the *forensic basilica*, or public market, and judgment hall of the Romans afforded an excellent model for church architecture. Not only might their form (with some modifications) be adopted, but even their name, provided it were understood as applying to Christ, the eternal King. In later church edifices the Byzantine cupola was often substituted for the flat roofs of basilicas.

1. The basilica presented the general appearance of an elongated quadrangle, running from east to west longitudinally divided by colonnades into three spaces or *naves*, but so that the middle nave was at least twice as broad as either of the side naves. The central nave terminated in a semicircular niche (κόγχη, ἁψίς, concha, absida), which bulged out from the eastern or narrow back wall. This niche was separated from the central nave by a kind of *railing* (κιγκλίδες, cancelli) and a curtain (καταπέτασμα, velum), and was also called βῆμα (from βαίνω), because it was a few steps elevated above the central nave Since the fifth century the pillars of the nave were not continued to the eastern wall. Thus a *vertical nave* was formed, which was also raised and connected with the βῆμα. This vertical nave, the central nave, and the niche at the eastern end, gave to the ground-plan of the church the significant appearance of a cross. At the entrance, to the west, there was a vestibule which ran along the entire breadth of the naves. The church consisted, therefore, of three divisions. The Bema was allotted to the clergy. Close by the wall, and in the deepest recess of the niche, stood the elevated seat of the bishop (θρόνος, cathedra). On either side of it were the lower seats (σύνθρονοι) of the presbyters, while the altar itself occupied the centre of the niche or stood immediately

in front of it. The bema was also called ἅγιον, ἄδυτον, ἱερατεῖοι, sacrarium, sanctuarium, from its being occupied by the clergy and by the altar;—the name of *Choir* appears only in the middle ages. The bones of martyrs were commonly kept in a subterranean crypt underneath the apsis or bema (the so-called memoria, confessio).—The baptized laity assembled in the threefold—in rare cases, fivefold—NAVE, of which the name was partly derived from its oblong shape, but chiefly from the symbolical connection between a ship and the church. The worshippers were arranged according to sex, age, and rank. In the East a separate and elevated space along the naves (ὑπερῶα) was allocated to females. In the central nave and near the chancel stood the reading-desk or Ambon.—The VESTIBULE (πρόναος, vestibulum)—called also the νάρθηξ or ferula, from its elongated form—was allotted to catechumens or penitents. In the space *before* the vestibule (αἴθριον, αὐλή, atrium, area, which was not roofed till a later period of history) a *basin* was placed for washing the hands. The vestibule and side-naves rose only to the height of the columns; they were shut in by ceiled woodwork, and covered with a simple, sloping roof. But the central and the cross naves were carried up by walls which rested upon the columns, and rose far above the side-roofs. They were covered with a bilateral obtuse-angled roof, sloping down towards the side-naves. The columns were joined together by arches, to render them sufficiently strong to support the wall resting on them. The walls of the central and of the vertical nave, which rose above the side-roofs, were pierced by windows.—The ground-plan of the basilica still remained the same as before; but above the central nave of the church, upon immense pillars connected together by arches, the principal cupola rose like a firmament, often to a stupendous height,—a number of smaller or semi-cupolas being generally connected with it. The great *Church of St. Sophia* at Constantinople presented the most magnificent specimen of this style of architecture. It was so magnificent that, when it was completed (537), *Justinian* I. exclaimed: Νενίκηκά σε Σαλομών.

2. Several *Side-Buildings* (ἐξέδραι) stood within the wall that enclosed the principal ecclesiastical edifice, and were connected with it. Of these the *baptistries* (βαπτιστήρια, φωτιστήρια, κολυμβήθρα, piscinæ, John v. 2; ix. 7) were the most important. After the model of the Roman baths, they were built in the shape of a rotunda; the baptismal basin stood in the middle, and was surrounded by a colonnade. Frequently a large antechamber was provided, in which the catechumens were wont to receive religious instruction. When infant-baptism became general, separate baptistries were no longer necessary, and instead of them stone *fonts* were placed in the churches (towards the north, at the principal entrance). In large churches, the treasures, vessels, robes, books, archives, etc., were kept in separate buildings. The πτωχοτροφεῖα, ὀρφανοτροφεῖα, γηροκομεῖα, βρεφοτροφεῖα (foundling hospitals), νοσοκομεῖα, ξενοδοχεῖα, were buildings used for charitable purposes. The

burying-place (κοιμητήριον, cimeterium, dormitorium, area) was also commonly within the wall enclosing the church. When bells came into use, *towers* were reared beside (*not on*) the churches, frequently even apart from them.

3. *Ecclesiastical Furniture.*—The principal object in the church was the *altar*, which, since the fifth century, was generally constructed of stone, plated with silver or gold. Behind the altar, which was open on all sides, stood the officiating priest facing the congregation. In the West, the introduction of "missæ solitariæ" rendered it necessary to have more than one altar in a church; in the Greek Church this was prohibited. *Portable altars* (for missionaries, during war, etc.) came in use, when it began to be deemed necessary to have the altar consecrated. For this purpose the Latins used a consecrated *stone slab*, the Greeks a consecrated *altar-cloth* (ἀντιμήνσιον). This *altar-cloth* (palla) was regarded as essential, and the "denudatio altaris" as a sinful desecration. On liturgical grounds the "palla" was removed on the Friday and Saturday of the High Week. Different from this cloth was the *corporale* used for covering the oblations. Upon the altar stood the *ciborium*, a canopy resting on four pillars, to which, by golden chainlets, a dove-shaped vessel was attached, which contained the consecrated elements used in administering the communion to the sick. At a later period the "ciborium" was replaced by the tower-shaped *tabernaculum*. The *thuribulum* was used for burning incense, the *crucifixes* (cruces, stationarii) and *banners* (vexilla) in processions. Seats for the people were ranged in the nave, but not in the narthex or vestibule. The *reading-desk* (pulpitum, ἄμβων from ἀναβαίνω) stood in the central nave near the chancel. Tradition designates *Paulinus*, Bishop of Nola in Campania (*ob.* 431), or else Pope *Sabinianus* (*ob.* 605), as the inventor of *bells* (Nolæ, campanæ, campanulæ — so called because made of Campanian brass, which was considered the best). Bells were introduced in the West in the seventh, and in the East in the ninth century. Before that the hours of worship were announced first by *cursores* (ἀνάδρομοι), then by the sound of trumpets, or by loud knocking on boards, etc.

4. *The Fine Arts.* — According to the rules of the Greek Church, only the face, the hands, and the feet were allowed to be represented naked; but this restriction applied not to the West. An attempt was made to compensate by bright colouring, precious materials, and gorgeous costumes for the manifest want of artistic taste. From the εἰκόνες ἀχειροποίητοι artists copied the stereotyped features in their representations of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the Saints. The *nimbus* or halo (in the form of rays, of a diadem, or of a circle) was first introduced in the pictures of the Saviour. *Fresco painting* was principally used for adorning the catacombs (fourth to sixth cent.), *Mosaic painting* (Musivum, λιθοστράτια) for decorating the flat walls of the basilicæ,

the cupolas and niches. Liturgical books were illustrated by *miniature paintings*. These different styles of painting were stiff and unnatural, although elevated, majestic, and unimpassioned in their character.—The ancient Church regarded *statuary* as too heathenish and sensuous for religious purposes; and the Greek Church ultimately prohibited its use in churches, excluding even *crucifixes*. But in the West this objection was not entertained, although even there Christian statues were of rare occurrence. Less scruple seems to have been felt in regard to *bas-reliefs* and *haut-reliefs* (ἀναγλυφαί), especially in sarcophagi and in ecclesiastical vessels.

§ 61. LIFE, DISCIPLINE, AND MANNERS.

Comp. *C. Schmidt* (§ 36).

When Christianity became the religion of the State, a large number of unconverted and worldly persons made a profession of Christianity for the sake of the temporal advantages which it entailed. This influx of the world into the Church necessarily exercised a most detrimental influence; and the earnestness, power, devotedness, and purity, by which the ancient heathen world had been conquered, greatly declined in consequence. The world and the Church became more assimilated and conformed to one another; discipline became lax and powerless; and the general decline of public morals made rapid progress. The hot discussions, the dissensions, and divisions among the bishops and the clergy, led to corresponding effects among the people. Party spirit and bitterness characterized the adherents of different views; the demoralization of the court exercised its pernicious influence on the capital and the provinces; while the inroads of the barbarians increased the general decay. Even in the case of those who sought other than merely earthly things, work-righteousness and bigotry too often took the place of genuine piety; while the great mass consoled themselves with the idea that everybody could not be a monk. But, despite all this, the Gospel still acted as a leaven on the community. Already had its spirit penetrated not only public life, the administration of justice and legislation, but also family life and popular customs. The claims of humanity and the rights of men were acknowledged; slavery became more and more restricted; gladiatorial games or immoral spectacles ceased; the contracting influences of national selfishness gave way to higher motives and views. Polygamy was interdicted; the sanctity of marriage was preserved; woman

came to occupy her proper place; and the vices of ancient heathenism were at least no longer regarded as the healthy and natural conditions of public life. Even those who, with the outward profession of Christianity, remained heathen in mind and heart, were obliged to conform to the practices and demands of the Church, and to submit to its discipline and customs. If the more gloomy aspects of this age are sufficiently appalling, brighter sides were not wanting, nor elevated souls, who with genuine piety combined deep moral earnestness and self-denial.

1. *Ecclesiastical Discipline.*—(Comp. *J. Morinus* (Rom. Cath.), Comm. hist. de disc. in Admin. Sacr. Pœnit. Paris 1651.—*H. Klee* (Rom. Cath.), d. Beichte. Hist. krit. Unters. (Confession, a Hist. and Crit. Inq.). Frkf. 1828.—*J. Stäudlin*, Beleucht. d. Buches von *Klee* (Crit. of the Works of Klee). Leipz. 1830.—*G. E. Steitz*, d. röm. Busssacram. (The Rom. Sacr. of Pen.). Frkf. 1854.)—Ecclesiastical discipline, or excommunication with its four stages through which penitents had to pass (§ 36, 2), was only exercised towards those who were guilty of open sins which had occasioned general scandal. To remedy this defect, it was, even in the third century, the custom to appoint a special *priest for penance* (πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας, presb. pœnitentiarius), whose duty it was to direct the exercises of penitents guilty of secret sins, which they voluntarily confessed to him under the seal of secrecy. But when (391) a female penitent of this class was seduced by a deacon of the Church of Constantinople, the Patriarch *Nectarius* abolished the office. The practice continued, however, in the West, till *Leo the Great* introduced such changes in the mode of dealing with penitents, that in *the Western Church also* the office of penance-priest ceased to be of importance. He prohibited bishops from demanding public confession for secret sins, and, in place of it, introduced private confession, which every priest was entitled to hear. Even *Jerome* still denounced as a piece of pharisaical arrogance the assumption, that the *power of the keys* (Matt. xvi. 19) implied any judicial authority; and although *Leo the Great* already regarded it as of Divine arrangement, "ut indulgentia Dei *nisi supplicationibus sacerdotum* nequeat obtineri," and guaranteed their efficacy, he does not venture to claim any *judicial* power for the Church. Besides, the private confession which he introduced was merely designed for those mortal sins which, having been publicly committed, would, according to former canons, have required public penance.—But the practice of private confession, as a regular and necessary preparation for the communion, was wholly unknown at that period.—The so-called "libelli pœnitentiales" indicated the manner of dealing with penitents, and the taxes payable in each case. The oldest of these compositions, so far as the Greek Church is concerned, was compiled by *Johannes Jejunator*, Patriarch of

Constantinople (*ob.* 595), and bore the title, Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων.

2. *Christian Marriage.* — The excessive value attached to virginity led to low views of marriage. These were in some measure counterbalanced by the notion that, by priestly consecration, marriage became a sacrament (§ 58) — an idea which was fully developed and obtained ecclesiastical sanction during the middle ages. The State regarded marriage between a free person and a slave as merely concubinage; but the Church acknowledged the validity of such unions. Not only consanguinity and affinity (through marriage), but adoption into a family, and even the spiritual relationship with god-parents through baptism or confirmation (§ 58, 1), were considered valid *impediments to marriage. Augustine* sanctioned the marriage of cousins; *Gregory the Great* interdicted it on physiological grounds, and only allowed marriage in the third *or* fourth degree of consanguinity. Gradually this prohibition was extended even to the seventh degree, till, in 1216, Innocent III. again limited it to relationship in the fourth degree. *Mixed marriages* (with heathens, Jews, heretics) were held sufficient ground for penance; the second Trullan Council (692) entirely prohibited them. *Second* marriages were not prohibited, though they were visited with penance for one or two years; but many canonists regarded a *third* or a *fourth* marriage as entirely invalid. Adultery was universally admitted as forming a sufficient ground for *divorce;* many divines ranked unnatural lusts, murder, and apostasy in the same category. In 416 the Council of Mileve (in Africa) interdicted persons who had been divorced—even the innocent party—from *again marrying;* and Pope *Innocent I.* gave to this prohibition the character of a general law. Former scruples about heathenish customs at marriages (§ 36, 1) — such as the use of a marriage-ring, the veiling of brides, the wearing of garlands, carrying of torches, having bridesmen or παράνυμφοι — were no longer entertained.

3. *Sickness, Death, and Burial.* — The practice of anointing the sick (Mark vi. 13; James v. 14), as a means of miraculous *bodily* cure, prevailed so late as the fifth century. In a decretal dating from the year 416, *Innocent I.* first represented this custom as a sacrament intended for the *spiritual* benefit of the sick. But centuries intervened before it was generally introduced as *the sacrament of extreme unction* (unctio infirmorum, unctio extrema, εὐχέλαιον). It occurred later by anointing the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, feet and right side. On the other hand, the Areopagite numbers the *anointing of the dead* among the sacraments (§ 58). The practice of *closing* the eyes of the dead, was intended to convey the idea of sleep in the hope of a blessed awakening. The *fraternal kiss* betokened that Christian communion lasted beyond the grave; but the practice of decorating the corpse with a *garland,* in token of victory, was not in general use

Synods had repeatedly to prohibit the custom of pouring the consecrated elements into the mouth of dead persons, or of laying them in the coffin; violent outbursts of grief, the rending of garments, putting on of sackcloth and ashes, the employment of mourning women, the carrying of cypress branches, etc., were considered as heathen customs, implying that those left behind had not learned to cherish the hope of immortality. Similarly, burial feasts celebrated at night were disapproved, although it was customary, by *daylight*, to carry torches, lamps, and palm or olive branches in the funeral procession. *Julian* and the Vandals interdicted this practice. During the fourth and fifth centuries the *catacombs* were the favourite place of burial; where these were wanting, special *cemeteries* were set apart, generally in the vicinity of churches (§ 60, 2). Emperors and bishops alone enjoyed the privilege of being buried in churches. In the fourth century *agapes* and the Eucharist were still celebrated at the grave. Afterwards *mourning feasts* were substituted for these solemnities, which were gradually discontinued on account of the abuses to which they led. The rites of burial closed with the Lord's Prayer and the priestly benediction.

§ 62. HERETICAL REFORMERS.

Comp. *Walch*, Ketzerhist. Vol. III.; *Dr. Gilly*, Vigilantius and his Times. London 1844.

In the fourth century a spirit of opposition to prevailing ecclesiastical views and tendencies sprang up. This opposition was neither general, sustained, lasting in its consequences, nor even healthy. While contending against the worldly spirit that had intruded into the Church, some fell into the opposite extreme of fanatical severity; while others, in their protest against real or supposed superstition and work-righteousness, occasionally ended in cold rationalism. The former remark applies more especially to the *Donatists* (§ 63), and to the sect of the *Audians*, founded in 340 by *Udo* or *Audius*, a layman from Syria, who, on the ground that the Church and its ministers should return to apostolic poverty and humility, abstained from all fellowship with the members of the degenerate Church. Audius entertained also grossly anthropomorphistic views, and shared the opinions of the Quartodecimani. Another sect of the same class, the Apostolici, in Asia Minor, declared marriage and property to be sinful. In the opposite class of more rationalistic opponents to ecclesiastical notions, we reckon the Antidicomarianites in Arabia, Helvidius of Rome (380), and Bonosus, Bishop of Sardica (390), who all opposed the "perpetua virginitas" of

Mary (§ 57, 2). AERIUS, a presbyter of Sebaste in Armenia, was the first, in 360, to protest against the false estimate placed on good works. He disapproved of prayers and oblations for the dead, controverted the obligation and the meritoriousness of fasts, and denied that bishops were of superior rank to presbyters. For these opinions he incurred the displeasure of *Eustathius*, his bishop (§ 44, 5). Persecuted from place to place, his adherents sought refuge in caves and woods. Substantially similar were the views of JOVINIAN, a monk of Rome, who in 389 opposed, in a systematic manner and on dogmatic grounds, the ecclesiastical system of his time, especially monasticism, asceticism, celibacy, and fasts. *Sarmatio* and *Barbatianus*, two monks of Milan (about 396) — perhaps pupils of Jovinian — shared his views. The opposition of VIGILANTIUS (400) to the worship of relics, the invocation of saints, miracle-mongering, vigils, the celibacy of priests, and the prevailing externalism in religion generally, was so violent as to pass all bounds of prudence and moderation. The Church resisted with equal violence and passion. *Epiphanius* wrote against the Audians, the Apostolici, the Antidicomarianites, and the Aerians; *Ambrose* refuted Bonosus and the followers of Jovinian; *Jerome* poured a torrent of the bitterest invective upon Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius; *Augustine* alone showed a more becoming spirit in opposing the tendencies of Jovinian, which in their ultimate conclusions pointed in the same direction as his own views about the doctrine of grace.

§ 63. SCHISMS.

The *Novatian* and the *Meletian* (Egyptian) schisms (§ 38, 3, 4) continued even at this period. In connection with the Arian controversy three other schisms occurred in the orthodox Church, among which the *Meletian* schism *in Antioch* was the most important. But by far the most extensive and dangerous was the *Donatist schism* in Northern Africa. On the *Johnite schism* in Constantinople, comp. § 51, 3. During this period the frequent divergences in doctrine (§ 50, 7), government (§ 46), worship (§ 55), and discipline between the Eastern and the Western Church, proved fuel for the subsequent conflagration (§ 67). Thus the imperial device for bringing about a union between those who took different sides in the Monophysite controversy led to a schism between the East and the West, which lasted for

thirty-five years (§ 52, 5); while want of firmness on the part of Pope *Vigilius* divided the West for fifty years into two parties (§ 52, 6). The schism between the East and the West, occasioned by the Monothelete union (§ 52, 8), was not of long continuance. But soon afterwards the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches commenced. The fifth and the sixth Œcumenical Councils had not entered on questions connected with church government, worship, or discipline. This omission was supplied by the *Second Trullan Council*, held at Constantinople in 692, which on that account was called the *Concilium quinisextum*. Some of the canons of this Synod laid the foundation of the later incurable and pernicious disruption in the Catholic Church.

1. *Schisms in Consequence of the Arian Controversy. I. The Meletian Schism at Antioch* (361–413).—In 360 the Arians of Antioch chose *Meletius* of Sebaste, formerly an Eusebian, but afterwards an adherent of the Nicene Confession, their bishop. But his inaugural discourse convinced them of their mistake about his views, and they deposed him after the lapse of only a few days. Meletius was next chosen bishop of the homoousian congregation at Antioch. The appointment of one who had been an Arian was, however, resisted by a part of the people, headed by *Paulinus*, a presbyter. *Athanasius* and the Synod of Alexandria, A. D. 362 (§ 50, 4), used every influence to heal this schism. But *Lucifer of Calaris*, whom the Synod for this purpose deputed to Antioch, took the part of the opposition, and ordained Paulinus counter-bishop. The schism was only healed when, in 413, *Alexander*, the Meletian bishop, an excellent man, resigned of his own accord, in order to restore harmony.—II. On his return to Alexandria, *Lucifer* protested against any recognition of those Arians and semi-Arians who had renounced their errors. He founded a sect called the LUCIFERITES, which entertained the views about ecclesiastical purity formerly advocated by Novatian. The party continued till the fifth century. (Comp. *Hieronym.* dial. adv. Luciferit.—III.). The schism of DAMASUS AND URSINUS at Rome was occasioned by the unfaithfulness of *Liberius, Bishop of Rome* (§ 50, 2, 3), in consequence of whose conduct a small number of steady adherents of the Nicene Creed at Rome separated from the Church. At the death of Liberius (366), they chose *Ursinus* as his successor; while the other party elected *Damasus*. The latter laid siege to the church of Ursinus, and 137 dead bodies covered its precincts before it could be taken. *Valentinian I.* banished Ursinus; and *Gratian* even published an edict which constituted Damasus both a party and a judge, in adjudicating upon all the bishops implicated in this schism.

2. *The Donatist Schism* (311–415).—(Comp. *F. Ribbeck*, Donatus u. Aug. Elberf. 1858). — Montanist views were still widely entertained in North Africa. Accordingly, when the Diocletian persecution broke out, many came forward, needlessly and of their own accord, to seek the honour of martyrdom. *Mensurius*, Bishop of Carthage, and *Cæcilianus*, his archdeacon, were opposed to this species of fanaticism. When asked to deliver up the sacred writings, they had in their stead handed to the magistrates some heretical tractates. This sufficed for their opponents to denounce them as *traditores*. When *Mensurius* died in 311, his party chose Cæcilian his successor, and, to foil the intrigues of their opponents, had him hurriedly consecrated by *Felix*, Bishop of *Aptunga*. Nothing daunted, the other party, which was headed by *Lucilla*, a wealthy and bigoted widow, denounced Felix as a traditor, and on that ground declared the consecration invalid, and elected *Majorinus*, a lector, counter-bishop. Soon afterwards (in 313) this office devolved on *Donatus*, whom his adherents have called *the Great*, — a man of undoubted energy. From Carthage the schism gradually spread over North Africa. The peasants, who were burdened with excessive taxation and heavy socage, took the part of the Donatists. From the first, *Constantine* the Great declared against the Donatists. To their complaints the Emperor replied by committing the investigation of this controversy both to a clerical commission at Rome (313), under the presidency of *Melchiades*, Bishop of that see, and to the Synod of Arles (314). The decision of these two bodies was equally unfavourable to the Donatists, who appealed from them to the Emperor *personally*. The case was heard at Milan, after which Constantine confirmed the finding of the Synod (316). These decisions were followed by severe measures (such as depriving them of churches), which, however, only served to increase their fanaticism. Milder means proved equally ineffectual. Under the reign of *Constans* affairs took a more serious turn. Fanatical ascetics, belonging to the dregs of the population, took the name of "milites Christi," "Agonistici," and went begging about the country (*circumcelliones*), exciting the peasants to revolt, preaching liberty and fraternity, and committing pillage, murder, and incendiarism. The religious movement had now assumed the appearance of a political rising. While an imperial army suppressed this rebellion, pecuniary relief from the imperial treasury was offered to those Donatists who were suffering from extreme want. But Donatus rejected the money with scorn, and the rebellion broke out anew. Very severe measures were then adopted against the rebels, and every Donatist church was closed or taken away. Under the reign of *Julian*, these churches were restored to their former owners, and the bishops who had been banished were recalled. The Donatists were now allowed to retaliate, as opportunity offered, upon the Catholics. But the successors of Julian again enacted severe laws against the sectaries, who had meantime split into several parties. *Optatus*,

Bishop of *Mileve*, wrote against them, towards the close of the fourth century, a tractate: De schismate Donatistarum. After *a.* 400, *Augustine* was indefatigable in his endeavours to heal this schism, and the Donatists were invited to return into the Church on very gentle terms. The circumstance that many of the more moderate closed with these overtures, only increased the fanaticism of the others. They refused the repeated offer of Augustine to meet them in public discussion. At first *Augustine* had maintained that any constraint in matters of belief was improper. But their unyielding stubbornness, and the dangerous tendency of their fanaticism, at last induced him so far to modify his opinion about the unlawfulness of constraint in matters of belief, as to declare that even force might be employed to restore these wanderers to the Church and to salvation ("cogite intrare." Luke xiv. 23). *A synod, held at Carthage* in 405, applied to the Emperor *Honorius* to take measures against those who continued their obstinate resistance. Accordingly, fines were imposed, churches taken away, and clergymen exiled. As Augustine still insisted on a public discussion, the Donatists were obliged by the Emperor to accede. The *Collatio cum Donatistis*, held at Carthage in 411, lasted for three days, and was attended by 279 Donatist and 286 Catholic bishops. It was chiefly conducted by *Petilian* and *Primian*, who were opposed by *Augustine* and by *Aurelian* of Carthage. The imperial commissioners assigned the palm to the Catholic party. The Donatists appealed in vain. In 414 the Emperor deprived them of their civil rights, and in 415 forbade their religious meetings under pain of death. The *Vandals*, who conquered Africa in 429, equally persecuted Catholics and Donatists. Their common sufferings tended to bring the two parties again together. — The *Donatists* laid it down as a fundamental principle, that a sacramental action (such as baptism or ordination) was invalid if performed by a person who either was, or deserved to be, excommunicated. Like the Novatians, they insisted on absolute purity in the Church, although they allowed that penitents might be readmitted to the communion of the Church. Their own churches they regarded as *pure*, while they denounced the Catholics as schismatics, who had no fellowship with Christ, and whose sacraments were therefore invalid and null. On this ground, they rebaptized their proselytes. The part which the State took against them, and the prevailing confusion between the visible and the invisible Church, led them to broach the view that State and Church — the kingdom of God and that of the world — had nothing in common, and that the State should not in any way take notice of religious questions. (Cf. *Walch*, V. IV.—*Hefele*, V. I.).

3. As the *Concilium Quinisextum* in 692 was intended to be œcumenical, the Pope sent legates to it, who signed its decrees. But the Greeks had not forgotten the success achieved at the last œcumenical council by the see of Rome (§ 52, 8). On this ground six decrees, diametrically opposed to the practice of Rome, were introduced, along

with a number of others against which no objection could be raised Thus, 1) In enumerating the authentic sources of church law, almost all the Latin councils and the decretals of the popes were omitted. The validity of all the eighty-five canones apost. was also acknowledged, while the see of Rome only admitted that of the first fifty; — 2) The Romish practice of insisting on the celibacy of presbyters and deacons was denounced as unwarrantable and inhuman. Comp. § 45, 4; — 3) Fasting on Saturdays during Quadragesima was prohibited. Comp. § 56, 4.—4) The 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which settled that the Patriarch of Constantinople held the same rank with his colleague of Rome, was re-enacted (§ 46); — 5) The Levitical prohibition of eating blood and things strangled was declared to apply to Christians also (contrary to the views of the Church of Rome); — 6) All representations of Christ under the figure of a lamb (which were quite common in the West) were strictly prohibited. — When Pope *Sergius* forbade the promulgation of these decrees in the churches of the West, the Emperor *Justinian II.* commanded to seize this prelate, and send him prisoner to Constantinople. But the army rebelled in favour of the Pope, and soon afterwards Justinian himself was dethroned (695).

VI. THE CHURCH BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

§ 64. CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EAST.

During this period missionary work was almost exclusively carried on by the Western Church. Its practical spirit and aims specially fitted it for such labours, while the contiguity of the barbarous nations which invaded the empire (§ 76 etc.) afforded ample scope and opportunity for them. On the other hand, instances of regular and organized missionary activity were of rare occurrence in the East. But other and indirect means also offered of spreading the Gospel beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, especially by means of *fugitive Christians*, of *prisoners of war*, of political *embassies*, and particularly of *commercial intercourse* with the far East and South. The anchorites, monks, and Stylites who had settled on the borders of the empire, or in the deserts beyond them, frequently produced a deep impression on the barbarians around, who flocked to see them, and listened to the sermons or witnessed the deeds of these fantastic saints.

1. *The Ethiopic Abyssinian Church.*—In 316 one *Meropius* of Tyre, and all his ship's crew, were murdered while engaged in exploring the countries south of Egypt. His two nephews, *Frumentius* and *Aedesius*, alone escaped the slaughter. Having gained the favour of the Abyssinian king, they were entrusted with the education of *Aizanas*, the heir to the crown. *Frumentius* was afterwards consecrated by Athanasius, Bishop of those countries. Aizanas was baptized, and the church rapidly extended from Abyssinia to Ethiopia and Nubia. The Bible was translated (it is said by Frumentius) into the vernacular (the Geez). This community, like its mother-church in Egypt, adopted Monophysite views (§ 52, 7). Many Jewish and former customs of the country were retained, such as the observance of the Sabbath along with that of the Lord's day, the prohibition of certain kinds of meat, and circumcision — even in the case of females.

2. *The Persian Church.*—In Persia the Gospel had struck root in the third century. During the fourth century and after it, the Church was exposed to protracted and terrible persecutions, which continued partly through the intrigues of the fanatical Magi, and partly in consequence of the wars between Persia and the Roman Empire, which, as being waged against a Christian power, entailed on the native Christians suspicions of secret sympathy with the enemy. The first great persecution took place under the reign of *Shapur* (*Sapores*) II. in 343. It lasted for thirty-five years, during which it is said no less than 16,000 priests, monks, and nuns were executed, while the number of martyrs among the laity exceeded all computation. This persecution ceased only a short time before the death of Shapur, when that monarch proclaimed general toleration. During a period of forty years rest, the Persian Church began to flourish anew, when the fanatical zeal of *Abdas*, Bishop of *Susa*, who ordered a heathen temple to be pulled down (in 418) occasioned a fresh persecution, which attained its highest pitch under the reign of *Behram V.* (Varanes), (since 420). For thirty years the most cruel modes of death were devised against Christians. At last the generous conduct of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Amida* in Mesopotamia, who disposed of the property of his church, and with the money redeemed a number of Persian prisoners of war, whom he sent back to their own country, induced the king to put a stop to this persecution. When the *Nestorians* were expelled from the Roman Empire they found protection and toleration in Persia; but in 465, under the reign of King *Firuz* (Pherozes), they instigated another persecution against the Catholics. In 498 the whole Persian Church declared in favour of Nestorianism (§ 52, 3). From that period it enjoyed rest, and for centuries flourished, giving proof of its vigour both by learned labours (the School of Nisibis) and by successful missionary exertions among the tribes of Asia. Meantime the wars with the Byzantines continued; and in 616 *Cosru II.* (*Chosroes*) penetrated as far as Chalcedon, committing fresh cruelties against the

(Cath.) Christians who inhabited the conquered provinces. At last the Emperor *Heraclius* took courage and met his foe. In 628 the Persians were totally routed (§ 57, 5), and in 651 the Khalifs took possession of Persia.

3. *The Armenian Church.* — As early as the time of Tertullian, flourishing communities of Christians existed in Armenia. But *Tiridates III.* (since 286) violently persecuted these Christians. Under his reign the Apostle of Armenia, *Gregorius Illuminator*, the son of a Parthian prince, carried on his labours with much success. When only two years of age, his nurse had rescued him from the destruction inflicted upon all his kindred. Subsequently he had been carried to Cappadocia, where he was educated a Christian. Gregory even gained the king himself, and made the whole country professedly Christian. At his death, the Church which he had founded enjoyed a state of great prosperity. He was successively followed in the patriarchal office by his grandson *Husig*, his great-grandson *Nerses*, and by *Isaac the Great*, a still later descendant, whose administration fell in troublous times, when the Byzantine, the Persian, and other princes contended for the possession of the country. *St. Mesrop*, the colleague and (from 440) the successor of Isaac, constructed an Armenian alphabet, and translated the Bible into the vernacular. Under the patriarchate of his successor *Joseph*, the famous religious war with Persia broke out, for the purpose of obliging the Armenians to return to the religion of Zoroaster. The bloody battle fought by the river Dechmud, in 451, terminated in favour of the Persians. The Armenians, however, maintained their profession of Christianity, despite the persecutions to which they were exposed. In 651 this country also became subject to the rule of the Khalifs. — The Armenian Church remained free from Nestorian errors; but it adopted Monophysite tenets, which were imported from that portion of Armenia which was under Byzantine sway. At a *synod* held at *Feyin* in 527, the Confession of Chalcedon was rejected.— *Gregory* had awakened in Armenia a desire for literary and scientific pursuits, and when Mesrop furnished an alphabet, the golden age of Armenian literature commenced (in the fifth century). Almost all the classics and the Greek and Syrian Fathers were translated into Armenian, and numerous original authors inaugurated a native literature. Thus *Agathangelos* wrote the history of the conversion of Armenia; *Moses of Chorene*, a history of his country; *Esnig*, an able controversial tractate ("the Destruction of the Heretics") directed against the heathen, the Persians, the Marcionites, the Manicheans, etc.

4. The *Iberians* (who inhabited what is now called Georgia and Grusia) received the Gospel through the instrumentality of *Nunà*, an Armenian female slave, by whose prayers some marvellous cures had been performed. From Iberia the truth spread among the Lazians (a

tribe inhabiting the modern Colchis), and to their neighbours the ABASGIANS. Even in the EAST INDIES, *Theophilus of Diu* (an island at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf) found isolated Christian churches so early as the middle of the fourth century. Sent by his fellow-citizens as a hostage to Constantinople, he was there educated an Arian priest. When afterwards he returned to his own country, he successfully laboured as a missionary in the East Indies. From Persia, Nestorianism spread in the Indian Church (§ 52, 3). In the sixth century, Cosmas Indicopleustes still found three Christian congregations in the East Indies. The labours of *Theophilus* extended also to ARABIA, where, through his preaching, the King of the *Homerites*, in Yemen, became a convert. But when, in the sixth century, *Dhu-Nowas* (Dunaan), a Jew, mounted the throne of Yemen, a fearful persecution of Christians immediately commenced. At last Eleesban, King of Abyssinia, interposed to put a stop to these cruelties; the Jewish ruler was killed, and Christians reigned over Yemen, until in 616 *Cosru II.* made it a province of Persia. Anchorites, monks, and Stylites laboured successfully among the *nomadic* tribes of Arabia.

§ 65. THE MOHAMMEDAN COUNTER-MISSIONS.

COMP. *G. Weil*, Mohammed d. Prophet, Leben u. Lehre (Life and Teach. of Moh. the Proph.). Stuttg. 1843.—*J. Döllinger*, Moham. Religion nach ihr. innern Entw. u. ihr. Einfl. auf d. Leben d. Völker (The Relig. of Moh. in its Intern. Develop. and External Infl. on the Nations). Regensb. 1838.—*A. Möhler*, d. Verh. d. Islam zum Christth. (Rel. between Isl. and Christ.) Regensb. 1839.—*W. Irving*, Mahomed. —*Prideaux*, Life of Mahomet.—*Sale*, Koran.—*Forster*, Mahometanism Unveiled.—*J. v. Hammer-Purgstall*, Mah. d. Prophet.

In 611, *Abul Kasem Mohammed* of Mecca laid claim to the office of a prophet, and instituted a new religion, composed of Jewish, of Christian, and of Arab heathen elements, in which sensual happiness and strict Monotheism were sought to be combined. His labours, however, only acquired importance after he had been obliged to flee from Mecca to Yatjreb (Medina)—the *Heirah*, 15th July 622. In 630 he took Mecca, consecrated the old heathen Caaba as the great temple for the new religion (*Islam*, hence *Moslem*), and composed the *Koràn*, consisting of 114 Suras, which *Abu-Bekr*, his father-in-law, collected. Before he died, all Arabia had adopted his creed, and was subject to his sway. As he persuaded his adherents that the spread of their new religion by force of arms was the most sacred duty, and inspired them with wild enthusiasm, his successors were able

to take one province after another from the empire, and at the same time to introduce Mohammedanism in place of Christianity. Within a short period (633–651) Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia were conquered; North Africa in 707; and, lastly, Spain in 711. But the farther progress of the Infidels was in the mean time arrested. Twice they laid siege to Constantinople (669–676 and 717–718) without success; while the victory which Charles Martell gained over them at Tours (in 732) effectually arrested their march westwards. Their influence had, however, operated most detrimentally upon the Church in Asia, and the three patriarchal sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were completely subject to their will. Although Christians were allowed to reside in the conquered provinces on payment of a capitation-tax, fear and the desire after the worldly advantages held out by a change of faith, gained for Islamism a large number of proselytes.

1. Rigid Monotheism constitutes the *fundamental idea* of *Islamism*. Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were considered divinely-commissioned prophets; Mohammed, the last and greatest of prophets, whom both Moses and Christ had predicted, was commissioned to restore to pristine purity their doctrine, which both the Jews and the Christians had corrupted. At the end of time, Christ would return, destroy Antichrist, and establish Islamism as the universal religion. The doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation were included among the alleged perversions of the teaching of Jesus. Special stress was laid on the doctrine of Divine providence, which was prominently brought forward, and distorted into the most extreme fatalism. The Moslem required not an atonement; belief in one God, and in Mohammed as His prophet, was sufficient to insure the Divine favour, while good works would procure an inexhaustible fulness of everlasting happiness, consisting in the highest sensual enjoyments. In its constitution Mohammedanism contemplated a kind of theocracy, in which the Prophet, and the Khalifs, his successors, were to act as the vicegerents of the Deity upon earth. Hence State and Church were regarded as absolutely identical. The rites of religion consisted of prayers, fasting, and ablutions. Along with the Koràn, the *Sunna*, or traditionary sayings of the Prophet, are regarded as of Divine authority. The sect of the *Shiites* differs from that of the *Sunnites*, in that the former recognize not the authority of the first three Khalifs and of the traditional sayings of the Prophet handed down by them. The *Ssufi's* are a mystical sect which originated at a later period. The *Wechabites* (a sect dating from the twelfth century) form, so to speak, the Puritans of Islamism.

2. *Service performed by Mohammedanism in the Providence of God.*—Obviously Islamism was the instrument of judgment upon the degenerate polity and Church of the East. But it also served some positive purpose, which appears from its relation to heathenism. It was the special mission of Mohammedanism to put an end to idolatry (Polytheism). Neither the Prophet nor his successors tolerated heathenism. Accordingly, a great number of wild tribes in Asia and Africa were converted from the most degrading and demoralizing idolatry to the worship of *one* God, and raised to a certain stage of civilization and morality, which they would have been unable to attain if left to themselves. As they were thereby brought nearer to Christianity, Mohammedanism proved, in its own way, "a schoolmaster to Christ." Perhaps its rigid Monotheism may also have been intended to form a kind of breakwater against both African Fetish-worship and Asiatic Pantheism. But Islamism contains the germs of its own destruction. Its confusion of religion and politics, of State and Church, tends to fetter both, and thus to render them incapable of development, renovation, or transformation. Herein *lay* the strength, herein *lies* also the weakness of Islamism.

THIRD PERIOD

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN ITS ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL FORM.

FROM THE YEAR 692-1453.

I. MOVEMENTS IN THE EASTERN CHURCH IN CONJUNCTION WITH SIMILAR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

§ 66. ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY IN THE EAST (726–842).

Comp. *J. Maimbourg* (a Jesuit), histoire de l'héresie des Iconoclastes. Par. 1679. 2 Voll. 12. — *Fr. Schlosser*, Gesch. der bilderstürmenden Kaiser (Hist. of the Iconocl. Emper.). Frkf. 1812. — *J. Marx* (Rom. Cath.), der Bilderstreit der byzant. Kaiser (The Iconocl. Contr. of the Byz. Emp.). Trier 1839.

At the commencement of the eighth century, image-worship (§ 57, 4) had attained its acme in the *East*. But even its most zealous advocates were obliged to admit that certain abuses were connected with it. Thus, for example, images were selected to be god-parents; part of the colouring with which they had been painted was scratched off and mixed with the sacramental wine; the consecrated bread was first laid upon images, that so the faithful might receive from the hands of these saints the body of the Lord, etc. Under these circumstances, a vigorous emperor, whom both personal feelings and political considerations disposed against this kind of worship, resolved to employ all the resources which a strong will placed at his disposal to put a stop to this widely-spread idolatry. The contest between the two opposing parties (the εἰκονοκλάσται and the εἰκονολάτραι) lasted for more than a century, and was chiefly carried on by the emperors and the army on the one side, and by the monks and the people

on the other. On two occasions the worship of images was almost entirely and forever abolished; but both times was it restored by an empress.—The Church of *Rome* had in this respect not gone so far as that of the East, at least in practice; but in theory it entertained the same opinions, and in the contest between the two parties Rome lent the whole weight of its authority to those who upheld image-worship. On the views of the Frankish Church on this question, comp. § 92.

1. *Leo III., the Isaurian* (717–741), one of the most vigorous of Byzantine emperors, having in 718 repelled the attack of the Saracens upon Constantinople, deemed it necessary to adopt further measures to arrest the spread of Mohammedanism. The worship of images, which Jews and Moslems equally abhorred, and to which himself was opposed, appeared to him one of the principal obstacles to the conversion of the infidels. Accordingly he issued in 726 an edict, which, in the first place, only ordained that the images should be placed higher up on the walls of churches, in order to prevent the people from kissing them. But all peaceable measures against this favourite mode of worship were frustrated by the determined resistance which the aged *Germanus*, Patriarch of Constantinople, the populace and the monks offered. In Palestine, where, under the protection of the Saracens, he could defy the vengeance of the Emperor, *Johannes Damascenus*, the ablest theologian of that age, published three tractates, in which he defended in enthusiastic terms the worship of images. Amidst the popular excitement caused by this controversy, one *Cosmas* got himself proclaimed Emperor, and advanced with a fleet against Constantinople. But Leo defeated and executed his rival; and in a second edict (of date 730) ordered the entire removal of images from every church. The military who were charged with the execution of this ordinance were guilty of many fanatical excesses, and the popular tumults excited by these measures were not quelled without much bloodshed. At Rome, however, the Emperor was powerless. In his letters, *Pope Gregory II.* spoke of him as if he had been a silly school-boy; while, in a *synod held at Rome* in 732, *Gregory III.* pronounced an anathema against all opponents of image-worship. The fleet which the Emperor had collected, with a view of chastising the bold prelate, was destroyed by a storm. Leo avenged himself by depriving the Pope of the revenues which he derived from Lower Italy, and by taking Illyria from the see of Rome and assigning it to that of Constantinople.

2. *Constantinus V.* (741–775), the son and successor of Leo, whom the monks in their hatred nicknamed *Copronymus* and *Caballinus*, a ruler and general as distinguished as his father, was, if possible, even more firmly resolved to put down the worship of images. He defeated *Artabasdus*, his brother-in-law, who, with the assistance of the party

of image-worshippers, had raised the standard of revolt, severely chastised and deprived him of his eyes. As the popular tumults still continued, an *œcumenical Synod* was summoned to give ecclesiastical sanction to the principles of the Emperor. Accordingly, about 350 bishops assembled at *Constantinople* (754). But this Synod was not attended by a single patriarch, since the see of Constantinople happened to be vacant at the time, and Rome, which had anathematized all opponents of images, refused to send legates; while Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were under the domination of the Saracens. The Council excommunicated those who made any image of Christ, declaring that the *Eucharist* was the only true image of Christ, and pronounced the most sweeping condemnation against every kind of reverence paid to images. These decrees were mercilessly enforced, and deeds of the most cruel violence enacted. Thousands of monks were scourged, incarcerated, transported, driven round the circus for the amusement of the populace with nuns in their arms, or obliged to marry; many had their eyes put out, their ears or noses cut off, and monasteries were converted into barracks or stables. Images of saints were not even tolerated in private houses. *Stephen II.* of Rome protested against the decrees of the Council, and *Stephen III.* issued a dreadful anathema against all opponents of images (in a Lateran synod, A. D. 769). But in the Byzantine Empire both monasticism and image-worship were almost extirpated.

3. *Leo IV. Chazarus* (775–780), the son of Constantine, shared the views of his father, but wanted his energy. His consort IRENE was, however, a zealous image-worshipper. When Leo discovered this, he would have taken energetic measures, but a sudden death arrested his interference. Irene now made full use of the opportunity afforded by the minority of *Constantine VI.*, her son, to restore image-worship. She convoked another Council at Constantinople (786), which was attended by deputies from Pope *Hadrian I.* (the other patriarchs, who were under Saracen dominion, ventured not to take part in its deliberations). But the Imperial Guard broke into their place of meeting, and dispersed the Council. The following year (787), Irene convoked at Nice another, the SEVENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL. Its eighth and last meeting was held in the Imperial Palace at Constantinople, — the Imperial Guard having, in the meantime, been removed from the capital. The Council annulled the decrees of 754, sanctioned reverence to images, inasmuch as prostration or inclination before pictures was to be regarded as a token of love and respect due to the original, and not to be confounded with that adoration (λατοεία) which was due to God alone.

4 The emperors who now succeeded shared these views. But as victory attended not their arms, the army, which still held opposite sentiments, proclaimed their general *Leo V., the Armenian* (813–820), Emperor. This ruler, though a decided enemy of image-worship, would

still have adopted moderate and cautious measures, but was baffled by the soldiers, who gave full reins to their fanaticism. The party which advocated image-worship was led by *Theodorus Studita*, Abbot of the Monastery of Studion, a man of unfeigned piety and invincible firmness, the ablest and most ingenious defender of these sentiments, who even in exile was indefatigable in promoting the cause he had at heart (*ob.* 826). Leo was killed by conspirators. *Michael II. Balbus* (820–829), his successor, at least allowed the worship of images in private. But *Theophilus*, his son (829–842), made it the aim of his life wholly to extirpate all such practices. Once more a woman, THEODORA, the Dowager Empress, who, after the death of Theophilus, and during the minority of his son, administered the government, convoked a *synod at Constantinople* (842), which again introduced the worship of images into churches. Since that period, opposition to this practice gradually ceased in the Eastern Church, and the day on which the Synod of 842 had enacted the decree in its favour (the 19th Feb.) has since been celebrated as the "*Feast of Orthodoxy.*"

§ 67. SCHISM BETWEEN THE GREEK AND THE ROMAN CHURCH, AND ATTEMPTS AT UNION (857–1435).

COMP. *Leo Allatius*, de eccl. occid. et orient. perpetua consensione. Colon. 1699. 4to. (The author, who was a Greek convert to the Romish Church, died 1669.) — *L. Maimbourg* (a Jesuit), Hist. du schisme des Grecs. Par. 1677. 4to. — *J. G. Pitzipios*, l'égl. Orientale, exposé hist. de sa separation et de sa réunion avec celle de Rome. 4 Voll. Par. 1855.

At the *second Trullan Council* in 692 the first steps had been taken towards the Great Schism, which divided the Christian world into two parties (§ 63, 3); in 867 *Photius* gave it a dogmatic basis by condemning certain doctrines promulgated at Rome, while in 1053 *Michael Cerularius* completed the separation between the two churches. The difficulties and dangers which increasingly beset the Byzantine rulers induced them to make frequent attempts to bring about a union. But the negotiations which ensued either were unsuccessful, or the proposed union, though agreed upon in words, was not carried into execution. These fruitless endeavours only ceased when the Byzantine Empire fell not to rise again (A.D. 1453). The obstacles in the way of healing this schism consisted not in any importance attaching to diversity of ceremonial observances, which might, as at previous periods, have continued without interrupting ecclesiastical fellowship, nor even in differences of doctrine (with regard to the expression "filioque," § 50, 6), which might easily have been

removed. The real difficulty lay in the claim to primacy in the Church, set up by the see of Rome, and which the Greeks could only resist by separating from all fellowship with the Papacy.

1. *Commencement of the Schism* (867.)—(*H. Lämmer*, P. Nikol. I. u d. byzant. Staatskirche sr. Zeit. Berl. 1857.) — During the minority of *Michael III.*, surnamed the Drunkard, the son of Theodora (§ 96, 4), the government was administered by *Bardas*, the uncle of that prince (and brother of the Empress). *Ignatius*, who at the time was Patriarch of Constantinople, and himself a descendant of the imperial family, had sharply censured the dissoluteness of the court, and in 857 even refused to admit to the communion the all-powerful *Bardas*, who lived in incestuous union with his daughter-in-law. For this offence the prelate was deposed and exiled. *Photius*, the most learned man of his age, and hitherto Prefect of the Imperial Guard, was named his successor, to the intense disgust of the friends of Ignatius, who rejected with scorn all advances and proposals of peace. Photius now convened (in 859) a synod, which confirmed the deposition of Ignatius, and even excommunicated him. But no consideration could induce this prelate to forego his claims. Anxious to procure in his own favour the influential verdict, Photius gave to Pope *Nicholas I.* a false representation of the circumstances of the case, at the same time intimating his accession, and requesting fraternal acknowledgment and intercession. The pontiff replied that he must first investigate the case; and for this purpose deputed two legates, *Rhodoald* of Porto, and *Zacharias* of Anagni. Gained by bribes, the representatives of Rome gave, at a *council at Constantinople* (861), their consent to the deposition of Ignatius. But when more impartial witnesses informed Nicholas of the real state of matters, he excommunicated his own legates, and declared Ignatius rightful Patriarch of Constantinople. The opposition thus excited against Rome in Constantinople became intense, when shortly afterwards *Bulgaria* renounced allegiance to the Byzantine Church, and owned that of the Pope (§ 72, 3). *Photius* sent an encyclical letter (in 867) inviting the patriarchs of the East to a council, and accusing the Church of Rome of various heresies: such as its ordinance of fasting on Saturdays; its permission of the use of milk, of butter, and of cheese during the week of Quadragesima; its injunction of clerical celibacy; its refusal to acknowledge the validity of the chrisma if administered by presbyters; and its introduction of the expression "filioque" (§ 50, 6), which implied the existence of two supreme principles, and hence a dualism. These heresies, it was asserted, the Pope now intended to introduce into Bulgaria. The Council convened in 867. Three monks, who were prompted by Photius, figured as the representatives of the patriarchs whose sees were in Saracen countries. The Pope was excommunicated and deposed, and this sentence intimated to the Western

churches. Such measures were far from indifferent to the Pope, who vindicated himself before the Frankish clergy, and called upon them to rebut the charges of the Greeks. They readily complied. Among the tractates written on that side of the question, that of *Ratramnus*, a monk at Corbey, was by far the ablest. But the aspect of affairs soon changed. The same year in which the synod had met (867) the Emperor Michael was assassinated, and *Basil the Macedonian*, his murderer and successor, joined the party of Ignatius, and requested Pope *Hadrian II.* to institute a new inquiry. A *synod* held *at Constantinople* in 869 (called by the *Latins* the *eighth Œcumenical Council*) condemned Photius and restored Ignatius. The council itself pronounced no decision about Bulgaria, but submitted the claims of the rival sees to the pretended representatives of the Saracen Patriarchs as impartial arbiters. They of course decided in favour of the Byzantine Patriarch, and all remonstrances on the part of the Popes proved fruitless. In his adversity *Photius* comported himself in a manner which commanded general respect. For several years he was imprisoned in a monastery, deprived of all intercourse with others, and even of his books. Still he made his peace with Ignatius. Basil entrusted him with the education of his children, and after the death of Ignatius in 877 again elevated him to the see of Constantinople. But the anathema of an œcumenical council, which still rested upon him, could only be removed by another œcumenical council, to which Pope *John VIII.* acceded on obtaining promise of having Bulgaria restored to his see. But at the *Council of Constantinople* in 879 (called by the *Greeks* the *eighth Œcumenical*) the legates of the Pope were completely deceived. The question about Bulgaria was not even mooted, the council of 869 was anathematized, and a ban pronounced against those who should venture to make any addition to the creed. The Pope revenged himself by anathematizing the Patriarch, his council, and all his adherents. Although *Leo the Philosopher*, the successor of Basil, in 886 deposed Photius, it was only in order to give the see to an imperial prince. Photius was confined to a monastery, where died in 891.

2. The Emperor, *Leo the Philosopher*, had been thrice married, without having any issue. His fourth wife he only wedded after he had convinced himself that the same objection attached not to her. The Patriarch, *Nicholas Mysticus*, who refused to consecrate this marriage (§ 61, 2), was deposed. A synod held at Constantinople in 906, conducted under the direction of the legates of Pope *Sergius III.*, approved both of the Emperor's marriage and of the deposition of the Patriarch. But, on his death-bed, Leo repented this arbitrary measure; *Alexander*, his brother and successor, restored the Patriarch Nicholas; and Pope *John X.* consented to be represented at a *synod* held in *Constantinople* in 920, when the resolutions of the Council of 906 were condemned, and a fourth marriage declared to be unlawful. But, in return for this compliance, the synod did not make any concessions to the Pope.

Emperor *Basil II.* entered upon fresh negotiations. For an immense sum of money, Pope *John XIX.* agreed, in 1024, to acknowledge the Bishop of Constantinople as œcumenical Patriarch of the East, and to yield every claim of the Cathedra Petri upon supremacy over the Eastern Church. But the transaction became known before it was completed; the West resounded with denunciations of this second Judas of Rome, and the Pope was obliged to break off the treaty.

3. *Completion of the Schism in* 1054.—However frequent the anathemas which Rome and Byzantium had fulminated against each other, they had only been directed against patriarchs, popes, bishops, or their adherents as individuals, not against the churches which they represented. But matters now assumed a different appearance. At that time, the Emperor *Constantine Monomachus*, bent on certain warlike undertakings, anxiously sought the friendship of the Pope. His endeavours were frustrated by the interference of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and *Leo of Achrida*, the metropolitan of Bulgaria, who, in 1053, addressed a letter to *John*, Bishop *of Trani* in Apulia, in which they charged the Latins with the most grievous heresies, and conjured the Western bishops to renounce their errors. To the accusations formerly brought by Photius, others were now added, such as that the Western Church allowed the use of blood, and of things strangled; that it prohibited singing the Hallelujah in Lent; above all, that it used unleavened bread in the Eucharist (§ 58, 4)—a heresy to which the name of *Azymite* was given. This letter fell into the hands of Cardinal Humbert, who translated and laid it before Pope *Leo IX.* A bitter epistolary altercation ensued. The Emperor made every effort to restore peace. At his request, the Pope sent three legates (among them the disputatious *Humbert*) to Constantinople. These envoys only fanned instead of extinguishing the flame. The Emperor obliged, indeed, the Abbot of Studium, *Nicholas Pectoratus*, to burn, in presence of the legates, a controversial tractate which he had written; but neither threats nor force could induce the patriarch to yield, supported as he was both by the people and the clergy. At last, the legates placed on the altar of the Church of Sophia a formal writ of excommunication, to which Michael and the other Eastern Patriarchs in 1054 replied in a similar strain.

4. *Attempts at Reunion.*—The *Crusades*, instead of removing, only increased the estrangement between the two churches. Repeated negotiations proved unavailing. At a *synod* held at *Bari* (in the Neapolitan territory) in 1098, *Anselm of Canterbury*, who at the time lived an exile in Italy, convinced the Greeks who were present, that the Latin view about the procession of the Holy Ghost was correct. For the same purpose, *Peter Chrysolanus*, Archbishop of Milan, delivered, in 1113, a long oration before the Emperor at Constantinople; while, in 1135, *Anselm of Havelberg* held a disputation on this subject with

Nicetas of Nicomedia. The aversion and dislike of the Greeks was greatly deepened by the founding of a *Latin Empire* at Constantinople (1024–1061). Michael Palæologus, who drove the Latins from Constantinople, sought, from political motives, to put an end to the schism. But in these efforts he was opposed by *Joseph*, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and by his librarian, the learned John Beccus. While languishing in prison, Beccus became, however, convinced that the differences between the two churches were unimportant, and that a reconciliation would be possible. This change of views procured his elevation to the patriarchate. Meantime, the negotiations had so far advanced, that a *General Council* (called by the Latins the fourteenth) was summoned to meet at Lyons in 1274. The imperial legates acknowledged the primacy of the Pope, and subscribed to a Romish Confession of Faith. In return, the Eastern Church was allowed to continue its use of the Nicene Creed without any addition thereto, and the peculiar ecclesiastical forms which it had hitherto observed. Beccus wrote several tractates in defence of this union. But the accession of another Emperor led to his removal; Joseph was restored, and the union of Lyons entirely forgotten.

5. The continual advances of the *Turks* naturally impressed the Eastern Emperors with the necessity of securing the sympathy and assistance of the West, through reconciliation and union with the papacy. But these efforts were frustrated by the powerful opposition of the monks, supported as it was by the popular clamour. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, were also hostile to such measures, not only from ancient jealousy of the pretensions of the see of Rome, but because the political schemes of their Saracen masters obliged them to oppose the wishes of the Greek Emperors. At last the Emperor Andronicus III. Palæologus gained over the Abbot Barlaam, who had hitherto been the leader of the Anti-Romish party. At the head of an Imperial Embassy, Barlaam went to Avignon, where at that time Pope *Benedict XII.* resided (1339). But the negotiations led to no result, as the Pope insisted on absolute submission, both in respect of doctrine and government, and would not even consent to order a new inquiry, though it were only for the sake of appearances. Barlaam joined the Latin Church (comp. § 69, 1), and died as Bishop of Gieræce in 1348.—But as the difficulties of the Byzantine Emperors continually increased, John V. Palæologus made fresh advances. He joined the Latin Church in 1369, but neither did he prevail on his subjects to follow his example, nor the Pope on the Western rulers to send assistance against the Turks.

6. Apparently greater success attended the attempt to bring about a union made by the Emperor John VII. Palæologus. He had gained for his views *Metrophanes*, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Bessarion, Archishop *of Nice*, a man of great adroitness and learning, but a tho

rough infidel. Accompanied by this prelate and by many other bishops, the Emperor appeared in person at the papal *Council of Ferrara* in 1438. Pope *Eugen IV.*, afraid lest the Greeks might join the reformatory *Council at Basle*, seemed willing to make concessions. When the pestilence broke out at Ferrara, the Council was transferred to Florence, where in 1439 the union of the two churches was really accomplished. The supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged; existing differences in the rites of the two churches were to be mutually tolerated; dogmatic divergences were accounted for on the ground of misunderstanding; and both churches solemnly declared to be orthodox. But another doctrinal difficulty, besides that about the procession of the Holy Ghost, had meantime sprung up. While the Greeks admitted that there was a *purgatory* in which venial sins were expiated, and from which souls might be delivered by masses, intercessions, alms, and good works (§ 58, 3), they objected to the idea of material *flames* in purgatory. Besides, while the Latins held that those who died unbaptized, or under mortal sin, were immediately consigned to eternal perdition, and that the pious (after the expiation of venial sins) immediately entered paradise, the Greeks maintained that both eternal punishment and eternal bliss only commenced after the final judgment. On this point the Greeks now yielded, and the reunion was concluded amid embraces and hymns of joy. In reality, matters, however, continued as they had been. A powerful party, headed by *Eugenicus*, Archbishop *of Ephesus*, had been merely outvoted at Florence; it now commenced an agitation throughout the East against a union which existed only on paper. *Metrophanes* was nicknamed Μητροφόνος; and in 1443 the other three patriarchs of the East held *a Synod at Jerusalem*, in which they anathematized all who adhered to this union. *Bessarion* joined the Church of Rome, became Cardinal and Bishop of Tuscoli, and was twice on the point of being made Pope. He died in 1472. — But the period had arrived when the Christian Empire of the East should fall. On the 29th May 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks. The last Emperor, *Constantine XI.*, fell while vainly defending his throne against tremendous odds.[8]

II. INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

§ 68. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

Comp. *Heeren*, Gesch. d. class. Liter. im M. A. 2 vols. Gött. 1822.— *W. Gass*, Beiträge zur kirchl. Literatur u. Dogmengesch. d. griech. M. A. (Contrib. to the Eccles. Liter. and to the Hist. of Dogm. in the Gr. Ch. during the Middle Ages). 2 vols. Bresl. 1844, 1849. Comp. also

History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires, by *G. Finlay, LL D.*, Edinb. and London.—*Smith's* Biographical Dict., and *Wharton's* Append. to Cave.

Iconoclasm (726–842) was combined with hostility to science and art generally. Hence, during that part of the middle ages, the Greek Church numbered fewer learned men and writers than at any other period. But, about the middle of the ninth century, the Byzantine Church seemed suddenly to rouse itself to new activity, and attained a stage which at one time it had appeared incapable of again reaching. It is even more remarkable that it not only maintained this high position uninterruptedly during six centuries, but that the ardour for theological study seemed to increase in proportion as political prospects became more dark and threatening. A special characteristic of the literary activity of that period is the revival of classical studies, which had been wellnigh wholly neglected since the fifth century. All at once those Greeks, who were at the eve of intellectual as well as of political decay, seem to have remembered the rich heirloom which their heathen ancestors had left them. These treasures were now brought forth from musty libraries where they had lain concealed, and studied with a diligence, enthusiasm, and consciousness of their value, which commands admiration. The Greeks had, however, long before, lost the capacity of producing original works; their energy was therefore expended on reproducing, annotating, or explaining. But even thus the revival of classical lore exercised comparatively little influence on a theology, which had become ossified amid traditionalism and Aristotelian formulas. Where these bonds were broken, classical studies only reintroduced the ancient heathen views of men and matters.

1. It appears that the patronage which the Khalifs, since the close of the eighth century, bestowed on the study of the ancient literature of Greece, fired the zeal of the Eastern *literati*, and led to the REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES. Of course, if a trace of national feeling were left in the Byzantine rulers, they could not lag behind their Moslem rivals. This circumstance, however, does not entirely account for the altered state of matters. No doubt Providence itself designed it, that these, the noblest fruits of ancient heathenism, which had already served such good purpose in training and preparing the Christian Fathers for their task should now become the basis of modern literature and science.—To *Bardas*, the guardian and colleague of Michael III.

(§ 67, 1), however infamous his conduct had been in other respects, belongs the merit of founding schools, and employing teachers for the prosecution of classical studies. *Basil the Macedonian*, although himself destitute of learning, respected and promoted scientific culture. *Photius* was chosen tutor to the children of that Emperor, and imbued them with a zeal for study, which in turn was transmitted to their descendants. *Leo the Philosopher*, the son, and *Constantinus Porphyrogenneta*, the grandson of Basil, were both distinguished for their attainments. When the dynasty of the Macedonians was succeeded by that of the *Comnenes* (since 1057), scientific pursuits were prosecuted with even greater ardour. Even the princesses of that race (such as Eudocia and Anna Comnena) distinguished themselves in literature. *Psellus* proved to this family what Photius had been to that of the Macedonians. *Thessalonica* became a second Athens, and rivalled Constantinople in the pursuit of classical study. During the sixty years when Byzantium was the seat of a Latin Empire, the barbarism and ignorance of the Crusaders threatened to destroy the civilization fostered by the Comnenes; but when, in 1261, the *Palæologi* again ascended the throne of the East, the learned studies were resumed with renewed ardour. In 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, when a large number of Greek *literati* sought refuge in Italy, transferring to the West the treasures they had guarded with such care.

2. *Aristotle and Plato.* — With the revival of classical studies, the treatises of *Plato*, which were regarded as more classical, or at least as more purely Grecian than those of *Aristotle*, came again into high repute. But as Aristotle was still considered the great authority in the church (§ 47, 6) — a position assigned to him chiefly through the efforts of *John Damascenus* — Platonism continued an object of some distrust to theologians, a feeling increased by the circumstance that so many admirers of classical literature had lapsed into practical heathenism. The controversy which now ensued attained its highest pitch during the fifteenth century, when *Gemistus Pletho* used every effort to dethrone Aristotle from the place which till then he had occupied in the esteem of the learned. He insisted that all should acknowledge the supremacy of "the divine Plato," and confidently predicted that speedily the time would come when both Christianity and Mahommedanism would give place to the universal sway of a "religion of pure humanity." These views were shared by his numerous pupils, among whom *Bessarion* (§ 67, 6) was the most distinguished. On the other hand, *George of Trebizond* and his pupils were equally enthusiastic in their admiration of Aristotle. Numerous representatives of these two schools settled in Italy, where they continued their controversies with increased bitterness (§ 120, 1).

3. *Scholasticism and Mysticism.* — The application of the Aristotelian method to the study of dogmatics, which *John Philoponus* first introduced, and *John Damascenus* brought into general vogue, gave rise

to a peculiar mode of treating this science, which, though wanting in the depth, variety, and acuteness that characterized the *scholasticism* of the middle ages, resembled it in many respects. But at the same time another and very different tendency made its appearance. *Mysticism*, of which the traces are already found in the writings of the pseudo-Areopagite (§ 48, 5), was peculiarly adapted to the discipline and retirement of the monasteries. Among its numerous representatives, *Nicholas Cabasilas* was the most distinguished. Those mystics opposed neither the teaching nor the rites of the Church. On the contrary, they delighted in dwelling on all that had a symbolical bearing, and connecting it with the idea of a sacrament. No ground, therefore, existed for collision between the Dialecticians and the Mystics.

4. *Theological Sciences.* — *John Damascenus* had, at the commencement of this period, grouped into a system according to the dialectic forms of Aristotle, the conclusions of former DOCTRINAL disquisitions. His "Ecdosis" is the first and only complete work on Dogmatics that emanated from the ancient Greek Church. Despite the failure of attempts at union with the Latin Church, which indeed only issued in wider estrangement on controverted points, the frequent contact with the Latin was not without its beneficial influence on the Greek Church. The Eastern divines profited by the scholasticism of their brethren in the West so far as to apply this more full and scientific method to the treatment of doctrines on which the two churches were agreed. *Controversy* was still kept up with the Nestorians, the Monophysites, and the Monothelites, while the pen of polemics found fresh employment against the Gnostic and Manichean sects, which at this period again made their appearance, as also against the schismatics of the West, and those who advocated a reunion with them. The altered circumstances of the times also led to a revival of the study of APOLOGETICS. Not only was *Islamism* making rapid strides, but the protection accorded by the Saracens to the *synagogue* rendered it necessary to defend Christianity against the attacks of the Jews. But the prevailing scholastic and traditional theology proved incapable of coping with the storms which the judicial providence of God had allowed to rise. Lastly, the revival of classical study, and the reappearance in its train of heathen ideas, obliged theologians to be again on their guard against ancient superstitions (*Nicholas* of *Methone*). Independent EXEGETICAL researches were now no longer prosecuted; but the "Catenæ" of *Œcumenius*, of *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius Zygadenus*, are valuable. The study of ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY was entirely neglected. *Nicephorus Callisti* was the only writer who devoted his attention to this study (in the fourteenth century). But his Eccl. Hist., written without taste or ability, adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject. Of much greater value, even in regard of Eccl. Hist., are the numerous "Scriptores historiæ Byzantinæ." To this list we add the name of *Simeon Metraphrastes*, celebrated in his day as a writer of legends.

5. *John Damascenus* was by far the ablest theologian of the eighth century. For a considerable time he was employed in the service of the Saracens, and died in 760 as Abbot of the Monastery of S. Sabas at Jerusalem. His admirers gave him the title of *Chrysorrhoas;* the Iconoclasts, who at the Council of Constantinople in 754 pronounced a threefold anathema upon him, the Saracen by-name of *Mansur*. His principal work, the Πηγὴ γνώσεως, procured him an imperishable fame, and has been regarded as an authority in the Greek Church. Section I. (κεφάλια φιλοσοφικά) forms a dialectic, and Section II. (περὶ αιρέσεων) a historical introduction to Part III. (Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως), in which the various dogmas as propounded by the Councils and the Fathers—especially the three great Cappadocians—are systematically arranged and presented. The ἱερὰ παράλληλα, by the same author, consist of a collection of "loci classici," taken from the writings of the Fathers on doctrinal and ethical subjects, and arranged in alphabetical order. He also wrote controversial tractates against various heretics, and composed a number of hymns (best ed. by *le Quien*. Par. 1712. 2 vols. fol.).—Among the numerous works of PHOTIUS (§ 67, 1), the "Bibliotheca" (Μυριοβίβλιον) is the most valuable. It contains notices of, and extracts from, 279 Christian and heathen works, of which the greater part have not otherwise been preserved (best ed. by *Im. Becker*. Berol. 1824. 2 vols. 4). Besides his controversial tractates against the Latins and the Paulicians, the *Amphilochia* (or replies to above 300 theological questions submitted to him by Bishop Amphilochius) also deserve notice, and his *Nomocanon* (§ 43, 3), which has ever since formed the basis of the canon law of the Greek Church. The series of distinguished writers who flourished under the *Comnene dynasty* commenced with MICHAEL CONSTANTIUS PSELLUS, teacher of philosophy at Constantinople (*ob.* 1106), a man whose acquirements were equally varied and deep. Some of his numerous tractates were devoted to theological subjects, though he acquired not fame in that department. His cotemporary, *Theophylact*, Archbishop of Achrida, in Bulgaria, has left us very able commentaries, or rather "Catenæ." EUTHYMIUS ZYGADENUS, a monk of Constantinople, at the commencement of the twelfth century, composed, by request of the Emperor *Alexius* Comnenus, a work intended to refute all heresies ("Dogmatic Panoply of the Orthodox Faith," in twenty-four books). Although highly praised at the time, it is a mere compilation, whose sole merit lies in its refutation of the heretics of that particular period. The exegetical compilations by the same author are more valuable. EUSTATHIUS, Archbishop of Thessalonica (*ob.* 1194), was the most prominent divine of the twelfth century. He has long been famed as the commentator of Homer and Pindar; but the recent edition of his theological *Opuscula* (ed. Tafel. Frcf. 1839, 4), proves that he deserves even higher acknowledgment as a Christian, a divine, a prelate, and a reformer of the ecclesiastical and monkish abuses of his time (§ 70, 4). At the same

period flourished NICHOLAS, Bishop of METHONE in Messenia, who replied to the attacks of Proclus the Neo-Platonist, in a tractate which forms one of the ablest theological works of that age. His views on the doctrine of redemption deserve special mention as resembling those of Anselm of Canterbury. NICETAS ACOMINATUS or *Choniates*, a statesman (*ob.* 1204), was another distinguished writer of that period. His "Treasury of Orthodoxy," in twenty-seven books, contains a vindication of orthodox doctrine, and a refutation of heretics, much more able and original than the work of Euthymius on the same subject. (COMP. *Ullmann*, "Nic. of Methone, Euthym. Zygabenus and Nicetas Choniates," in the "Studien u. Krit." for 1833, P. III.)—During the reign of the *Palæologi* (1250–1450), theologians were chiefly engaged in advocating or opposing the attempts made at reunion with the Latin Church. NICHOLAS CABASILAS, Archbishop of Thessalonica, in the fourteenth century, one of the most eminent mystics in the Church, deserves special mention. His principal work, Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς, has only lately been rescued from oblivion by *W. Gass* ut supra, vol. II. His mysticism, which is remarkable for its depth and fervour, breathes a spirit of antagonism to the prevailing tendency towards work-righteousness. Still, his "Expositio Missæ" proves that he shared the predilection of Greek Mystics for the Liturgy. At a somewhat later period (about 1400) flourished SIMEON, Archbishop of THESSALONICA, a prelate equally famed for classical and patristic lore, and for the manner in which he administered the affairs of the Church. His great work, "De fide, ritibus et mysteriis ecclesiasticis," is of great importance for the study of Greek Mediævalism. Lastly, we may mention *Gregorius Scholarius*, who as monk bore the name of GENNADIUS, the first Patriarch of Constantinople after the capture of that city by the Turks. At the Council of Florence he objected to the proposed union; in the philosophical controversy then raging, he advocated the traditional claims of Aristotle against Plato. At the request of Sultan *Mohammed II.*, he composed and handed to that monarch a "Professio Fidei." (COMP. *Gass* ut supra, vol. I.)[9]

§ 69. DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES DURING THE TWELFTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

With the taste for intellectual pursuits, that for theological speculations and discussions also revived. During the reign of *Manuel Comnenus*, 1143–1180, the question was raised, whether Christ had offered Himself a sacrifice for the sins of the world to the Father and to the Holy Ghost only, or also to the Logos, *i. e.*, to Himself. At a synod held at *Constantinople* in 1156, the latter view was declared to be the orthodox. Ten years later, a controversy arose as to whether the saying of Christ,

"My Father is greater than I," referred to His Divine nature, to His human, or to the union of these two natures.. The question was discussed by persons of all classes, and that with an earnestness and ardour which recalls the kindred controversies in the fourth century (§ 50, 2). At last the view of the Emperor, that the expression referred to the God-man, carried at the *Synod of Constantinople* in 1166. Those who refused to submit, had their property confiscated or were exiled. A third controversy sprung up when the Emperor Manuel objected to the formula of solemn abjuration, "*of the God of Mohammed*," which was exacted from Moslem converts. In vain the bishops proved that the God of Mohammed was not the true God; the formula had to be altered.—Two centuries later, the *Hesychastic* controversy broke out, which bore on the existence and reality of an uncreated Divine Light.

The Hesychastic Controversy (1341–1351).—The monks who inhabited the cloisters on Mount Athos in Thessalia were deeply imbued with the Areopagite mysticism. Following the directions given three centuries before by *Simeon*, Abbot of the Mamas monastery at Constantinople, these monks used artificial means to bring themselves into a state of ecstatic vision, which the Areopagite had recommended as the highest stage of genuine mysticism. For this purpose, each cowered alone in a corner of his cell, his chin pressed against his chest, his eyes immovably fixed on the pit of his stomach, and restraining his breath as much as possible. By and by they fell into a state of melancholy, and their sight became dim; but by persisting, these sensations gave place to ineffable delight, till at last each saw himself wrapped in a bright halo of glory. They called themselves "Quietists" (ἡσυχάζοντες), and maintained that the halo which shone around them was the same uncreated Divine Light that on Mount Tabor had surrounded the person of the Saviour. *Barlaam* (§ 67, 5), who had just returned from his unsuccessful attempt at bringing about a union with the Latin Church, designated these monks as "*navel-souls*" (ὀμφαλόψυχοι), and charged them and their defender *Gregory Palamas*, afterwards Archbishop of Thessalonica, with Ditheism. But at a *Council held at Constantinople* (in 1341), the members of which were hostile to the efforts made by Barlaam for a union with the West, the doctrine of an uncreated Divine Light was approved, and a distinction made between this Divine ἐνέργεια and the Divine οὐσία. To escape being anathematized, Barlaam made recantation; soon afterwards he fled to Italy and joined the Latin Church. But *Gregory Acindynos*, a pupil of Barlaam, and *Nicephorus Gregoras*, the historian, continued the controversy with the Hesychasts. Three other synods (up to A. D. 1351) pronounced in favour of these monks.

§ 70. GOVERNMENT, WORSHIP, AND LIFE.

The Byzantine *emperors* had always insisted on imposing their own views or desires as the law according to which even the internal affairs of the Church were to be settled. Being anointed with the holy Myron, they bore the character of priests and the title of ἅγιος. Besides, since the time of Leo the Philosopher (§ 68, 1), most of the emperors had been more or less versed in theology. Still, the *office of Patriarch*, when held by a man of character, was, despite frequent and arbitrary depositions of those who occupied the See of Constantinople, a power which even the despots of the East were obliged to respect. The numerous monks — and through them the people — formed a mighty bulwark around the Episcopal Chair. In consequence of the iconoclastic controversies, *Theodorus Studita* (§ 66, 4) had organized the strict churchmen into a party, which strenuously resisted, on principle, every interference of the State in ecclesiastical affairs, and, among others, the filling up of ecclesiastical offices by the secular power. But these efforts were only attended with partial success. The *monastic* institutions had been almost entirely annihilated under the reign of the Isaurian dynasty. When again restored, they developed, indeed, and spread in proportion to their former decline, but rapidly degenerated in every sense of the word. The Eastern monks, who had not the great mission, devolving on their brethren in the West, of Christianizing and civilizing barbarous nations, wanted the opportunities of revival, of strength, and of purification, which this great work afforded to the monks of the Latin Church. Still, if in those degenerate times we were to look for instances of stedfast conviction, of firmness, of boldness, and of moral earnestness, we should in all likelihood find them, if anywhere, among these recluses. The modifications which, during that period, took place in *public worship* were unimportant, although both in theory and practice slight alterations, or rather amplifications, were introduced.

1. *The Arsenian Schism* (1262–1312).—After the death of the Emperor Theodore Lascaris in 1259, *Michael Palæologus* usurped the guardianship of John, the imperial Prince, a child only six years old, had himself crowned co-Emperor, and, to render the Prince incapable of reigning, caused his eyes to be put out. For these crimes, the

Patriarch *Arsenius* excommunicated the Regent; but was in turn deposed and banished (1262). The numerous adherents of Arsenius refused to acknowledge *Joseph* (§ 67, 4) as his successor in the See of Constantinople. They separated from the State Church, and gradually their admiration of the exiled patriarch changed into violent hatred of the prelate who occupied his place. When Joseph died (in 1283), it was agreed to submit the question in dispute to the test of a solemn ordeal. Each of the two parties threw a document, which embodied a defence of their views, into the fire. Of course, *both* documents were consumed by the flames. At the sight of this, the Arsenians, who had expected a miracle, seemed taken aback, and proposed to fall in with the opposite party. But on the day following, they revoked their concessions; and the schism continued until in 1312, when the Patriarch *Niphon* solemnly buried the bones of Arsenius in the Church of St. Sophia, and suspended for forty days all those clerics who formerly had declared themselves opposed to him.

2. *Public Worship.* — In the Greek Church the *sermon* still formed the principal part in the public services; but the homiletic productions of that period are not of a character to deserve special notice. In the service of song, a revulsion of feeling took place; and gradually uninspired hymns, especially those in honour of the Virgin and of the saints, were introduced into the Church services. The best specimens of this kind of composition date from the eighth century. *John Damascenus*, *Cosmas of Jerusalem*, and *Theophanes of Nice*, were regarded as the three great ἅγιοι μελῳδοί. The number of the *sacraments* and their import had not yet been accurately defined. An enumeration of *seven* sacraments—the same as that adopted by the Latin Church during the middle ages—occurs first in the anti-protestant "Confessio Orthodoxa" of Petrus Mogilas, dating from A. D. 1643. In contradistinction to the Western Church, the Greeks insisted on the necessity of *submersion* in baptism, of the *chrisma* in baptism, of the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, and of giving *both* elements to the laity. John Damascenus still defended the doctrine of consubstantiation in the Eucharist, but later divines adopted that of transubstantiation. *Extreme unction* was administered in the Greek Church; but, unlike the practice in the Church of Rome, not merely to those who were *in articulo mortis*, but even to persons who were not dangerously ill, while, in case of a relapse, the rite was repeated.

3. *Monasticism.* — The most renowned monasteries were those on *Mount Athos* in Thessalia, which was literally covered with cloisters and cells of hermits, and which to this day is venerated by the Greek Church as a holy mountain and place of pilgrimage. The monastery of Studion was also (§ 44, 4) still in high repute. — But the Eastern monks were not free from extravagances. There were innumerable *Stylites* who spent their lives on the top of trees (δενδρῖται) in close

cages built upon high scaffoldings, or in subterranean caves. Some took a vow of perpetual silence, while many wore constantly a coat of iron (σιδηρούμενοι), etc. A curious species of religious exercises was that in which the ECETES (ἱκέται) of the twelfth century indulged. These monks engaged, along with nuns who held similar views, in solemn dances, and singing of hymns to the praise of God, in imitation of Ex. xv. 20, 21. They were sound in doctrine, nor do they appear to have been charged with immorality; still, Nicetas Acominatus combatted them as heretics.

4. *Reformatory Efforts.*—At the commencement of the twelfth cent., *Constantinus Chrysomalus*, a pious monk of Constantinople, and ten years afterwards another monk called *Niphon*, combated the prevailing tendency towards externalism and work-righteousness. Both became the leaders of wide-spread associations of clerics and laymen, who, under their spiritual direction, cultivated, as mystics, the inner religious life, but set lightly by outward ecclesiastical forms. The two monks were excommunicated. The Patriarch *Cosmas*, who would not admit that Niphon was a heretic, and indeed asked him to share his palace and table, was likewise deposed (in 1150). The reformatory efforts made by *Eustathius*, the distinguished Archbishop *of Thessalonica* (§ 68, 5), were entirely free from direct opposition to the prevailing ecclesiastical system, and hence offered no ground of attack to his enemies. He inveighed unsparingly against the moral and religious decay prevalent among the people, and especially against the hypocrisy, the vulgarity, coarseness, spiritual pride, and ascetic extravagances of the monks, and that although himself was enthusiastically devoted to Monasticism. Two centuries after him, *Nicholas Cabasilas* (§ 68, 5), a man of like spirit, insisted even more energetically that the state of the heart and mind was the test, and love the root, of all virtue.

§ 71. GNOSTIC AND MANICHÆAN HERETICS.

COMP. *Gieseler*, Unters. ü. d. Gesch. d. Paulicianer (Inquiry into the Hist. of the Paulic.), in the "Stud. u. Krit." for 1827, P. I. — *Engelhardt*, d. Bogomilen, in that author's "Kirchengesch. Abhandl." Erlang. 1832.

So late as the seventh century traces of the Gnostic and Manichæan heresies seem to have lingered in Armenia and Syria, where such views were fostered by contiguity to the Parsees. These embers were in 657 fanned afresh by *Constantinus* of *Mananalis* near Samosata, whose doctrinal views were almost identical with those of Marcion (§ 28, 10). The Catholics, whom this sect called "Romans," gave them the name of PAULICIANS,

because they only acknowledged the apostolic authority of Paul. But they designated themselves "Christians," and gave their leaders and congregations the titles of the companions of Paul, and of the places where he had laboured. Their system was a mixture of Mysticism, which aimed after the cultivation of the "inner life," with Dualism, Demiurgism, and Docetism. They insisted on strict, though not on excessive asceticism, opposed fasts, and allowed marriage. Their form of worship was very simple, and their church government modelled after that of apostolic times. They specially protested against the many ceremonies of the Catholic Church, and against the religious honour paid to images, relics, and saints. They also enjoined diligent study of the Scriptures, but rejected what they called the Judæo-Christian Gospels and Epistles of the N. T.—Even before the Paulicians, another sect, called the "CHILDREN OF THE SUN," had appeared in Armenia, which sought to combine the worship of Ormuzd with certain Christian elements. Reorganized during the ninth and tenth cents., this sect acquired fresh influence. Like the Paulicians, they protested against the abuses in the Catholic Church. — The same remark applies also to the EUCHITES, a sect in Thracia (during the eleventh cent.), which, like their older namesakes (§ 44, 5), derived their name from engaging continuously in prayer, a practice which they extolled as the indication of highest perfection. Their Dualistic and Gnostic views were adopted and further developed by the BOGOMILES (lovers of God, friends of God), a sect in Bulgaria (in the twelfth cent.). The latter maintained that two principles — *Satanael*, the elder, and *Christ*, the younger Son of God — had emanated from the Supreme God. Originally, Satanael had also been a good Æon; but having revolted, he had created the terrestrial world and man. In mercy the Supreme God had breathed into man the breath of his own Divine life, and sent Christ, the younger Æon, for the purpose of completely redeeming him. The sect prohibited marriage, rejected the use of images and the sign of the cross, but attached great importance to fasting. The only portions of the Old Test. which they received, were the writings of the Prophets and the Book of Psalms. The Gospel of John they regarded as the highest revelation. In room of the water-baptism they substituted that of the Spirit, and also rejected the celebration of Eucharist; and in place of these rites, laid great stress on prayer, especially on the Lord's Prayer.—

All these sects were charged by their Catholic opponents with holding Antinomian principles, and with indulging in orgies and unnatural vices.

1. *The Paulicians* (657–1115).—The Catholic controversial writers of the ninth cent. traced the sect of the Paulicians, and even their name (= Παυλοϊωάννοι), to a Manichæan family of the fourth cent.,—*Callinici*, a widow, and her two sons, *Paul* and *John*. But later investigations have failed to discover any traces of Manichæan tenets in their system; and the only historical fact established is, that the sect was founded by *Constantinus* of Mananalis, who took the name of *Sylvanus* (the companion of Paul). Their first community, which he called "Macedonia," was established at *Cibossa* in Armenia. From that place Constantinus undertook missionary journeys in all directions. The Emperor *Constantinus Pogonnatus* (668–685) commenced a bloody persecution of the Paulicians. But the enthusiasm with which Sylvanus met death by stoning made so deep an impression on *Symeon*, the imperial representative, that he also joined the sect, and taking the name of *Titus*, became its leader. In 690 he mounted the stake with the same enthusiasm as Sylvanus. *Gegnesius*, his successor (surnamed *Timotheus*), was summoned to Constantinople under the reign of *Leo the Isaurian*. Subjected to an examination by the Patriarch, he succeeded in obtaining from him a certificate of orthodoxy, and was also furnished by the Emperor (who sympathized in his hostility to images) with a letter of protection. The sect, however, became divided. *Baanes*, one of their leaders, was, on account of his Antinomian practices, styled "the filthy" (ὁ ῥυπαρός). But about 801 a new reformer arose in the person of *Sergius Tychicus*, who late in life was converted by the instrumentality of a pious Paulician female, who directed his attention to the Bible. *Leo the Armenian* (813–820) organized an expedition for their so-called conversion. Those who recanted, were again received into the Church, those who resisted were executed. A number of Paulicians now combined against their persecutors, killed them, and sought refuge in Saracen territory, where they founded a military colony at *Argaun* (Colosse). Thence they made continual incursions into the Byzantine territory, for the double purpose of pillage and of avenging their wrongs. The sect was most numerous in Asia Minor. Under the reign of the Empress *Theodora* (§ 66, 4), another fearful persecution broke out. Thousands of Paulicians were executed; among others, an officer high in command. His son *Carbeas*, who had also been an officer, now collected about 5000 Paulicians, by whose aid he hoped to avenge the death of his parent, retired with them to Argaun, and acted as the military chief of the party. Their number daily increased by the accession of other fugitives, and the Khalifs assigned to them some fortified towns on the frontier. At the head of a well-organized army, Carbeas carried fire and sword into the Byzantine territory, and

repeatedly put imperial armies to flight. At last, after two campaigns, *Basil the Macedonian* annihilated the Paulician army in a narrow defile (871). The political power of the sect was indeed broken, but it continued to spread both in Syria and Asia Minor. A century later (in 970), the Emperor *John Tzimisces* transported a large number of them to *Thracia* to guard its boundaries, where *Philippopolis* became their Zion. Their tenets rapidly spread through that country. *Alexius Comnenus* again addressed himself to the task of converting them to Catholic views. He went in person to Philippopolis, disputed for days with their leaders, and by promises, threats, rewards, or punishments, as each case required, carried his purpose (1115). After that, the sect seems to have become extinct. Those who continued to entertain their views probably joined the Euchites or the Bogomiles. — The principal authority for the history of the Paulicians is the "Hist. Manichæorum" of *Petrus Ciculus*, who, as imperial ambassador, had lived for some time among the Paulicians of Armenia.

2. The so-called "*Children of the Sun*," or *Arevurdi's*, an Armenian sect, originated in the ninth cent. with *Sembat*, a Paulician. They also bore the name of *Thontrakians*, from the village of Thontrake, where their church was formed. In 1002 no less a personage than the Metropolitan, *Jacob of Harkh*, joined them. He gave a more distinctively Christian cast to their tenets, journeyed through the country preaching repentance and inveighing against work-righteousness, and made numerous converts both among the clergy and laity. The Catholics of the Armenian Church had him branded and imprisoned. He escaped, but was ultimately killed by his opponents.

3. At the commencement of the eleventh cent. the *Euchites* (*Messalians, Enthusiasts*) attracted the attention of the Government, their opinions having widely spread in Thracia. Their tenets about two Sons of God, Satanael and Christ, are in some respects akin to that form of Parsee Dualism which represents the two antagonistic principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman, as proceeding from Zeruane Akerene, the one Supreme and Eternal Source. The seeds of this heresy may have been brought to Thracia when the Emperor Tzimisces transported the Paulicians to that province. The Byzantine Government sent a deputy to arrest the progress of this heresy (perhaps *Michael Psellus* (? 68, 5), whose διάλογος περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων — Ed. Nuremberg 1838 — is our only authority about this sect). But a century afterwards, the same tenets were again broached in Bulgaria by the Bogomiles (Θεόφιλοι), only more fully developed, and assuming the form of more direct opposition to the Catholic Church. The Emperor *Alexius Comnenus* had *Basil*, the chief of the party, brought to Constantinople, and, under pretext of intending to join the sect, induced him to communicate its tenets. But while Basil unreservedly opened his mind to the monarch, as he thought in strict confidence, a conclave of inquisitors sat con-

cealed behind a curtain, and noted down his every statement. This first scene of the comedy was followed by another. All the adherents of Basil, on whom the Government could lay hands, were condemned to death. Two stakes were lighted, to one of which a cross was affixed. The Emperor now entreated them at least to die as Christians, and in sign of it to choose the stake at which the cross had been erected. Those who complied were pardoned, the others condemned to imprisonment for life. *Basil* alone was burnt (1119). Still the sect was not annihilated. Many of the Bogomiles sought refuge in monasteries, where they propagated their views in secret.—Indeed, long after that, adherents of Manichæan views were found in Bulgaria, whence they spread their views in the West. Our principal source of information about the Bogomiles is the Panoplia of Euthymius (§ 68, 5).

§ 72. THE ORTHODOX SCLAVONIC-GREEK CHURCHES.

Comp. *J. Ph. Fallmerayer*, Gesch. d. Halbinsel Morea im M. A. (Hist of the Penins. of Morea during the M. A.). Stuttg. 1830. Vol. I.—*P. J. Schafarik*, slav. Alterthümer (Slav. Antiq.). Vol. II. Leipz. 1844; that author's kurze Uebers. d. ältest. kirchenslav. Liter. (Brief Survey of the Old Slav. Eccl. Liter.). Leipz. 1848. — *Nestor's* Annalen, transl. by *Schlözer*. Gött. 1802. 5 vols. — *Karamsin's* russ. Gesch., transl. by *Hauenschild*. Riga 1820. 11 vols.—*Ph. Strahl*, Gesch. d. russ. K. Halle 1830. Vol. I. (incompl.). — *H. J. Schmitt* (Rom. Cath.), krit. Gesch. d. neugriech. u. russ. K. Mayence 1840. — *Hefele*, d. russ. K., in the Tübing. Quarterly, 1853. P. III. — *Mouravije*, in Hist. of the Ch. of Russia, transl. by *Blackmore*. Oxford 1842.—*J. Dobrowsky*, Cyrill u. Methodius. Prague 1823.—*Philaret*, Cyrill u. Methodius. Mitau 1847.—*J. A. Ginzel*, Gesch. d. Slavenap. Cyrill u. Method. u. d. slav. Liturgie. Leitm. 1857.

Among the various races set in motion when the Western Empire was broken up, the *Germans* and *Slavonians* were destined to become the principal actors in the history of the world. The Germanic tribes joined the Roman Catholic Church; and at first it seemed as if the Slavonic race generally would equally connect itself with the orthodox Byzantine Church. Ultimately, however, only the Eastern Slavonic countries continued in their adherence to this communion. Most of them were, about the same period as the Byzantine Church, brought under the yoke of Turkish dominion. This remark applies especially to the Church of *Bulgaria*, which at one time enjoyed so bright prospects. In proportion to these losses, was the accession made to the Greek Church by the conversion of the *Russian* nation. The political importance attaching to that empire, which, after having for two centuries (1223–1481) groaned under the yoke of the

Mongols, rapidly grew both in extent and power, proved of great advantage to the Greek Church. It is due to the Russians that at this moment the orthodox Greek almost equals in numbers and influence the Romish Church.

1. Not long after the time of Justinian, *Slavonic tribes* made irruptions into *Macedonia, Thessalia, Hellas, and the Peloponnesus.* The ancient Hellenic population of those countries was almost entirely exterminated; and Greek nationality and the profession of Christianity continued to exist only in the fortified towns, especially in those along the sea-coast and on the islands. The Empress *Irene* was the first successfully to attempt making those new inhabitants of Greece subject both to Christianity and to the Byzantine Empire. *Basil the Macedonian* (867–886) completed this effort, and that so effectually, that even the ancient heathen *Mainots* (§ 42, 3) in the Peloponnesus submitted. Mount Athos, with its hermits and monasteries (§ 70, 3), became the Zion of the new Church.

2. About 850 the *Chazars* in the Crimea sent to Constantinople for Christian missionaries. The Court readily complied; and dispatched on this errand *Constantinus*, surnamed the philosopher, but better known by the name of Cyrillus, which he bore as a monk. He was a native of Thessalonica, and perhaps himself of Slavonic descent; at any rate, he knew the Slavonic language. In the course of a few years he succeeded in converting the great majority of the people. In 1016 the empire of the Chazars was swept away by the Russians.

3. The *Bulgarians* of Thracia and Mœsia had obtained their first knowledge of Christianity through some Greek captives; but the first germs of a Christian Church were suppressed in a bloody persecution Not long afterwards, however, a sister of Bogoris, King of Bulgaria, was baptized at Constantinople during her captivity in that city. After her liberation, she sought, with the assistance of the Byzantine monk Methodius, a brother of Cyrill, to convert her brother to the Christian faith. The providential occurrence of a famine, and a representation of the Last Judgment painted by Methodius, made a deep impression on the mind of Bogoris. He was baptized, and obliged his subjects to follow his example (861). Soon after this, both *Methodius* and *Cyrill* were called to another field of labour (to Moravia, § 79), and in 866 the Czar of Bulgaria joined from political motives the Western Church. At his request, Pope *Nicholas I.* sent bishops and priests to Bulgaria, to organize the Church of that country in conformity with Romish usages. However, Byzantine diplomacy recalled the Bulgarians to their first allegiance; and at the Council of Constantinople (869) their representatives were readily convinced that, both according to the law of God and of man, the Church of Bulgaria was subject to the ecclesi

astical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople (§ 67, 1). Since that time the Bulgarians remained attached to the Greek Church. Meantime *Cyrill* and *Methodius*, the two apostles of the Slavonians, had invented a Slavonian alphabet, and translated both the Bible and the Liturgy into the vernacular; thus laying the foundation for an ecclesiastical literature in that tongue, which rapidly sprung up, especially in Bulgaria, under the fostering care of the noble Czar *Symeon* (888–927). The tenth century formed the golden age of the Bulgarian Church; though at that period the Bogomile heresy (§ 71, 3) made sad havoc. In 1018 *Basil II.* conquered Bulgaria.

4. The conversion of the *Russians* to Christianity is mentioned even by Photius. Under the reign of the Grand Duke *Igor*, Kiev seems to have had a cathedral. *Olga*, the widow of Igor, undertook a journey to Constantinople, where she was baptized in 955, and took the name of *Helena*. But *Svœtoslav*, her son, refused to follow her example. According to the statement of German chroniclers, the aged princess ultimately requested the Emperor *Otto I.* to send German missionaries to Russia. *Adalbert* of Treves, afterwards Archbishop of Magdeburg, followed this call; but returned without having achieved any result, his companions having been murdered by the way. It was reserved for *Vladimir the Apostolic*, the grandson of Olga, to eradicate the heathenism still rampant among his people. According to a somewhat romantic legend, that monarch had dispatched ten Boiars in order to examine the rites of the various churches. The envoys seem to have been captivated with the splendid rites which they witnessed in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. In 988 Vladimir was baptized in the ancient Christian commercial city of *Cherson*, which the Russians had lately taken. He took in baptism the name of *Basil*, and was at the same time married to the imperial Princess *Anna*. In every place the idols were now broken in pieces and burnt; the great image of Peroon was tied to the tail of a horse, dragged through the streets, broken with clubs, and thrown into the Dnieper. Soon afterwards the inhabitants of Kiev were ordered to assemble on the bank of the Dnieper in order to be baptized. Vladimir was on his knees by the river-side praying and thanking God, while the clergy, standing on floats, administered the sacred rite to the people. *Anna* proved very useful in encouraging and directing the organization of the Russian Church. Vladimir died in 1015. His son *Jaroslav* proved in Russia another Justinian. He erected many churches, monasteries, and schools throughout the country; introduced improvements in the mode of celebrating public worship, especially in church music; awakened a taste for art, and zealously promoted scientific pursuits. Russian national literature was first cultivated in the monastery of Kiev, where a native clergy was also trained. There, at the close of the eleventh century, *Nestor* composed his "Annals" in the Russian language. The spiritual

superintendence of the Church was committed to the Metropolitan of Kiev, who in turn was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1328 both the metropolitan see and the seat of government were transferred to Moscow. But when Kiev became subject to Lithuanian princes, and the latter joined the Latin Church (Jagello 1386), Kiev was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see for the provinces of Southern Russia, independent of the See of Moscow (1415). By dint of Polish and Jesuit intrigues, a union was brought about between that Church and the Papal See at the *Synod of Brzesc* in 1594. — *Isidore*, the Metropolitan of Moscow, also attended the *Synod* held at *Florence* in 1439, where a union with Rome was agreed upon (comp. § 67, 6), and acceded to the resolutions of that assembly. He returned as Cardinal and Papal Legate. But at a council held in Moscow the union was disavowed; Isidore was imprisoned, but escaped and died at Rome in 1463. After that, the Metropolitan of Moscow continued subject to the jurisdiction of the See of Constantinople till 1589, when, during a visit to Moscow, the Patriarch *Jeremiah II.* was induced to declare the Russian Church independent, and to set apart *Job*, at that time Metropolitan of Moscow, to be its first Patriarch.

§ 73. THE HERETICAL CHURCHES OF THE EAST.

The Nestorian and Monophysite churches of the East maintained their independence chiefly through the protection and favour accorded them by the Moslem rulers. At the period of which we write, the Persian and Syrian Nestorians, but especially the Armenian Monophysites, displayed considerable literary activity and zeal in the prosecution of theological and other studies. They initiated the Saracens in classical, philosophical, and medical lore, and made many contributions to theological literature. For a long time the Nestorians continued also their missionary efforts. The decay of these churches, however, commenced when the rule of the Khalifs, who had encouraged intellectual pursuits, gave place to Mongol and Turkish barbarism. The period of learning and brilliancy was followed by that dulness and deadness which has ever since prevailed. To complete the reunion with the East, inaugurated at the Synod of Florence, Rome soon afterwards proclaimed that all the heterodox churches of the East had likewise returned to their allegiance to the Chair of St. Peter. But this union proved in the end either a delusion or a deception. Pretended delegates from these churches solemnly applied for readmission into the bosom of the Church — a request which was accorded with due pomp and formality.

1. The Persian *Nestorians* (§ 64, 2) always continued on excellent terms with their Khalif rulers — a circumstance chiefly due to their opposition to the notion of a "mother of God," and to their rejection of the worship of saints, images and relics, and of priestly celibacy. Accordingly, the Khalifs regarded theirs as a kind of rational Christianity which approximated the Moslem ideal. The Nestorian schools of Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, etc., were in a very flourishing state. But the extensive literature which issued from these seats of learning has not been handed down, and only fragments of it have been preserved in the work of *Assemanus* (Bibl. Orientalis). Of later Nestorian authors the best known is *Ebed-Jesu*, the Metropolitan of Nisibis (*ob.* 1318). His writings treat of every department in theology. The *missionary labours* of the Nestorians continued unabated till the thirteenth century. China and India were the fields to which their energies were principally directed. In the eleventh century they induced the Chief of the *Keraït*, a Tartar tribe, and most of his subjects to embrace Christianity. As vassal of the great Chinese Empire, that prince bore the title of *Ovang-Khan*. Tidings of this conversion, adorned with the most romantic details, reached the West, where wonderful stories about the power and glory of the supposed "*Priest-King John*" were circulated. The mistake may have arisen from confounding the title Khan with the Chaldee Kahanah (a priest), and the name Ovang with Johannes.—When *Chinghis-Khan*, the Mongol, put an end to the rule of the Khalifs (1202), the Nestorian Church also declined. For a time, indeed, the Nestorians were allowed to carry on missionary labours among the Mongols, and not without success. But *Tamerlane*, that scourge of Asia (1369–1405), confined them within the inaccessible mountains and glens of the province of Kurdistan.

2. The most influential and important among the *Monophysite* churches was that of Armenia (§ 64, 3). This country enjoyed, at least for a period, political independence, under the rule of native monarchs. Since the twelfth century, the Armenian Patriarch resided in the monastery of *Edgemiadzin*, at the foot of Mount Ararat. That church attained its highest stage of literary eminence — both in the way of furnishing translations of the classics and the Fathers, and of producing original works — during the eighth, and again during the twelfth centuries. The former of these periods was adorned by writers such as the Patriarch *John Ozniensis* and the Metropolitan *Stephen of Sunic*. In the twelfth century flourished men of even greater distinction, such as the Patriarch *Nerses Clajensis* (whose epos, "Jesus the Son," was celebrated as the finest specimen of Armenian poetry), and his nephew the Metropolitan *Nerses of Lampron*. The two latter would have readily acceded to a union with the Byzantine Church; but the proposal could not be carried out on account of the political troubles of the time. Advances towards a union with the Latin Church were frequently made since the thirteenth century, but failed, from the

aversion towards the Romish ritual entertained by the Armenians.— At one time the JACOBITE-SYRIAN Church (§ 52, 7) also was zealously engaged in prosecuting theological studies. The most distinguished ornament of that Church was *Gregory Abulfaradsch*, the son of a Jewish convert — hence commonly called *Barhebræus* — who first occupied the See of Guba, and afterwards became Maphrian of Mosul (*ob.* 1286). His generous philanthropy, his high mental endowments, his extraordinary learning, and his medical skill, made him equally respected by Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews. The most important and the best known of his writings is the "*Chronicon Syriacum.*" — The Jacobite Church of EGYPT stood probably lowest among Christian communities. The treason of the Copts, by which the Saracens were put in possession of that flourishing country, met with a terrible retribution. Even the Fatimide Khalifs (since 1254) oppressed them, and their position was considerably aggravated under Mameluke domination. The Copts wholly disappeared from the towns, and even in villages the sect dragged on a miserable existence. Ecclesiastically, they sunk into a state of entire deadness.— Though ABYSSINIA Proper continued to be ruled by native princes, the Church in that country gradually declined to a very low level (§ 64, 1).

3. During the Crusades, the *Maronites* (§ 52, 8) joined, in 1182, the Church of Rome. They abjured their monothelete errors, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, but were allowed to retain their ancient rites. This union was confirmed in 1445 (in consequence of the movement in connection with the Council of Florence). At a later period, they also adopted the decrees of the Council of Trent. The united Armenians recognized the primacy of the Pope and the Catholic dogma, but reserved their own constitution and liturgy.

SECOND SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN ITS

MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

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§ 74. CHARACTER AND EXTENT OF THIS PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT.

A new stage in the development both of the Church and the world commenced with the appearance of the Germanic nations on the scene of history. In its influence on the character and direction of general history, and on the agencies brought to bear upon its course, the migration of nations is a unique event. Without ignoring the special influence exerted by the various Slavonic races, which made their appearance at a somewhat later period, it cannot be denied that they were soon drawn in the same or in an analogous direction with that of the Germanic tribes. This event must therefore be regarded as forming the boundary line between the *ancient* and the *modern* world. But the separation between the past and the coming development was not at once complete; tendencies at work in the old world continued for centuries to make themselves felt along with, and by the side of, those which characterized the commencement of a new era. Hence, though in part beyond the sphere of the history which now commenced, they cannot be left unnoticed, since — for good or for evil — they exercised an important influence.

As the general history of the Church and world, so that of the Germanic nations, may be divided into *ancient* and *modern*, bounded and separated by the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. The former of these periods may not inaptly be likened to the figure of Janus — one face being directed towards the ancient, the other towards the modern world. We account for this from the circumstance, that the mental development of Germanic and Slavonic nations was not the slow and painful result of personal and unaided labour. They inherited what had been acquired by the ancient world, and were thus enabled more rapidly and surely to attain their own peculiar and independent position and culture. As the ancient Roman Church (and, so far as *one* important branch of the Slavonic

tribes was concerned, the ancient Byzantine also) was the medium through which this inheritance was conveyed, it became the teacher and schoolmaster of the world. But this tutelage could not be permanent. Having attained and being conscious of his maturity, the pupil broke these leading-strings. At the Reformation the Germanic spirit attained its majority and became emancipated. — Thus, taking a general and broad view of it, this first stage in German ecclesiastical and secular history occupies a sort of intermediate position, and is therefore rightly designated as that of the MIDDLE AGES.

1. The *ecclesiastical history* of the *Middle Ages* forms, as even its name indicates, a period of *transition* from the old to the new. Christianity had fully passed through the stages of culture peculiar to the ancient Greek and Roman world, and made them its own. It was now destined to pervade the forms of life and culture characteristic of *those* modern nations whom the migration of nations had brought to the foreground of history. But in order to attain the stage of culture for which they were fitted and designed, these peoples had first to be brought under the influence of the ancient culture. Thus a period intervened which, while forming a link of connection between the ancient and modern world, brought the stages of culture characteristic of each into conflict. Throughout the Middle Ages this conflict led to continual action and reaction, or rather to incessant *formation*, *deformation*, and *reformation*, which, however, in every instance appeared not separately and distinctly, but mixed together and confused. Some of the most important events and movements (such as the Papacy, Monasticism, Scholasticism, Mysticism, etc.) took their rise in the Middle Ages. But as in each and all these movements the three phases to which we have alluded continued to struggle for the mastery, neither of them attained full maturity, and each in turn degenerated. It was only in the sixteenth century that the reformatory element attained sufficient maturity and force to appear pure and unmixed with other tendencies. Its victory marks the close of the Middle Ages and the commencement of modern history.

2. The ecclesiastical history of Germany previous to the Reformation embraces twelve centuries, and details very varied movements. The first period closes with the extinction of the *German Carlovingian* dynasty (911). Up to that time the general movement in ecclesiastical matters progressed uninterruptedly, rising *before* the time of Charlemagne, attaining its climax *during* his reign, and *then* declining. This may be designated the DISTINCTIVELY GERMANIC *period of history*. All the princes of the Carlovingian dynasty, even to its weakest representatives, were inspired by the great idea of uniting the various Germanic and kindred (Romanic or Slavonic) tribes into one Germanic

Empire. This idea only died with the last of the Carlovingians. After that the tendency towards separation into independent and distinct German, Romanic, and Slavonic States, which had already appeared in the ninth century, gradually gained ground. The Carlovingian period, to which we have referred, had a civilization of its own, which decayed with it. Even the Papacy, to whose intrigues that dynasty succumbed, felt the consequences of its treachery, and sank into impotence and ruin. To whatever point we direct our attention, we descry at the commencement of the tenth century a fearful decay, both in Church and State, in science, in culture, and in art. The glorious achievements of Charlemagne gave place to a *seculum obscurum*. Still, even in the confusion and the troubles of that century we can discern the conditions and the germs of a new and better age. — The time of Pope *Boniface VIII.*, or the commencement of the fourteenth century, marks another and not less important period. *Before* that time GERMANY led and gave the tone both in secular and ecclesiastical matters. But the unsuccessful contest between Boniface and Philip the Fair of France gave an immense preponderance to FRANCE, which henceforth led the way in all ecclesiastical movements. During this period the internal development of the Church progressed very rapidly. The Papacy, Monasticism, and Scholasticism — the most important elements in the history of the mediæval Church — attained their highest point *before*, and declined *after*, the time of Boniface. Again, the desire for reforms, which manifested itself throughout the Middle Ages, was quite different in these two periods. *Before* the time of Boniface, the representatives of the Church (Popes, Monastic Orders, and Schoolmen) seemed generally desirous for a certain measure of reform, though perhaps not of a comprehensive or entirely spiritual character. On the other hand, the instances in which a genuine and evangelical desire after reform was associated with opposition to the prevailing ecclesiasticism, were few and isolated, while frequently it appeared in combination with errors and heresies almost unparalleled in history. Towards the close of this period, however, this state of matters was completely reversed. Not only had the Papacy, the Monastic Orders, and the Schoolmen degenerated themselves — they had become the main abettors of ecclesiastical degeneracy. Opposition to the Church, as then constituted, no longer appeared in the wake of heretical tendencies. The reformatory movement, though not entirely free from admixture of errors, became evangelical in its spirit, and rapidly grew in strength and influence. This phase of development, then, embraces three periods: that between the fourth and the ninth centuries, that between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, and that which comprised the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

FIRST PERIOD

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

FROM THE FOURTH TO THE NINTH CENT.

Comp. *F. W. Rettberg*, K.-G. Deutschlands (bis zum Tode Karls d. Gr.). Leipz. 1853. 2 Vols. — *W. Krafft*, die K.-G. der german. Völker. Berlin 1854. Vol. I. — *H. Rückert*, Culturgesch. d. deutsch. Volkes in d. Zeit d. Ueberganges aus d. Heidenth. in das Christenth. (Hist of Germ. Civiliz. during the time of Trans. from Heathen. to Christian.). Leipz. 1853. 2 Vols. — *W. C. Perry*, The Franks. London 1857. — Also generally: *Hardwick*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch., Middle Age. Cambridge 1853. — *Robertson*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch. (590–1122). London 1856.

I. ESTABLISHMENT, SPREAD, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE GERMAN CHURCH.

§ 75. CHRISTIANITY AND THE GERMANS.

Before the Germans appeared on the stage of history, Europe was chiefly peopled by *Celtic* races. In Britain, Spain, and Gaul, these tribes were conquered by the Romans, and became amalgamated with them; while in the north, the east, and the centre of Europe they were expelled, exterminated, or absorbed by the Germans. When Christianity extended over the face of Europe, the Celtic race existed as a distinct nationality only in Ireland and Scotland, as even among the neighbouring Britons it had already become mixed with Roman elements. Hence but a very narrow territory was left on which Christianity might assume the peculiar Celtic form of development Our knowledge

of this phase of ecclesiastical life is derived from the few notices left us of Irish monasteries, and of the resistance offered to the introduction of the Romish Confession (§ 77).

But even before the time of Christ, the *Germanic* races had followed the Celts, and migrated from the East into Europe. They were in turn succeeded by the Huns, by the Slavonic and Magyar, and other tribes. So early as the latter half of the third century, the Germans were brought into contact with Christianity. Only one century elapsed when a number of powerful peoples of Germanic descent professed the Gospel. Since that period each century, till late in the Middle Ages, witnessed fresh national additions to the Church from among that race. These great results have sometimes, though erroneously, been traced to a peculiar natural and national predisposition for Christianity. But while we gladly admit its existence — at least in some measure, we deny that the Germans were in consequence of it attracted to Christianity, as at that time it was preached. In our opinion, it manifested itself chiefly after Christianity had by other instrumentality gained an entrance, and only appeared fully at the time of the Reformation. For this predisposition had reference to the profoundest bearings of Christianity, which were neglected and ignored in the ecclesiastical externalism of earlier days. It was the task of the Germanic Church to develop and to bring prominently forward these aspects of the Gospel.

1. Much of what has been vaunted about the special *predisposition* of the Germans towards Christianity, is either exaggeration or misapprehension. Admitting that in German *Mythology* many deep thoughts, concealed under the garb of poetic legends, bear evidence of the high religious aspirations, the intellectual endowments, and the remarkable spiritual anticipations of the Germanic race, and as such may have formed a preparation for Christian truth, it will scarcely be maintained that these characteristics apply to it in greater measure than to the myths, speculations, or mysteries of ancient Greece. To our mind, the predisposition should rather be traced to the peculiar character of German national life. There we notice the *devotedness* and *attachment* of vassals towards their lord, which formed so marked a peculiarity of the German mind, and which, when applied to Christ as the Heavenly King, constitutes the very essence of Christianity — even personal surrender to the Saviour, a close and affectionate relationship towards Him, and dependence on Him for justification by faith alone, which even Augustine, that Paul among the Fathers, was

unable to comprehend in all its breadth and fulness. In connection with this sentiment, we also note the native readiness to combat and to *persevere in their struggles* for their rightful lord, which, when directed towards the Gospel, constitutes the main characteristic of practical Christianity — the pressing forward through contests to victory. Again, the *German love of freedom* offered, when sanctified by Christianity, a fitting form and expression for the glorious liberty of the children of God; while even Tacitus speaks of the *spirituality* of those religious rites which predisposed them to the worship of God "in spirit and in truth (nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur)."

2. The circumstance, that so many Germanic tribes *adopted Christianity* without offering almost any resistance, is most readily explained by the untenable character of the Pagan superstitions prevailing at the time. In general, heathenism can only thrive on its own native soil. Transplanted to Europe, the superstitions of those tribes did not strike root during the turmoil and the movements of the period which followed their importation. But if centuries were allowed to elapse before the Gospel was introduced—as in the case of the Frisians, the Saxons, the Danes, etc. — the opposition to its doctrines was much stronger. Another element which either materially aided or else impeded the spread of Christianity, was the presence or the want of Christian institutions dating from the times of Roman domination. In districts where heathenism had reigned wholly undisturbed, the superstitions imported by the Germans soon found a firm lodgment. But where Christianity had once gained admittance, the elevated culture, and superior intellectual power associated with it, rendered the full and free development of heathenism impossible, even though the Gospel was for a time suppressed in the district. Besides, in many instances the alliances of heathen rulers with Christian *princesses* led to the conversion of the former, and with them of all their subjects. No doubt the same causes must also frequently have operated in the more narrow circle of the family or the clan. Such influences were peculiarly characteristic of the Saxon tribes, who alone assigned so high a place to woman: Inesse quin etiam (says Tacitus) sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.

3. Judging from the ordinary *practice* of the Church (and not to speak of the wholesale conversions accomplished by Christian princes through fire and sword), both baptism and conversion must have been generally regarded as an *opus operatum;* and whole heathen tribes were baptized without having previously obtained a proper knowledge of salvation, or undergone a change of heart or mind. This can, of course, be neither approved nor commended. At the same time, it must be admitted that only in this manner considerable and rapid

results could have been obtained; nay, that in the infant state of the German races, something may be said in favour of this practice. A survey of the past would direct the Church, in its contest with German Paganism, to use other weapons than those which had been employed in the conflict with the heathenism of Greece and of Rome. In the latter case, Christianity was brought to bear on society in its highest state of cultivation, — on a world which, so to speak, had grown old, and come to despair of its powers and capabilities, and where the experience and history of the preceding ten centuries served as a "schoolmaster to Christ." It was far otherwise with the Germanic races. If, therefore, Roman society might be compared to a proselyte who in riper years, and after having passed through many experiences, is admitted into the Church, the conversion of the Germans may be likened to a baptism administered during infancy.

§ 76. VICTORY OF CATHOLICISM OVER ARIANISM.

Comp. *W. Krafft*, K. G. d. germ. Völke. Vol. I. — *Ch. Waitz*, ü. d. Leben u. d. Lehre d. Ulfila (The Life and Teaching of Ulf.). Hann. 1840. 4to. — *J. Aschbach*, Gesch. d. Westgothen. Frcf. 1827.—*F. W. Lembke*, Gesch. v. Spanien (Hist. of Spain). Vol. I. Hamb. 1831. — *F. Papencordt*, Gesch. d. vand. Herrsch. in Afr. (Hist. of Vandal Domin. in Afr.). Berl. 1837. — *J. C. F. Manso*, Gesch. d. ostgoth. Reiches in Ital. Bresl. 1824.—*J. E. v. Koch-Sternfeld*, d. Reich d. Langob. in Ital. Mun. 1830.—*H. Leo*, Gesch. d. italien. Staaten. Vol. I. Hamb. 1829.—*J. W. Loebell*, Gregor v. Tours u. seine Zeit. Leipz. 1839.—*A. Thierry*, Recit des temps Mérovingiens. Par. 1842. 2 Vols.

When Christianity made its first great conquests in Germany, Arianism was at the height of its power in the Roman Empire. Internal dissensions and external dangers obliged a portion of the *Goths*, during the latter half of the fourth century, to seek alliances with the Eastern Empire, and to purchase its protection by making a profession of Arianism. Within a short time, the missionary labours of a number of native priests, directed by Bishop *Ulfilas*, led to the spread of Arianism among numerous other Germanic races, though we are unable to trace its exact progress. About the end of the fifth century, more than half the German race—the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, Lombards, Herulians, Rugians, Gepidæ, and others —professed that creed. But as the friendly relations subsisting between these tribes and the Roman Empire had prepared the way for the spread of Arianism, so the hostilities which ensued after Rome had again adopted the Catholic faith, were partly

the cause of their tenacious and even fanatical adherence to that heresy. Arianism had, indeed, become wellnigh the national creed of Germany; and it almost seemed destined to obtain possession of all Germany, and with it of future history. But these prospects were speedily annihilated by the conversion of one of the most powerful Germanic tribes to Catholicism. From the first the policy of the *Franks* had been directed against their strong kindred around them, rather than against the Roman domination, which was rapidly nearing its end. The same policy also dictated their adoption of Catholicism. Relying on the protection of Him whom Catholic Christendom worshipped, and on the sympathies of the Western Catholics, the Frankish rulers undertook the double mission of suppressing heresy and of conquering heretical countries. It was, therefore, their policy to renounce the former, in order to find occasion for the attainment of the latter object.

1. *The Goths in the Countries along the Danube.* — Christianity had been introduced among the Goths about the middle of the third century by Roman captives. *Theophilus*, a Gothic bishop, is mentioned as one of the members of the Council of Nice in 325. The zeal and success of Bishop Ulfilas, a descendant of a captive Christian family from Cappadocia, who since 348 preached to the Visigoths (or Thervingians), and was even then an adherent to the Arian confession, excited the enmity of the heathen, which broke out in a bloody persecution (355). Accompanied by a large number of his Gothic converts, Ulfilas fled across the Danube, where the Emperor *Constantius*, who regarded the Bishop as a second Moses, gave them a residence in Mt. Haemus. Ulfilas continued his successful labours for thirty-three years. To give his people access to the sacred oracles, he translated the Bible into the Gothic language, for which he had constructed an alphabet (*ob.* 388). Full details of his life and teaching are given by *Auxentius*, Bishop of Dorostorus (Silistria), a pupil of Ulfilas, in a short biography of the Apostle of the Goths, which *Waitz* has lately discovered (see above).— But all the Gothic converts had not left their country with Ulfilas. Those who remained behind proved a leaven to the heathen around. Accordingly, about 370, *Athanarich*, King of the Thervingians, raised another persecution. Soon afterwards, a rebellion broke out among the Thervingians. *Frithigern*, the leader of the discontented, was indeed worsted, but obtained assistance from the Emperor *Valens*, and, in gratitude for this aid, along with his adherents, adopted Arianism. This was the first instance in which the Goths embraced Christianity in considerable numbers. Soon afterwards (in 375), the victories of the Huns swept away the empire of the Ostrogoths. A portion of that

people was obliged to join their conquerors, while another part in their flight invaded the country of the Thervingians (or Visigoths). The latter retreated; and under the leadership of *Frithigern* and *Alaviv*, crossed the Danube, where *Valens* assigned them a territory on condition of their conversion to Arianism (in 376). But this good understanding was of short duration, and in 378 *Valens* fell in a war against them. Theodosius, who restored the Catholic faith in the Empire, concluded peace with them. The Thervingians continued in their adherence to the Arian creed, which — by means not yet ascertained—spread to the Ostrogoths, and to other cognate tribes. *St. Chrysostom* despatched Catholic evangelists among them; but the mission was discontinued after his death.

2. *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain.* — The death of Theodosius (in 395), and the partition of his empire, was the signal for the Visigoths to enlarge their borders. *Alaric* laid waste Greece, penetrated into Italy in quest of booty, and plundered Rome. *Ataulf*, his successor, settled in Southern Gaul; and *Wallia* founded the empire of which *Toulouse* was the capital, and which attained its highest prosperity under the reign of *Euric* (*ob.* 483). Euric enlarged his territory in Gaul, and in 475 conquered the greater part of Spain. It was his desire to strengthen his government by introducing political and religious uniformity in his dominions. But his zeal for the spread of Arianism met with unexpected and stubborn resistance, which violent persecutions failed to remove. The Romanic part of the population and the Catholic bishops longed for a Catholic ruler. Nor were their hopes to be disappointed. Clovis, King of the Franks, who had recently been converted (496), became the avenger and deliverer of the Catholics in Southern Gaul. The battle of Vouglé, near Poictiers (in 507), put an end to the rule of the Visigoths on this side of the Pyrenees. But they maintained themselves in Spain, where their hostility to the Catholics led to fresh troubles. A fearful persecution raged, in 585, under the reign of *Leovigild*. *Recared*, his son and successor, at last perceived the folly and danger of this policy. At the *third Synod of Toledo in* 589, he adopted the Catholic faith; and, aided by *Leander*, the excellent metropolitan of *Seville*, he speedily rendered it the dominant creed all over Spain, But under the succeeding monarchs the power of the Visigoths gradually declined, through treason, murders, and the rebellions excited by hostile factions. In 711, *Roderic*, their last king, succumbed in the battle of Xeres de la Frontera to the Saracens, who from Africa invaded Spain.—(*Principal Sources: Procopius* (about 540) de bello Goth.; *Jornandes* (about 550) de rebus Geticis; *Idatii* Chronicon; *Isidori* Hispal. hist. Goth.)

3. *The Vandals in Spain and Africa.* — At the commencement of the fifth century the *Vandals*, who at that period already professed Arianism, passed, in company with the *Alani* and *Suevi*, from Pannonia into

Gaul (in 406), and thence into Spain (in 409), laying waste that flourishing country. In 428 *Boniface*, the Roman Governor of Africa, unjustly outlawed as a traitor, in self-defence called in the aid of the Vandals. *Genseric*, their king, marched to his succour at the head of 50,000 men (in 429). In vain Boniface, who in the interval had made his peace with the Court, now used every effort to induce the barbarians to withdraw. Genseric conquered Northern Africa, where he founded a strong empire; in 455 he appeared in Rome, when, for fourteen days, the city was plundered by his wild hordes. To put an end to all sympathy between Africa and the Roman Empire, he resolved on forcing the Arian creed upon his subjects,—a plan which, during fifty years of his reign, he prosecuted with most consistent and unparalleled cruelty (*ob.* 477). But the Catholics of Africa endured these persecutions with a stedfastness worthy of the martyrs of the second and third cent. *Huneric*, his son and successor, gave the Catholics only a short period of reprieve. In 483 the persecution recommenced (*ob.* 484). Under the reign of *Gunthamund* (*ob.* 496) the Catholics enjoyed peace; but *Thrasamund* (*ob.* 523) again resorted to the former bloody measures. *Hilderic* (*ob.* 530), a mild ruler, and the son of a Catholic mother, openly favoured the persecuted. This excited the dissatisfaction of the Arians, who rose in rebellion under the leadership of *Gelimer*, a great-grandson of Genseric. *Hilderic* was taken prisoner and executed. But before the new ruler had time to carry into execution his bloody purposes, *Belisarius*, the general of Justinian, appeared in Africa, and in the battle of Tricameron (533) destroyed both the Vandal army and empire.—(*Sources: Victoris*, Ep. Vitensis (about 487) hist. persecut. Vandal. — *Procopius* de bello Vandal. — *Isidori* Hispal. hist. Vandal. et Suevorum.)

4. The *Suevi* were still Pagans when in 409 they entered Spain in company with the Vandals. Under the reign of *Rechiar* they now adopted the Catholic faith. But in 465 *Remismund* and his whole people adopted Arianism to please the Visigoths. *Charraric*, whose son was miraculously healed by the relics of St. Martin of Tours, again returned to the Catholic Church (in 550). With the aid of *St. Martin, Bishop of Duma*, he succeeded in inducing his people to follow his example—a work which was completed at a national *Synod* held at *Braga* (in 563), under the reign of *Theodemir I.* In 585 the Visigoths under Leovigild put an end to the rule of the Suevi.

5. The *Burgundians*, whom in 406 the Vandals, Suevi, and Alani had in their march drawn away from their former settlements on the banks of the Maine and the Neckar (where they had professed the Catholic faith), founded an independent state in the district of the Jura. Brought into contact with the Visigoths, most of them adopted the Arian creed. Of the four princes who parted among them the kingdom of *Gundric*, their father, only one, *Chilperic II.*, the father

of *Clotilda*, continued a Catholic. *Gundobald*, his brother, having murdered his kindred, possessed himself of their dominions. But the zeal and labours of *Avitus*, Bishop *of Vienne*, prevented the spread of Arianism, and both *Sigismond*, the son of Gundobald, and his subjects returned into the Catholic Church at the Diet of *Epaon* in 517. But in the eyes of *Clotilda*, the wife of *Clovis*, King of the Franks, even this conversion could not atone for the guilt of Sigismond's father. Her sons avenged their maternal grandfather, and put an end to the Burgundian monarchy in 534.—(*Principal Source: Gregorii* Turon. hist. Francorum.)

6. In conjunction with the Heruli, the Schyri, and the Turcelingi, the *Rugians* had founded an independent state (in what now constitutes Lower Austria), and called it *Rugiland*. Their religion consisted of a mixture of heathen practices with Arianism, which had spread among them from their Gothic neighbours. The Catholic Romans whom they found in the country were much oppressed by them. But since 454 *St. Severinus* (*ob.* 482) laboured in that district, a messenger truly sent from on high to cheer and uphold these persecuted people. Even the barbarians were constrained to pay him reverence; and his influence over both heathen and Arians was almost unlimited. He is said to have announced the future greatness of *Odoacer*. That prince put an end to the Western Empire, and for seventeen years ruled over Italy with equal firmness and wisdom. Odoacer abolished (in 487) Rugian rule, and with it Arian persecution, in Rugiland. But soon afterwards *Theoderic*, the Ostrogoth, invaded Italy, took Ravenna after a siege of three years, made Odoacer prisoner, and treacherously killed him at a banquet (493).

7. The *Ostrogoths* had become converts to Arianism long before they conquered Italy, but they were free from the fanaticism which characterized that religious party in almost every part of Germany. *Theoderic* afforded protection to the Catholic Church; he valued and fostered Roman culture — acts of which the credit is certainly due in part to *Cassiodorus*, the excellent counsellor of the Ostrogoth monarch (§ 47, 6). This large-spirited toleration was the more readily accorded, since, from the protracted schism (lasting for 35 years, § 52, 5), no dangerous political combination between the Catholics of the East and the West was to be apprehended. Accordingly, when this schism ceased in 519, *Theoderic* began to take a more lively interest in the progress of the Arian Church, and to view the Catholics with some measure of suspicion. He died in 526. The Emperor *Justinian* availed himself of the confusion consequent on the death of Theodoric to regain Italy. At the close of a war which lasted for twenty years, *Narses*, the Byzantine general, had swept away the last traces of Ostrogoth domination. On its ruins the Byzantine rule was again raised, under the name of an *Exarchate*, and with *Ravenna* as its capital. During that

period the rule of Arianism in Italy was of course at an end.—(*Principal Sources: Procopius*, de bello Goth.—*Jornandes*, de reb. Geticis.—*Cassiodori* Varia et Chronic.)

8. *The Lombards in Italy.*—In 568 the Lombards left their homes by the banks of the Danube, under the leadership of *Alboin* invaded Italy, and conquered that portion called, after them, Lombardy, with *Ticinum* (Pavia) its capital. The successors of Alboin extended their conquests till only the southern extremity of Italy, the districts along the sea-shore, and a number of fortified towns in the interior, remained under Byzantine rule. Incited by love of plunder and suspiciousness, the Lombards, who professed Arianism, for twenty years waged equal warfare against Roman civilization and Roman Catholicism. But after the first storm of persecution had passed, religious indifferentism again prevailed, and the spiritual impotence of the Arian clergy proved unequal in the contest with Catholicism. Pope *Gregory the Great* (590–604)—a prelate equally wise and energetic—gave himself with untiring zeal to missionary labours. He found a powerful auxiliary in Queen *Theodelinda*, a Bavarian princess, and a devoted Catholic. So enthusiastic were the Lombards in their admiration of their beautiful and amiable queen, that when *Authari*, her husband, was killed the first year after her marriage, they allowed her to select among the Lombard dukes one to whom she would give her hand, and whom they would acknowledge their king. Her choice fell on *Agilulf*, who indeed continued an Arian, but did not oppose the spread of Catholicism among the people. Under the reign of *Grimoald* (*ob.* 671) the work of converting the Lombards to the Catholic Church was completed, and soon afterwards they adopted the language and manners of Rome. (Comp. § 82, 1.)—(*Principal Source: Pauli* Diac., de gestis Langb. Lb. VI.)

9. *The Franks in Gaul.*—Roman domination continued for a time in Gaul, even after Odoacer had in 476 put an end to the Western Empire. But the *victory of Soissons*, which in 486 *Childeric*, the Merovingian, gained over Syagrius, the Roman Governor, terminated that rule. In 493 *Clovis* (481–511) espoused *Clotilda*, a Burgundian princess (see above, *note* 5). The young queen, who was devotedly attached to the Catholic faith, used every effort to convert her heathen husband. For a long time the national pride of the Frankish ruler resisted her endeavours, though he consented to have their first-born son baptized. The death of this infant appeared to Clovis an indication of the displeasure of his gods. Still he could not resist the entreaties of his wife, and their second son was likewise admitted into the Church. This infant also was taken dangerously ill; but the earnest prayers of his mother were followed by his unexpected recovery, and Clovis learned that the God of the Christians was able to disarm the vengeance of Wuotan. The circumstance recurred to the mind of the king when,

in the battle of *Tolbiac* (in 496) against the Alemanni, he was threatened with defeat, with the loss of his empire and of his life. The prayers offered to his gods had remained unanswered: he now addressed himself to the God of the Christians, vowing to adopt that faith if he were delivered from his imminent danger. Immediately the aspect of the battle changed. The army and the empire of the Alemanni were destroyed. True to his promise, Clovis was baptized in Rheims, at Christmas 496, by Remigius, the Archbishop, who addressed him in the words: "Bend thy neck, proud Sicamber; adore what thou didst burn; burn what thou didst adore." (Legend afterwards adorned the event with miraculous details. It seems, that when the attendant who carried the phial with the oil destined for anointing Clovis was unable to make his way through the crowd, in answer to the prayer of Remigius a white dove brought from heaven another phial, ever since used in the coronation of the French kings). According to the measure of his knowledge, Clovis was sincere and earnest in his profession of Christianity. Most of the nobles and of the people soon followed his example. Not that he had undergone any change of heart: he had made a compact with the God of the Christians, and he was prepared faithfully to observe its terms. It affords sad proof of the low state of religion at the time, that the grossest faithlessness, treason, and assassination stained the life of Clovis after his baptism. And yet the Catholic clergy of the West extolled him as another Constantine, and as divinely appointed to root up heathenism and Arianism. Regarding this as the mission entrusted to him, they neither asked nor expected more at his hands. However, the conversion of Clovis proved an event of the greatest importance, since it sealed the doom of the barbarous and fanatical Arianism of the German tribes. Along with its creed, the Catholic Church introduced the civilization and literature of the ancient world. Thus trained, the Germans founded an empire destined for many centuries to continue the centre around which the history of the world was to revolve. — (*Principal Source: Gregorii* Turon. hist. Francorum eccles. (Comp. also for the hist. of the Franks, *Dr. Perry*, The Franks. London, Longman, 1857).

§ 77. VICTORY OF THE ROMISH OVER THE BRITISH CONFESSION.

Comp. *Jac. Usserii*, Britann. ecclesiae antiquitt. Lond. 1687 fol. — *Fr. Münter*, die altbrit. Kirche (in the theol. Stud. u. Krit. for 1833). — *C. Fr. Stäudlin*, K. G. v. Grossbrit. Göttg. 1819. 2 Vols.—*Th. Moore*, History of Ireland.—*J. Lanigan*, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland. 2d ed. 4 Vols. —*J. M. Lappenberg*, Gesch. von England. Vol. I. Hamb. 1834.—*J. Lingard* (R. Cath.), Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Ch.—*K. Schrödl* (R. Cath.), d. 1 Jahrh. d. engl. Kirche (the First Cent. of the Engl Ch.).—*C. G. Schoell*, de Ecc. Britt Scotorumque hist. fontibus. Ber

1851.— *Wilkins*, Concilia Brit. et Hibernica. London 1737. 4 Vols fol. — *Spelmanni* Conc. Decr. Const. in re Eccl. orbis Brit. (to the year 1531 —more complete than Wilkins). 2 Vols. fol. 1639–64. — *Bedæ* Venerabilis Hist. Eccl. gentis Anglor. — *Wharton's* Anglia Sacra; and the authorities quoted in *Robertson*, Hist. of the M. Ages, pp. 15 *et seq.*

An old legend has it, that a British king, *Lucius* by name, had so early as the middle of the second century requested *Eleutherus*, Bishop of Rome, to send him Christian missionaries, and that both he and his people had been converted by their preaching. Without attaching importance to this tradition, it is certain that since the close of the second century Christianity had struck root in that part of Britain which was under Roman domination. Up to the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion (in 449) the British Church entertained close and continual communication with the sister-churches on the Continent, especially with those of Gaul and Rome. But after that, Christianity ceased to be professed except along the west coast, and the relations between the British and foreign churches were interrupted. When, after an interval of 150 years, a Romish mission arrived (in 597) to renew the former intercourse, it appeared that the British ecclesiastical system differed from that of Rome (which during that period had developed) on many points connected with worship, government, and discipline. Rome insisted on conformity — a demand which the Britons strenuously resisted. The chief objection of the British Church lay against the claims of the Romish hierarchy. These divergences have sometimes been traced to the supposed circumstance that the British Church had originally been founded by missionaries from Asia Minor—a statement which rests on no historical grounds. Nor is it necessary to refute the assertions of some, who vaunt that apostolical Christianity had been preserved in its purity among the ancient Britons, and speak of their evangelical opposition to the erroneous teaching and ordinances of the Church of Rome. In point of fact, the religion of Britain and of Rome was essentially the same: in both, the same tendency to superstition appears; in both churches we have the worship of saints and of relics, the sacrifice of the mass, asceticism, and work-righteousness. Very true the clergy of Britain had not the same hierarchical pretensions as that of Rome; and too, in consequence of the struggle which now ensued, more broad and liberal views were broached than had at first been entertained. At first, in

deed, victory seemed to incline towards the National Church; but ultimately the contest ended in the complete suppression of the British Confession. In Germany, where the conflict was renewed, it terminated in the same manner, notwithstanding the exertions made by the British missionaries (§ 78). A very deep interest attaches to this contest. If the British Confession had prevailed, as at one time seemed probable, not England only, but also Germany, would from the first have stood in direct antagonism to the Papacy,—a circumstance which would have given an entirely different turn both to the Ecclesiastical and the Political History of the Middle Ages.

1. *Chief Peculiarities of the British Confession.*— The Easter cycle of nineteen years, which Dionysius Exiguus had introduced (§ 56, 3), was not adopted in Britain. Further, instead of the Romish "tonsura Petri" (§ 45, 3), the native clergy had a peculiar form of *tonsure*, the whole forepart of the head being shaved. They also refused to submit to the *injunction of clerical celibacy*, and to acknowledge the *primacy* of Rome; they rejected auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, the tenet which made marriage a sacrament, the stringent ordinances of Rome in regard to degrees of fictitious affinity, etc. But all these differences arose not from any doctrinal divergence; at least, if such existed, it was never mentioned. Indications, however, are not wanting that Pelagianism found more favour among the Britons (perhaps from the nationality of its author, § 53, 3) than in the Western Church generally. The ancient British clergy bore the name of *Culdees* (Kele-De, colidei = servi Dei).— (Comp. *Smith*, Life of S. Col. Edinb. 1798. —*J. Jamieson*, Hist. Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona. Edinb. 1811.—*J. G. J. Braun*, de Culdeis. Bonn. 1840, 4.—*Russell*, Hist. of the Ch. in Scotland.)

2. So early as the commencement of the fifth century, Christianity had been introduced among the Celtic inhabitants of *Ireland* (Erin, Hibernia). The missionary labours of *Palladius*, a deacon from Rome (in 431), were indeed unsuccessful; but in 432 St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, accompanied by twenty-four fellow-labourers, arrived on its shores. Tradition fixes on Kilpatrick, Scotland, as his native place; he mentions Bonave (in Gaul) as the residence of his father. His proper name is said to have been *Succat*. In his sixteenth year, pirates had carried him to Ireland, and sold him to an Irish chief, whose flocks he tended for six years. After his liberation, the constraining power of the love of Christ made him choose active Christian service; his thoughts and feelings took the form of night-visions; and he resolved to proclaim the glorious liberty of the children of God to those who had so long held him in abject slavery. Well acquainted with the language and customs of the country, he assembled the people by beat of

drum in the open air, and related to them the sufferings of Christ for the salvation of men. Although the *Druids* opposed all their influence to his efforts, his amiable and commanding character disarmed hostility. Not one martyr fell; and after a few years, all Ireland was converted to Christ, and the country covered with churches and monasteries. Patrick himself resided in the district of Macha. Around his dwelling the town of *Armagh* (afterwards the metropolitan see of Ireland) sprung up. He died in 465, leaving the Church of Ireland in the most flourishing state. The numerous monasteries, whose inmates combined deep piety with ardent study of the Scriptures, and of whom so many went forth to teach and to preach in all countries, gained for Ireland the title of *Insula Sanctorum*. The Irish monasteries only declined after the incursions of the Danes in the ninth century. Under the title of "Confessiones," St. Patrick himself has left us an autobiography, which is still extant.

3. *Ninian* or *Nynias*, a Briton, who had been educated at Rome, commenced, about the year 430, his labours among the Celtic *Picts and Scots* of Caledonia. But after his death, those whom he had converted again relapsed into heathenism. The work thus begun was more effectually resumed by *Crimthan*, an Irishman, whose name was changed by his friends to Columba, to designate his dove-like character. Accompanied by twelve of his pupils, he embarked in 563 for the island of *Hy*, the present *Iona* (*i. e.*, Insula Sanctorum) or *Icolumbkill*, where he founded a monastery and a church, and whence he converted all Caledonia. Although to his death he continued a simple presbyter, and abbot of the monastery of Iona, he exercised, in virtue of his apostolic authority, superintendence over the whole Caledonian Church, and ordained its bishops — a privilege which his successors in the abbacy of Iona retained. He died in 597. The numerous monasteries which he founded, emulated those of Ireland in the learning, piety, and missionary zeal of their inmates. This remark applies especially to the monastery of Iona.

4. *Romish Mission among the Anglo-Saxons.—Vortigern*, King of Britain, called in the aid of the Germans who inhabited the opposite coast, for the purpose of warding off the predatory invasions of the Picts and Scots. *Hengist* and *Horsa*, two exile chiefs from Jutland, obeyed the summons, at the head of a large number of Angles and Saxons (in 449). These arrivals were followed by others, till, at the end of a century, only the west coast of their country was left to the Britons. The Angles and Saxons formed seven monarchies, one of these rulers, the *Bretwalda*,—or leader of their armies,—exercising supreme sway. The Anglo-Saxons were heathens; and the hostility between them and the ancient Britons rendered missionary activity on the part of the latter impossible. But Rome supplied what they had omitted to do. The sight of some Anglo-Saxon youths, exposed for sale in the

slave-market at Rome, inspired a pious monk — afterwards Pope *Gregory I.* — with the desire of seeing a people of such commanding appearance adorned with the beauty of the Gospel. His elevation to the Papal See prevented his commencing the work himself, as at first he had purposed. But he purchased some of these Anglo-Saxon youths, and had them educated for missionary work among their countrymen. Soon afterwards, when the *Bretwalda, Ethelbert of Kent,* espoused *Bertha,* a Frankish princess, *Gregory* sent AUGUSTINE, a Roman abbot, to England, accompanied by forty monks (596). *Ethelbert* provided them with a residence and support at Dorovernum (Canterbury), his own capital. At Pentecost of the year succeeding that of their arrival, the king was baptized, and 10,000 of his subjects followed his example. Augustine wrote to Gregory for further instructions, for relics, books, etc. The Pope complied with his request, and at the same time sent him the *Pallium,* assigning to him the dignity of Archbishop of the Saxon and British Church. Augustine now called upon the Britons to submit to his authority, and to join him in labouring for the conversion of the Saxons. But the Britons rejected these overtures. A personal interview with their leaders, held under the oak of Augustine, led to no better result. A second conference terminated in the same manner, chiefly owing to the prelatical arrogance of Augustine, who would not rise when the Britons made their appearance. The latter were at that time disposed to yield; but, at the suggestion of a hermit, they had fixed on this mark of respect as an *omen.* Its absence now decided them. On the death of Augustine, in 605, the Pope appointed *Laurentius,* the assistant of the British prelate, his successor. But *Eadbald,* the heathen son and successor of Ethelbert, persecuted the missionaries so much, that they even resolved to quit the field (616). Laurentius alone delayed his departure, to make a last attempt to convert Eadbald himself. He was successful: the king was baptized, and the fugitive priests returned to their former duties. — Augustine had introduced Christianity in *Essex;* but a change of government was followed by a restoration of heathenism. Soon afterwards, Christianity was established in *Northumbria,* the most powerful state in the Heptarchy. King *Edwin* (or Eadwine), the founder of Edinburgh, espoused *Ethelberga,* the daughter of Bertha, Queen of Kent. According to agreement, the young princess was accompanied to her new residence by *Paulinus,* a monk (625). By their combined influence the king, and through him the nobility and priesthood, were induced to adopt Christianity. At a popular assembly, Paulinus demonstrated the truth of Christianity; while *Coifi,* their high-priest, defied the national gods by hurling a spear into the nearest temple. The people regarded his daring as madness, and momentarily expected to see a manifestation of Wodan's vengeance. But when the heavens remained mute, the people, in obedience to the order of Coifi, set fire to their principal temple (627) Paulinus became Bishop of Eboracum (York), and the

Pope sent him the Pallium. But in 633 Edwin fell in battle against *Penda*, the heathen King of Mercia; Paulinus had to flee, and the Church of Northumbria was almost annihilated.

5. *British Mission among the Anglo-Saxons.* — *Oswald*, the son of a former king of Northumbria whom Edwin had expelled, restored to that country its independence. This youth had, when a fugitive, found an asylum in Iona, where he was educated a Christian. In order again to raise the Church of his country, the monks of Iona sent one of their own number, the excellent and amiable Aidan, to the court of Northumbria. Oswald himself acted as his interpreter, till he had acquired the Saxon tongue. The success of his labours was truly unparalleled. Oswald founded an episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne; and, aided by other missionaries from Iona, Bishop Aidan converted, in a few years, the whole north of England to Christianity. *Oswald* fell in battle against Penda (642). He was succeeded in his own government, and as Bretwalda, by *Oswy*, his brother. Irish missionaries now joined the labourers from Iona, emulating their services; and in 660 all parts of the Heptarchy had adopted Christianity, and — with the exception of Kent, which remained faithful to Rome — adhered to the ancient British Confession.

6. *Victory of the Romish over the British Confession.* — *Oswy* perceived the danger accruing to the State from religious division and ecclesiastical estrangements among the people. He succeeded in convincing the other kings of the necessity of an ecclesiastical union. The only question now was, which of the confessions should give way. At last the decision fell in favour of Romish supremacy — a result to which, no doubt, *Oswy* himself mainly contributed. *Eanfleda*, his wife, a daughter of Edwin, was a zealous partisan of Rome. She was seconded in her efforts by *Wilfrid*, a man of great energy, prudence, and perseverence. By birth a Northumbrian, and educated in the monastery of Lindisfarne, he had visited Rome; on his return he employed the whole force of his eloquence, and every artifice which intrigue could suggest, to subject all England to the Papacy. These two influenced the Bretwalda, and the latter again the other kings. Added to this were other and more general reasons for the decision of the monarch — such as a preference for what was foreign, the splendour and the power of the Romish Church, and, above all, the old national dislike of the Saxons towards everything British. When the secret negotiations had issued in the result desired, *Oswy* convened a *General Synod* in the nunnery of *Streaneshalch* or Whitby (Synodus Pharensis) in 664. There all the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the Heptarchy assembled. The Romish party was represented by *Wilfrid;* the British, by *Colman*, Bishop of Lindisfarne. The paschal question was the first topic of discussion. Wilfrid appealed to the authority of Peter,

to whom the Lord had said: "Thou art Peter," etc. Upon this, Oswy turned to Colman with the inquiry, whether the Lord had really addressed these words to Peter. Colman, of course, admitted it; when Oswy declared that he would own the authority of *him* who had the power of opening and shutting the gates of heaven. This finished the discussion. In his capacity of Bretwalda, Oswy carried out the decrees of the Synod with energy and resolution. Within a few weeks the razor completed the conversion of the whole Heptarchy to the Romish Confession. — Matters having proceeded thus far, the British Confession had soon to be abandoned, even in the districts whence it had originally spread. Political reasons obliged the Irish and Scotch kings to adopt the confession of their dangerous neighbours, in order both to deprive them of a specious pretext for making invasions, and to procure the assistance of the Pope and the sympathies of continental Christendom. Ireland submitted in 701, and Scotland followed nine years afterwards. The monks of Iona alone held out till 716, when this their last stronghold also fell. — (The *Principal Sources* for the British and Anglo-Saxon Eccles. Hist. of that period are: *Gildas*, liber querulus de excidio Brittanniæ. *Nennius*, hist. Britonum, and especially *Beda* venerab. hist. eccles. Angl.)

§ 78. CONVERSION OF GERMANY.

Comp. *F. W. Rettberg*, K.-G. Deutschland's. Vols. I. and II. — *C. J. Hefele*, Gesch. d. Einführ. d. Christ. im südwestl. Deutschl. (Hist. of the Introd. of Christian. in South-West. Germ.). Tüb. 1837. — *K. Hiemer*, d. Einführ. d. Christenth. in d. Deutsch. Landen. Schaffh. 1858. — *Ph. Heber*, die vorkaroling. Glaubenshelden. an Rhein u. deren. Zeit. Frkf. 1858. — *G. T. Rudhart*, ältest. Gesch. Baierns (Old Hist. of Bavar.). Hamb. 1841.—*A. F. Ozanam*, Begründ. d. Christ. in Deutsch. (Introd. of Christ. into Germ.). From the French, Manic. 1845. — *A. Seiters*, Bonifacius, d. Ap. der Deutschen. Mayence 1845. — *E. F. Gelpke*, K.-G. d. Schweiz. Bd. I. Bern. 1856. — *Bonifacii* Epistolæ (op. ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford 1846), Vita in *Pertz* (T. II.) and in the Acta SS. — *Serrarius*, Moguntiac. rerum l. v. — *Sagittarius*, Antiq. Gentil. et Christ. Thuring.

During the domination of the Romans, the countries along the Rhine and Danube had been fully evangelized; but of this scarcely a trace was left in the succeeding period. The barbarians who invaded these districts, destroyed the monasteries and churches, and instead of Christian rites, introduced their own forms of heathenism. By the end of the sixth century the greater part of Germany was subject to the rule of the Franks, and bore the name of Western Franconia (Neustria), in contra-

distinction to Austrasia or Eastern Franconia. South-Western and South-Eastern Germany (Alemannia, Bavaria, Thuringia) were governed by native princes under Frankish suzerainty, while North-Western Germany (the Frisians and Saxons) still maintained its national independence. The first successful endeavours to restore Christianity in Austrasia were made about the middle of the sixth century. The missionaries engaged in this work were partly of *Frankish*, partly of *Scotch* (either Irish or British), and partly of *Anglo-Saxon* descent. At that time the monasteries of Scotland and Ireland were crowded with men whose natural love of travel was sanctified by an ardent desire to preach the Gospel, and to extend the kingdom of Christ. These feelings derived an additional stimulus from the circumstance, that the distinctive confession to which they clung with so deep attachment had just been suppressed (§ 77, 6). Their own country seemed now dreary, while on the Continent they saw a prospect of regaining what had been lost at home. Under such impulses, a large number of the inmates of the Irish and Scotch monasteries went forth as missionaries to pagan Germany. But thither also the *Anglo-Saxons*, who had the same love for travel, the same missionary zeal, and the same attachment to their own distinctive confession (the Romish), followed them. Thus the former contest was renewed on German soil: there also to end in the suppression of the British Confession. Almost everywhere do we discover traces of these Scotch missionaries; but, unfortunately, the particulars left us, as to the mode in which they carried on their labours, as to their contests with the representatives of the Romish Church, are exceedingly scanty. The practical turn, so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the connection of these missionaries with the imposing spiritual power wielded by the See of Rome, no doubt contributed not a little towards securing them the victory over their Scotch brethren. For the Frankish missionaries also laboured quite independently of Rome, so that the connection between Germany and the Church of Rome was mainly due to the exertions of the Anglo-Saxon preachers. — These missions succeeded most rapidly in the districts where the Gospel had been preached at a former period, chiefly along the banks of the Rhine and of the Danube. Much more formidable were the difficulties encountered in districts where heathenism resembled an impenetrable primitive forest—as in Frisia, Saxony, Hesse, and Thuringia.

The protection which the Frankish monarchs extended to missionary labours in Germany, sprung chiefly from interested motives — an interference which operated rather against than in favour of the work. It appeared as if, on the one hand, heathenism and national independence, and on the other, Christianity and Frankish domination, were inseparably connected. If the sword of the Franks opened the way for the Gospel, the labours of the missionaries were, in return, to be made subservient for the political subjugation of these countries. However unwilling the missionaries were to become parties to this mixing up of religious and political objects, it was frequently beyond their power to resist it.

1. *The Alemanni* were a powerful race, inhabiting the SOUTH-WESTERN PART OF GERMANY. Only scanty traces of former Christian institutions remained in those districts. The victory of *Tolpiac* (496), which decided Clovis in favour of Christianity, at the same time opened the country of the vanquished Alemanni to the Gospel. But as the Franks adopted no violent measures for its propagation, its progress was very slow. The civil code of the Alemanni, as settled by *Dagobert I.* in 680, proceeds, indeed, on the supposition that the country had become entirely christianized; but at the time this must have only been by way of anticipation. ST. FRIDOLIN, who founded the monastery of *Seckingen* upon an island on the Rhine above Basle, is commonly represented as the Apostle of Alemannia (about 510). He was a native of Ireland; but the accounts of his activity are quite legendary and unreliable. More accurate and satisfactory are the details given about ST. COLUMBAN, who arrived in the year 589, accompanied by twelve zealous missionaries, from the celebrated monastery of Bangor in Ireland. He founded the well-known *Luxovium* (Luxeuil). The missionaries reclaimed the wastes all around, and endeavoured to restore Christian discipline and order among a population which had been fearfully neglected. But their rigid adherence to the British practice of calculating Easter (§ 77, 1) raised prejudices against them; the clergy of Burgundy felt their strict discipline a most unpleasant innovation; while *Brunehilda*, incensed that their influence over the youthful Theodoric II., her grandchild, endangered her ambitious schemes, vowed their destruction. All these causes led to their expulsion, after they had laboured for twenty years in the country. The exiles betook themselves to Switzerland, and settled at *Tuggen*, on the Lake of Zurich. But the fanatical zeal with which they attacked heathenism excited the hostility of the natives, who ill-used and drove them away. Their next field was *Bregenz*. Here they laboured for three years very successfully — a result principally achieved through th preaching of ST. GALLUS, who had acquired the language of the

country. But fresh persecutions induced Columban to pass into Italy, where, under the protection of Agilulf (§ 76, 8), he founded the celebrated monastery of *Bobbio*, and took an active part in the Arian controversy. *Gallus*, who at the time his colleagues left was ill, remained in Switzerland, resolved to continue the work despite the unfavourable circumstances which had arisen. In a sequestered and wild valley, and on a spot where a bush had caught hold of his garment while engaged in prayer, he built a cell which afterwards became the abbacy of *St. Gall*. His labours were richly blessed. He died in 646, at the advanced age of 95. Gallus does not appear to have been so tenacious as Columban in contending for the British Confession. MAGNOALD, the pupil of St. Gallus, carried on his work, and founded the monastery of *Füssen* in Suabia. About the same time TRUDPERT, an hermit (said to have been of Irish descent), laboured in the Breisgau. He laid the foundation of what afterwards became the abbacy of St. Trudpert, at the foot of the Black Forest, but was ultimately murdered by a servant of his own (643). Half a century later, PIRMINIUS, a Frankish ecclesiastic, carried the Gospel along the shores of the Lake of Constance. Protected in his labours by Charles Martel, he founded the monastery of *Reichenau;* but only three years afterwards he was expelled in consequence of a national rising of the Alemanni against the Frankish rule. He now descended the Rhine, and founded a number of monasteries, — among them *Hornbach*, in the diocese of Metz, where he died in 753. When about that time St. Boniface visited Alemannia, he found the whole country nominally Christian and the Church regularly organized.

2. *South-Eastern Germany.*—No notices have been left of the religious history of the countries along the Danube during the period succeeding the labours of *St. Severinus* (§ 76, 6). A century later these districts were peopled by the *Bavarians* (the Boii), whose native rulers were subject to the suzerainty of the Frankish monarchs. At that time only scanty traces of the former profession of Christianity remained in the country. In 615 the Frankish abbot, EUSTASIUS of Luxeuil, the successor of Columban, went as missionary among the Bavarians. He had to contend with Bonosian and Photinian errors — probably in consequence of the Arianism which the Goths had spread in that neighbourhood. ST. EMMERAN, Bishop of Poitiers, laboured about the middle of the seventh century in Regensburg, at the court of *Theodo I.*, Duke of Bavaria. He continued only three years, when he suddenly left for Italy. By the way he was killed (652) by the brother of the Princess *Ota*, on a charge of having seduced her; that princess having, at his own suggestion, named him as her seducer, in order to shield the guilty person from vengeance. After that the Church declined, owing to the weakness of the Merovingian monarchs. But when, in consequence of the victory of Testry in 687, *Pepin of Heristal* became the

hereditary administrator of the realm, both the Frankish power and the Church were restored. For the latter purpose, Duke *Theodo II.* invited in 696 Bishop RUODPERT (Rupert), who proved indeed the Apostle of Bavaria. He baptized the duke and his court, founded numerous churches and monasteries, and made Christianity the religion of almost the whole country. The see of *Salzburg*, which he had founded, served as a centre for his operations. In 716 he returned to his former see of Worms, where he died. He was succeeded by CORBINIAN, a Frankish bishop (without a fixed see — or "regionary bishop"), who in 717 founded the episcopal see of *Freisingen*. This prelate is described as proud, unyielding, and severe in the exercise of discipline. He swept away every remaining trace of heathen superstition, founded churches and monasteries, and, according to legend, performed many miracles. (*Ob.* 730.)—Among the Thuringians, heathenism continued unopposed till the middle of the seventh century, when *Kyllena* or KILIAN, an Irish missionary, commenced his evangelistic labours in the neighbourhood of Würzburg. His zeal was rewarded with the martyr's crown, and his work brought to a successful issue under the ministry of *St. Boniface.*

3. *North-Western Germany.* — In the country around the Middle *Rhine* the ancient Christian sees had survived, although, from the prevalence of heathenism in their immediate vicinity, the character and influence of the clergy had greatly declined. Despite their opposition, the labours of GOAR, a hermit, about the middle of the sixth century, proved to a large extent successful. The pretty little town of St. Goar rose where his cell had stood. About the same time a Langobard Stylite, WULFLAICH, braved the severity of the climate, and preached to the heathen from the top of his column; but the neighbouring bishops disapproved of his mad asceticism, and had the column demolished. — Frankish missionaries — especially ST. AMANDUS (the Apostle of Belgium) — laboured among the *Frisians*, south of the Scheld, since the commencement of the seventh century. In 647 Amandus became Bishop of Malines, and died in 679 in the monastery of Elnon near Tournay (afterwards called St. Arnand). Simultaneously, ST. ELIGIUS, formerly a goldsmith, and from 641 Bishop of Noyon, engaged in the same work.— An Anglo-Saxon, WILFRID (§ 77, 6), was the first to carry the Gospel to the Frisians north of the Scheld. He had been elected Archbishop of York, but was expelled from his see (§ 83, 1), and started for Rome to seek protection. Happily a storm drove him to the coast of Frisia, instead of allowing him to land in France, where hired assassins lay in wait for him. He spent the winter in Frisia (677–678), preached daily, and baptized *Aldgild*, the reigning duke, and thousands of his subjects. But *Radbod* (*ob.* 719), the successor of Aldgild, who was continually engaged in contests with Pepin and Charles Martel, hated and persecuted Christianity, as being the religion of the Franks. The seed sown by Wilfrid seemed in

danger of being destroyed, when the victory of Pepin at Dorstedt (in 689) obliged the persecutor to relent, at least for a time. Wulfram of Sens immediately recommenced missionary operations among the people. Legend has it, that Radbod himself had expressed his readiness to be baptized: but that when entering the water he drew back, declaring that he preferred being consigned to hell in company with his glorious ancestors, to going to heaven along with a crowd of wretched people. The story, however, does not bear the test of historical criticism. — But the evangelization of all Frisia was to be accomplished by another Anglo-Saxon. Willibrord, assisted by twelve other missionaries, devoted himself in 690 to this enterprise. Twice he journeyed to Rome to submit his work to the direction of the Pope, who changed his name to that of *Clement*, and ordained him Bishop of the Frisians. Pepin assigned to him the castle of *Utrecht* as his episcopal see. Thence his labours extended not only over the domains of Radbod, but even beyond the *Danish* frontier. When on a visit on the island of Heligoland, he ventured to baptize three persons in a well which was regarded as sacred. Radbod was about to immolate the bishop and his converts to the gods. Thrice he consulted the sacred lot, but each time the decision was in favour of the Christians. Willibrord continued his labours among the Frisians with varying success for fifty years, and died in 739, in the 81st year of his life. He was succeeded in the administration of the See of Utrecht by Gregory, a noble Frank of Merovingian descent, who was the favourite pupil of St. Boniface. But Gregory was not consecrated a bishop, as the See of Cologne laid claim to jurisdiction over the Frisian Church. When in 734 Charles Martel completely subjugated the Frisians, the work of evangelization proceeded more rapidly. Among the missionaries who laboured in Frisia, *Willehad*, an Anglo-Saxon, whom Charlemagne afterwards invested with the bishopric of Bremen, seems to have been the most successful. *St. Liudger*, a native of Frisia, and afterwards Bishop of Munster, completed what his predecessors had so worthily begun.

4. *Labours of St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany.* — *Winfrid*, a native of Kirton in Wessex (about 680), had, by piety, devotedness, and ability, risen to distinction in his own church and country. But his sympathies were wider than his sphere. Impelled by a sense of the love of Christ, he resolved to devote himself to missionary work among the heathen of Germany. He arrived in Frisia (in 716) at a moment most unfavourable for his enterprise. *Radbod* was just engaged in war with Charles Martel, and had wreaked his enmity on Christian churches and monasteries. Winfrid was obliged to return without having accomplished anything. But such discouragements could not cool his missionary ardour. In the spring of 718 he again crossed the Channel. He went first to Rome, where *Gregory II.* formally set him apart for missionary work in Germany. In Thuringia and

Franconia, the field for which he had been designated, he found little encouragement. Accordingly, on hearing of the death of Radbod, he returned to Frisia, where for three years he shared the labours of Willibrord. This prelate, anxious to secure so efficient a missionary, offered him the succession to the See of Utrecht. But such prospects only served to remind Winfrid of the work for which he had been set apart. Accordingly, in 722 he went to Upper Hesse, where he founded the monastery of *Amönaberg*, and within a short period baptized thousands of heathens. Summoned by the Pope to Rome (in 723), he was consecrated "Regionary" Bishop of Germany by the name of *Bonifacius* (episcopus regionarius, *i.e.*, without a definite diocese), and, after having taken an oath of allegiance to the See of Rome, returned to his post armed with a letter of recommendation to Charles Martel. Thus furnished with spiritual armory from Rome, and enjoying the more doubtful advantage of Frankish protection, he resumed his labours in *Hesse*. The fall of the ancient sacred oak at *Geismar*, near Fritzlar, also marked that of heathenism in Central Germany. Surrounded by a vast concourse of heathens, who gazed in breathless expectation, Boniface himself had laid the axe to that sacred tree; its wood now furnished material for a Christian chapel. After that event his preaching was attended with unparalleled success; and within the space of a year, Christianity had become the religion of almost all Hesse. In 725 he went to Thuringia, where British missionaries, who were unwilling to submit to Papal supremacy, greatly perplexed him. He then sent for additional labourers to England, and founded the monastery of *Ordorp*, near Arnstadt, on the Ohra, for the education of a native ministry. Gregory II. died in 731; but *Gregory III.*, whom Boniface kept informed of the progress of the work, sent him the Pallium, and entrusted him with the task of founding episcopal sees in Germany and ordaining bishops. Having erected the abbacy of *Fritzlar*, he proceeded to *Bavaria*, where he was engaged in hot controversy with some representatives of the ancient British Confession. Boniface returned to Hesse, accompanied by *Sturm*, a zealous Bavarian youth, whom he educated at Fritzlar for the clerical profession. In 738 he went a third time to Rome, probably to consult the Pope about the final organization of the German Church. There he met with the most respectful reception, and remained a whole year. On his return, he again visited Bavaria, expelled his former British opponents, deposed some refractory Frankish bishops, and divided the Church of Bavaria into four dioceses. He next returned to *Thuringia*, whence also he drove the British missionaries, and where he instituted four dioceses. During the lifetime of *Charles Martel*, Boniface had been prevented from exercising any authority over the churches on the other side of the Rhine. But after the death of that monarch (in 741), his sons, *Carloman* in Austrasia, and *Pepin the Short* in Neustria, requested his aid in reorganizing the Church in their dominions, which had sadly declined. The work of

reform commenced in Austrasia. In 742 Boniface presided over the first Austrasian Synod (Concilium Germanicum) which passed stringent measures for the restoration of discipline, and the removal of the heretical, the married and the foreign (British) clergy. At another synod held at *Liptinæ* (*Lestines*, near Cambray) in 743, the bishops present promised unconditional obedience to the See of Rome. Carloman, who was present at both these synods, gave legal sanction to their decrees. In 742 Boniface founded the celebrated monastery of *Fulda*, of which *Sturm* was the first abbot—an institution destined to become the watch-tower and training-school of German monasticism. About the same period he engaged in keen controversy with two noted heretics—*Adalbert*, a Frank, and *Clement*, a Scot; as also with *Virgilius*, an Irishman. In 744, in his capacity of Papal Vicar, he entered into negotiations for reorganizing the Church of Neustria. The authority of the metropolitans, and the exercise of discipline, were restored at the *Synod of Soissons* (in 744). At another synod, held the following year (at Mayence?), *Gewilib*, the unworthy occupant of the See of Mayence, who was convicted of having hired assassins, was deposed, and his see assigned to Boniface as Metropolitan of Germany (though he would rather have chosen that of Cologne). Carloman, tormented by a guilty conscience, retired in 747 into a monastery, leaving his brother *Pepin* sole ruler. Only a few years later, Pepin, with the express sanction of the Pope (§ 82, 1), put an end to the figment of Merovingian rule (in 751). The supposition that Boniface acted as negotiator between the Pontiff and the Major-Domus in this transaction, is entirely unfounded. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that the prelate had to the utmost of his power opposed the scheme, under the influence of certain notions about the Divine right of the Merovingians. Amidst many cares and troubles, the Apostle of Germany untiringly prosecuted the great mission of his life. But as he grew in years, he longed to devolve some of his onerous duties on younger shoulders. Gregory III. had, indeed, promised to allow him to name his own successor; but Pope *Zacharias* contemplated with apprehension the appointment of a German primate who might prove less submissive than Boniface. At last, however, he yielded to the urgent entreaties of the aged Apostle. In the spring of 754 Boniface conferred the archiepiscopal office on *Lullus*, his favourite pupil, and then sailed down the Rhine to spend his last days in evangelizing those heathen Frisians to whom his youthful energies had been devoted. In anticipation of his approaching end, he took along his shroud (755). His tent was pitched in the neighbourhood of the modern *Doccum* whence he itinerated through Frisia, baptizing thousands of heathens. On the 5th June 755, he had appointed a number of his converts to meet him in order to receive confirmation. But early on the morning of that day he was attacked by a band of heathen. Holding over his head a copy of the Gospels, Boniface received the mortal blow. His

fifty-two co-labourers shared the same fate. The bones of the martyr bishop were deposited in Fulda.

5. *Conversion of the Saxons.*—Two Anglo-Saxon monks, both of the name of *Ewald* (Black and White Ewald), were the first missionaries among the Saxons, who, from the north-western coasts of Germany, had migrated to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. These preachers were hospitably received by a Saxon peasant; but no sooner had he learned their object, than he and his servants fell upon them and cruelly murdered them (about 691). *Boniface* had never lost sight of the Saxons; and the choice of *Fulda*, close by the Saxon boundary, as the site of a monastery, was no doubt determined partly with the view of making it the basis of spiritual operations among the neighbouring heathen. Still, for thirty years this mission remained only an object of hope, till the work was done by the sword of the greatest of Frankish monarchs. *Charlemagne* considered the subjugation of the hostile and powerful Saxon nation as a political necessity. But their permanent political subjection could not be secured without their conversion to Christianity, nor the latter be accomplished without the former, as the Saxons hated the religion of the Franks not less than the Franks themselves. *Alcuin*, indeed, plead nobly and boldly with his royal friend against recourse to violent measures for the purpose of securing the conversion of the Saxons; but political considerations proved more powerful than the arguments of one whose counsels otherwise frequently prevailed. The wars against the Saxons lasted for thirty-three years (772–804). Even in the first campaign *Eresburg*, the great stronghold of the Saxons, was taken, and their most sacred idol, the *Irmincolumn* (on which the universe was supposed to rest), destroyed. Frankish priests followed in the train of the Frankish army, and immediately Christianized the conquered districts. But scarcely had the armies of Charles withdrawn, when the Saxons again swept away every trace of the hated religion. At last, however, they were obliged, at the Diet of *Paderborn* in 777, to take an oath of fealty to the Frankish monarch, on pain of losing life and property. But *Widukind* (Wittekind), the most powerful of their leaders, had not attended this diet, and again raised the standard of revolt. The Frankish army was completely defeated, every Christian minister killed, and every church destroyed. Charles took fearful vengeance. At Verden he ordered 4500 Saxons to be beheaded in one day. Still, another rebellion broke out; and at a second diet, held at *Paderborn* in 785, most stringent laws were enacted, which punished with death the slightest opposition to the ordinances of the Church. *Widukind* and *Albion*, the two principal Saxon chiefs, saw the uselessness of further resistance. They were baptized in 785, after which they continued faithful both to the king and to the Church. But the people in general were far from quiet. In 804 Charles expelled 10,000 Saxon families from their homes, and gave their lands to his allies, the Obotrites. This measure at last

secured peace. Charles had founded eight sees in Saxony. Under their fostering care, Christianity now spread among the Saxons, who by and by learned to hold its truths with the same warmth and devoutness as the other German races. Of this the popular Epos, entitled "The Saviour" (§ 88, 2), affords sufficient evidence.

§ 79. THE SLAVONIANS WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY.

Comp. *Schafarik*, *Dobrowsky*, *Philaret* and *Ginzel* (§ 72).—*J. Palacky*, Gesch. v. Böhmen. Vol. I. Prague 1836.

In their progress, the Huns had driven the Slavonians southwards as far as the banks of the Danube, and westwards to those of the Vistula. When, in the sixth century, the *Avari*, a Mongol race, took possession of Dacia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the Slavonians were obliged to retreat still further westward. During this period no attempts seem to have been made to carry the Gospel to the Slavonians in the north-eastern parts of Germany, although the See of Salzburg made great efforts to convert both the Slavonians in the south and the Avari. But these labours were not attended with great success till the middle of the eighth century. In 748 *Boruth*, the prince of the *Carantani* (in our modern Carinthia), invoked the assistance of Thassilo II., Duke of Bavaria, against the oppression of the Avari. His nephew *Ceitumar* was educated in Bavaria in the Christian religion. When in 753 he assumed the reins of government, he introduced Christianity into his dominions. After the fall of Thassilo, Carinthia became also subject to Frankish rule (in 788), and *Charlemagne* extended his conquests likewise to the countries of the Avari and the Moravians. Commissioned by that monarch, *Arno* was zealously engaged in Christianizing these tribes; and with this object in view, his diocese of Salzburg was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see. In 796 *Tudun*, prince of the Avari, was baptized at Aix-la-chapelle amid a large concourse of people; and in 797 the whole nation pledged itself to become Christianized, and desired Christian teachers. In the ninth century the name Avari disappears from history. In 855 the Grand Duke *Rastislav* freed *Moravia* from Frankish domination, when the jurisdiction of the German bishops entirely ceased. The new ruler of Moravia applied to the Byzantine Emperor for Slavonic missionaries. The brothers Cyrill and Methodius,

who had already distinguished themselves in a kindred department of missionary labour (§ 72, 2, 3), were dispatched on this errand (863). They immediately introduced Slavonian worship and liturgy; and by preaching in the vernacular, readily gained access to the hearts of the people. But political considerations obliged the missionaries to join the Romish Church. The only remnant of former independence left, was the permission to continue the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Through the friendly intercourse subsisting between the Moravians and the *Czechs* in *Bohemia*, the way was also opened for the evangelization of that country.

1. *The Moravian Church.* — Although great success attended the preaching of Cyrill and Methodius in Moravia, the political complications of that period rendered their position one of great difficulty. Indeed, only under the protection of the Papacy could they hope to maintain their ground. Accordingly, they gladly accepted an invitation from Pope Nicholas I. (867) to visit Rome. On their arrival, they found the Chair of Peter occupied by *Hadrian II.* *Cyrillus* remained at Rome, where he soon afterwards died. METHODIUS made formal submission to the Papacy, and was consecrated Archbishop of Moravia. But the German Bishops, in their envy of the honours bestowed on a hated rival, impugned the fealty of Methodius, charged him with heresy, and inveighed against the Slavonic liturgy which he had introduced. It was not difficult to arouse the suspicion of *Pope John VIII.*, and Methodius was summoned to Rome in no gentle terms (879). The evangelist obeyed; he completely refuted these calumnies, and returned to his diocese not only with his former title, but also with the express permission to continue the Slavonic liturgy — only that, by way of special distinction, the Gospel was to be read first in Latin and then in Slavonic. Nothing daunted, the German bishops continued by their intrigues to embitter the last days of the devoted missionary (*ob.* 885.) After his death the Moravian priests were the objects of a general persecution, and the archiepiscopal See of Moravia remained vacant for fourteen years, till *John IX.* restored it in 899. But in 908 the independence of Moravia ceased, and the country was divided between the Bohemians and the Magyars.

2. *Introduction of Christianity into Bohemia.* — On New Year's day 845 fourteen Czech nobles appeared at the court of Louis the Germanic in Regensburg, and along with their suite requested baptism. The motives and consequences of this step have not been recorded. When Ratislav elevated Moravia to the rank and power of an independent realm, the Bohemians entered into close alliance with the Moravians. *Svatopluk*, the successor of Ratislav, married a daughter of *Borzivoi*, the ruler of Bohemia (871). After that, the labours of

Methodius were extended to Bohemia also, and their success was marked. *Borzivoi* himself, and his wife *St. Ludmilla*, were baptized by him so early as in 871. The sons of Borzivoi, *Spitihnev* (*ob.* 912) and *Vratislav* (*ob.* 926), equally promoted the spread and establishment of the Church in Bohemia, a work in which they were zealously aided by their pious mother. (Comp. § 93, 2.)

§ 80 THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.

Comp. *F. E. Dahlmann*, Gesch, v. Dänem. Vol. I. Hamb. 1840. — *E. G. Geijer*, Gesch. v. Schweden. Vol. I. Hamb. 1833. — *Fr. Münter*, K.-G. v. Dänem. u. Norw. (Ch. Hist. of Denm. and Norway). Vol. I. Leipz. 1823. — *K. Maurer*, d. Bekehr. d. norw. Stammes zum Christth. (Conv. of the Norw. Race to Christian.) Vol. II. Munich 1856. — The biographies of St. Ansgar by *Kruse* (Altona 1813), by *F. A. Krummacher* (Brem. 1828), by *Reuterdahl* (Berlin 1837), by *Krafft* (in Latin, Hamb. 1840), by *Daniel* (Halle 1842), and by *Klippel* (Bremen 1845).

At an early period the attention of the missionaries who laboured among the Frisians and Saxons was directed to the neighbouring provinces of Jutland and Denmark. Already in 696 *Willibrord* (§ 78, 3) carried the Gospel beyond the Eider; and *Charlemagne* perceived the necessity of extending his own and the Church's conquests over the peninsula of Jutland, and to the sea-shore, in order firmly to secure his rule over the Saxons and Frisians. But circumstances prevented this monarch from carrying this plan into execution. More favourable prospects opened under the reign of *Louis the Pious*. King *Harold*, who had been expelled from Denmark, repaired for protection to the Frankish court. By the aid of Louis, he again obtained a footing in Jutland. *Ebbo, Archbishop of Mayence*, followed in his train as missionary to Denmark (823). Under the protection of Harold, Ebbo baptized many Danes; but he was obliged to retire after a stay of only one year. *Harold* himself was also hardly beset. Accordingly, he resolved to throw off the heathenism of his country, and to ally himself completely with Germany. For this purpose he embarked in 826, accompanied by his wife and child, and a large suite, and was baptized with great pomp in the Church at Mayence, where Louis at the time held his court. On his return he was accompanied by Ansgar, a young monk from the convent of Corvey on the Weser, to whom Louis entrusted the difficult and dangerous task of gaining Scandinavia for the Church. Ansgar may be styled *the Apostle*

of the North. He devoted his whole life to the great work, and succeeded, — at least so far as indomitable perseverence, devotedness, and self-denial among innumerable difficulties and trials could secure such an object.

1. *Ansgar*, the son of Frankish parents, was educated in the monastery of Corvey in Picardy, whence he was removed to the convent of New Corvey, when the latter was founded. Even while a child he had visions and dreams, in which missionary activity and the martyr's crown were held out to him. His first missionary journey (826) promised little success. Harold settled on the borders of Jutland, without venturing to advance into the interior. This circumstance necessarily restrained the zeal of Ansgar. Still he founded a school, and bought a number of young Danish serfs in order to educate them for the ministry among their countrymen. But in the following year Harold was again expelled, and Ansgar also had to retire (827). Two years afterwards Louis obtained tidings that in *Sweden* there were a number of Christians, and that the king himself and all his people were desirous of obtaining Christian instruction. In company with several other priests, *Ansgar* now undertook a mission to that country in 830. On their journey the missionaries were plundered by pirates; his associates advised to return home, but the courage of Ansgar was not shaken. After untold difficulties they at last landed at Birka, and were well received by *Björn*, king of Sweden. A small number of Christian captives received them with joy, and gathered around them for worship: young serfs were bought, a school was erected, and the Gospel preached to the people. Several Swedes were baptized, — among them *Herigar*, the Governor of Birka, on whose property the first Christian church was built. After the lapse of a year and a half Ansgar returned to the Frankish court, in order to have the mission placed in a position which would promise greater stability. *Louis the Pious* yielded to his representations, and founded at *Hamburg*, on the borders of Denmark, an archiepiscopal see for Scandinavia. He designated Ansgar as its first occupant, and assigned the revenues of the rich abbey of *Turholt* for his support and for that of the mission (833). Ansgar repaired to Rome, and obtained from Gregory IV. a bull confirming his appointment, and nominating him Vicar Apostolic for the North. He next built a cathedral and a convent at Hamburg, purchased additional Danish youths to educate them for the ministry, and sent fresh labourers to Sweden. But adversities of every kind now overtook the Archbishop. In 840 the Normans invaded Hamburg, and destroyed both the town, the church, the monastery, and the library. With difficulty Ansgar and his monks escaped with their lives. Soon afterwards the Swedish missionaries were expelled by the pagans of that country, and for fifteen years evangelistic labours had in great measure to be suspended. Louis died, and Harold apostatized.

When *Charles the Bald* obtained Flanders (in 843) ir virtue of the treaty of Verdun, that callous monarch immediately claimed the abbey of Turholt — to bestow it on one of his worthless favourites. Ansgar was now entirely destitute of all means of subsistence; his clergy, whom he could no longer support, left him, and his educational establishment was closed. His neighbour *Leuteric*, Bishop of Bremen, with whom he sought a refuge, and who had long envied his position, turned him from his door. At last he found an asylum with a noble widow, who assigned a farmhouse on her property at Ramslo, near Hamburg, for his residence. In 847 Leuteric of Bremen died; and *Louis the Germanic* resolved to conjoin the See of Bremen with that of Hamburg, in order again to secure the means of subsistence to the tried Apostle of the North. Against this arrangement the Bishops of Verden and Cologne, from interested motives, raised objections; but their opposition was stopped by Pope Nicholas I. (858). Meantime Ansgar had laboured indefatigably in connection with the Scandinavian mission, notwithstanding the straits to which himself was reduced. DENMARK was at that time under the rule of *Eric* (Horic), to whose court Ansgar frequently repaired as ambassador of the German king. He succeeded in gaining his favour, and was allowed to build a church at Schleswig, and to organize a mission which extended over the whole of the country. Although Eric himself ventured not openly to profess Christianity, the fanaticism of the pagans broke out in open revolt. Eric was dethroned, and fell in battle (854). The victorious rebels appointed a boy, *Eric II.*, his successor; but the government was in reality administered by a chief named *Jovi*, a furious enemy of the Gospel, who expelled the Christian priests, and declared the profession of Christianity a capital offence. In 855 Eric shook off the tutelage of Jòvi, and extended toleration to Christians. Missionary labours were now resumed with fresh ardour and great success. — All attempts to re-establish the mission in SWEDEN had failed, when Ansgar in 852 resolved himself to undertake this work. By rich presents and a splendid entertainment he secured the favour of *Olof*, king of Sweden. The question of tolerating Christianity was submitted in popular assembly to the decision of the heathen lots, which fell in favour of the Gospel. After that, the labours of the missionaries continued undisturbed in Sweden till the death of Ansgar in 865. The most ardent hope of his life — to obtain the martyr's crown — was indeed disappointed; but a life so full of labours, sufferings, trials, devotedness, perseverance, and self-denial, is surely greater than even a martyr's crown.—He was succeeded in the See of Hamburg-Bremen by *Rimbert*, his favourite pupil, the companion of almost all his missionary journeys, and his biographer. It was Rimbert's ambition to follow in the wake of his great predecessor, and the Scandinavian mission formed the object of his deep solicitude. But the irruptions of the Danish and Norman pirates sadly interfered with the peaceful work of the Gospel.

These troubles increased after the death of Rimbert to such an extent, that the Archbishop of Cologne could again bring forward his claims on the See of Bremen, — this time with the plea, that the purpose for which the see of Hamburg had been founded was wholly frustrated. — (*Principal Source: Adam Bremensis*, Gesta Hamburgensis eccl. Episcoporum (to the year 1076).

§ 81. CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAMISM.

Comp. *J. Aschbach*, Gesch. d. Ommaijaden in Sp. (Hist. of the Ommiades in Spain). Frkf. 1829. 2 Vols. — *F. W. Lemke*, Gesch. v. Sp., continued by *H. Schäfer*. Vols. I. II. Hamb. 1831 — 44. — *Conde's* History of the Arabs in Spain, transl. by Mrs Foster. 3 Vols London 1854 (Bohn's Libr.). — *M. Amari*, Storia dei Musulmanni di Sicilia. Firenze. 1854.

Since the year 665 the Saracens, and their allies the Moors (or inhabitants of Barbary), who had become converts to Mohammedanism, gradually extended their conquests in Northern Africa, till the rule of Byzantium (§ 76, 3) had finally to give way before theirs. From Africa they passed, at the suggestion of a traitor, in 711 to Spain, where they swept away the Gothic domination. In less than five years the entire peninsula, with the exception of the mountainous districts in the north, was in their possession. The fruitful plains north of the Pyrenees next excited their cupidity; but the bloody defeat which *Charles Martel* inflicted on the invaders at *Poitiers* in 732, effectually checked such attempts. In this battle the Franks at the same time saved Europe and preserved its Christianity. In 752 the dynasty of the Ommiades at Damascus, whose sway extended also over Moorish Spain, was supplanted by that of the Abassides. *Abderrhaman I.*, a scion of the dethroned family, escaped to Spain, where he founded the independent caliphate of Cordova, which soon became distinguished for the brilliant culture which it encouraged. The dominion of the Arabs in Spain was, however, threatened from two sides. When Roderic succumbed before the Saracens (711,), *Pelayo*, a relative of the Gothic monarch, retired with a small but heroic band to the inaccessible mountain fastnesses of *Asturia*. There, and in the mountains by the Bay of Biscay, where *Alfonso*, his son-in-law, held command, national independence and Christianity were still preserved. At a later period Alfonso reigned over these two districts, conquered Galicia and Castile, and restored in his do

minions the supremacy of Christianity. The people honoured his memory by giving him the title of *Catholic*. By continued expeditions against the infidels, his successors enlarged their possessions as far as the banks of the Duero. Among them *Alfonso II., the Chaste* (*ob.* 850), who fixed his residence at *Oviedo*, was specially distinguished both for his bravery and his love of literature. — In the eastern part of Spain also the arms of the Christians drove the Moslems from their strong places. In 778 *Charlemagne* conquered the country to the banks of the Ebro. The revolt of the Saxons prevented him from penetrating farther, and his most distinguished warriors were murdered in the Pyrenees by the lawless Basques. But in two other campaigns (in 800 and 801) he again subjected the country, as far as the Ebro, to the Frankish sceptre. — In SICILY also the Moslems gained a footing. In 827 a Byzantine colonel fled to Africa, from the punishment he had incurred, whence he returned at the head of 10,000 Saracens, who ravaged Sicily. Other succours followed, and in a few years all *Sicily* was subject to the Arabs, who every year made predatory incursions on the coast of Italy, and on one occasion penetrated even to the gates of Rome. In 880 they formed a settlement at the mouth of the river Garigliano, levying heavy contributions on the whole of Central Italy, until finally in 916 *John X.* succeeded in expelling them. In 889 Spanish-Moorish pirates landed on the coast of Provence, occupied the castle Fraxinetum, and pillaged the regions of the Alps and northern Italy for a whole century. The effects of their rapacity, however, were most severely felt in Southern Italy. This state of matters continued for two and a half centuries, till in 1091 the Normans finally expelled the Saracens from Sicily. (Comp. § 95, 1.) [10]

1. The *Spanish Christians*, who were subject to the rule of the Ommiades, were called *Mozarabs* (Arabi Mustaraba, *i. e.*, arabized Arabs, in contradistinction to the Arabi Araba, or Arabs properly so called). In some respects, they enjoyed greater liberty than the Eastern Christians under Saracen rule. Many Christian youths of the best families attended the flourishing schools planted by the Moors. were enthusiastic in their admiration of the Arab language and literature, and anxious to be employed at court, or as public servants. In opposition to this anti-christian and anti-national movement, others, in an excess of fanatical bigotry, rushed forward to martyrdom, and indulged in gratuitous and unprovoked insults on the Mohammedan

rule and religion. This species of Christian fanaticism awakened kindred feelings in the Moslems, and led to bloody persecutions (850-59). *Perfectus*, a monk, was the first of these martyrs. When asked what he thought of Mohammed, he denounced him as a false prophet, for which he was executed. *Abderrhaman II.*, who at the time was Caliph, was not a fanatic. In his anxiety to put an end to such scenes, he prevailed on *Recafrid*, the Metropolitan of Seville, to issue an ordinance, which interdicted all insults against the Moslem Prophet. But this measure only served to increase the fanaticism of the extreme party, which was headed by *Eulogius* (a presbyter, afterwards Archbishop) *of Cordova*, and by *Paulus Alvarus*. *Eulogius* himself kept concealed a converted Moorish girl, and on that account was executed along with her (in 859). He was the last victim of this persecution.

II. INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMANIC CHURCH.

§ 82. THE PAPACY AND THE CAROLINGIANS.

Comp. the works cited at § 46.—*J. Ellendorf*, d. Karolinger u. d. Hierarchie ihrer Zeit. Essen 1838. 2 Vols.—*S. Sugenheim*, Gesch. d. Entsteh. u. Ausb. d. Kirchenstaates (Hist. of the Rise and Growth of the States of the Church). Leipz. 1851.—*C. Höffler*, d. deutschen Päpste. Regensb. 1839.—*Scuddamore*, Rome and England. London 1855.

The conversion of the Germanic races had been in great measure accomplished without direct aid from Rome. Hence even the Catholic Germanic churches paid at first little homage to the See of Peter. This remark applies especially to the *Gothic Church* in Spain. Estranged from Rome even in peaceful times, the Saracen invasion of 711 necessarily cut it off from all intercourse with the Papacy. But the independent Christian provinces of Spain also remained, up to the eleventh century, unconnected with Rome. The growth or decay of the *Frankish churches*, both in Gaul and in Austrasia, under the reign of the Merovingians, depended likewise solely on internal causes. It was otherwise in *England*, where the intercourse with the mother-church in Rome was close and continuous. From the first, the principle of papal supremacy had been admitted, nor was it contravened except in rare instances. Innumerable pilgrimages of Anglo-Saxons, of all ranks, to the graves of the Princes of

the Apostles, both indicated and fostered the national attachment to the See of Peter. In the eighth century, the concourse of so many English pilgrims in the Eternal City led to the establishment of a great home or inn for them at Rome, called the *Schola Saxonica*. The "*Peter's pence*," which afterwards became a regular tribute paid by the English nation to the Papal See, was first levied for the maintenance of this institution. The Anglo-Saxons — especially St. Bonifacius — not only handed to Rome the fruits of their missionary labours gathered in heathen lands, but reorganized after the Romish fashion the national churches already existing in the various Frankish provinces, and reduced them to submission to the Papal See. At a somewhat later period the intercourse between the popes and the Carolingian rulers became so close, as to constitute almost the entire diplomatic correspondence of the Curia.

1. *Origin of the States of the Church.* — By legacies and donations the Roman See had gradually acquired very extensive landed property (Patrimonium S. Petri), which supplied the means of relieving the inhabitants of Italy during the troubles connected with the irruption of the barbarians. This, however, did not imply any exercise of sovereign rights, which, indeed, were never claimed. After the restoration of Byzantine rule, which was represented in Italy by an exarch (§ 76, 7), the political power of the popes rapidly increased. Indeed, the continuance of the Exarchate often depended on the good-will of the pontiffs, to whom the prospect of becoming the court-patriarchs of a new Longobard-Roman dynasty would, of course, appear far from attractive. Still, they were not able to prevent the Longobards from conquering district after district, belonging to the Exarchate. At last *Gregory III.* applied to *Charles Martel* for help against *Luitprand* (in 738). The Frankish ruler despatched two clerics to Italy for the purpose of negotiating a peace. Pope *Zacharias*, in virtue of his apostolic authority, sanctioned the removal of *Childeric III.* (the Merovingian puppet-king), when *Pepin the Short* added the royal title to the royal power, which he had long possessed (752). Meantime, the Lombards, under *Aistulf*, had taken Ravenna, and demanded the submission of Rome. Pope *Stephen II.* now earnestly appealed to the Franks for help. At the invitation of Pepin he even went to France, and anointed that monarch and his sons; in return for which Pepin made formal promise of taking the Exarchate from the Lombards, and handing it to the Pope (754). The Frankish ruler redeemed his pledge; and in two campaigns cleared the Exarchate from its occupants, and formally gave it to St. Peter. The grateful Pontiff bestowed upon Pepin, as patron of the Romish Church, the insignia of Patrician

of Rome. When ambassadors from Byzantium claimed for their Emperor these provinces, Pepin only replied that the Franks had shed their blood for St. Peter, and not for the Greeks (755). But the Lombards continued to molest the Papal See, till, at the request of Pope *Hadrian I.*, *Charlemagne* again interfered (768–814), took Pavia, put King *Desiderius* into the convent of Corvey, and annexed Lombardy to the Frankish Empire. On this occasion Charles confirmed and increased what his father had given to the Papal See, and deposited a formal document to that effect at the grave of the Prince of the Apostles (774). Unfortunately, this and the other documents in this transaction have gone amissing — probably intentionally; but there is sufficient evidence that the donation of Charlemagne did not by any means imply that the popes were to exercise absolute and independent sway. The Frankish monarch himself retained the rights of supreme lordship, and the Pope with all the citizens had to take an oath of fealty to him. In fact, the Pope was a Frankish vassal, and the States of the Church only formed the largest "immunity" of that period. The Pope had all inferior jurisdiction, and nominated the Government officials; but the latter were superintended and controlled by Frankish *Deputies* (missi dominici), who were charged to hear appeals, to receive complaints, and to adjudicate on them. These rights of suzerainty were claimed even by the successors of Charlemagne, however well the popes knew to avail themselves of the weakness of these sovereigns. The popes, indeed, resisted as opportunity offered; and the fable about a *Donatio Constantini*, according to which the Franks had only restored to St. Peter what he had possessed since the reign of Constantine, dates even from the time of Charlemagne. (The story was that Constantine had removed his residence to Byzantium for the express purpose of securing to the Pope the undisturbed sovereignty over Italy.) In the forged Decretals of Isidore (§ 87, 2), a copy of the pretended authentic document, in which the donation had been conveyed, was inserted. *Laur. Valla* (de falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione, — edited by *Ulric von Hutten* in 1518, after the author's forced retractation) was the first, on critical grounds, to prove the spuriousness of this document, although it had previously been questioned by individuals. — (Comp. *E. Münch*, üb. d. Schenk. Konst. (on the Donation of Const.), in his "Miscell. Works," Ludw. 1828. Vol. II. — *J. A. Theiner*, de P. Isid. cann. Col. Vrat. 1827. — *F. A. Kunst*, de font. et cons. pseudois. Col. Goelt. 1832. For the genuineness: *Marchetti*, Saggio crit. sopra la storia di Fleuri. Rom. 1781; comp. also *Wasserschleben*, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. fal. Decr. (Contrib. to the Hist. of the False Decr.). Breslau 1844.)

2. *The Carolingian Dynasty.* — Pope Hadrian I. was succeeded by *Leo III.* (794–816), whose election gave great offence to a powerful party. A tumult was raised (799), but the Pope escaped to the court of Charlemagne, whom he assured that his enemies had deprived him

of his eyes and tongue, which, however, St. Peter had restored the following night. His opponents, on the other hand, charged him before the king with perjury and adultery.[1] The inquiry instituted must have brought ugly matters to light; at any rate, *Alcuin* immediately burned the report which had been handed to him. The Pope was sent back with all honours to Rome, and supported by a Frankish guard. The following year Charles himself crossed the Alps with his army. He convoked a synod at Rome; but the assembled bishops declined to act as judges, on the plea that the successor of St. Peter, who was the head of all, could not be tried by his inferiors. The Pope proved his innocence by an oath, and afterwards interceded for his accusers. At Christmas Charles attended service in the church of St. Peter. Mass being ended, the Pope unexpectedly placed, amidst the shouts of the people, a splendid gold crown upon his head (800). The coronation was represented as the result of a sudden Divine inspiration; in reality it had been the subject of protracted negotiations, and the price at which the Pope purchased the protection of the king. The empire which Charlemagne founded was meant to be a vast theocratic monarchy, whose sway should extend over all the globe. The Greek monarchs had proved unworthy of this distinction, and God had now transferred it to the Frankish ruler. In his capacity as Emperor, Charles was placed over all Christendom, and subject only to God and to His law. He was indeed the most obedient son, the most devoted servant of the Church, in so far as it was the medium and the channel of salvation; but its supreme lord and ruler, in so far as its organization was earthly and it required earthly direction. The provinces of State and Church, though distinct and separate, were closely connected, and, so to speak, combined in the person of the Emperor as their highest representative. Hence many of the legislative ordinances of Charles bore directly upon ecclesiastical affairs. When making statutes about the government, worship, and teaching of the Church, the Emperor was indeed wont to consult bishops and synods; but he ratified, supplemented, or modified their decrees according to his own views of duty, as he thought that the responsibility ultimately devolved upon himself. The Pope he regarded as the successor of St. Peter and the visible head of the Church, but as subject to the Emperor, who was placed above both State and Church. In setting him apart to this exalted station, the Pope had acted by immediate Divine direction and commission, and not in the exercise of his own power or of that inherent in the Papacy. Hence coronation by the Pope was a ceremony only once enacted, and not to be repeated; the office was hereditary in the family of Charles, and the Emperor alone could beget or nominate another emperor. Contrary to the Frankish law of succession, the empire was to continue unbroken and undivided, and younger sons were only to occupy the subordinate posts of viceroys. Charles died in 814. His

[1] Dean Milman thinks the latter charge refers to *spiritual* adultery or *Simony*.

son, *Louis the Pious* (814–840), was far too weak to complete what his father had begun. Foolish affection for *Charles the Bald*, his son by a second marriage, induced him to revoke the order of succession which himself had formerly proclaimed (829). With the approval and aid of some of the most influential Frankish bishops, and of Pope *Gregory IV.*, the other sons of the Emperor now rose in rebellion. Louis was obliged to do public penance at *Compiègne* in 833, and kept in humiliating captivity by Lothair, his eldest son. But this circumstance aroused public sympathy, and *Louis* (the Germanic), the Emperor's younger son, restored his parent to liberty. Against the prelates who had taken part in the conspiracy, severe sentences were now pronounced at the *Synod of Thionville* in 835. Still the sons of Louis were continually in arms against each other. Louis lived not to see the end of these hostilities (*ob.* 848). The *treaty of Verdun* in 843 partitioned the Western Empire into three separate and independent realms. *Lothair*, who with the imperial title obtained Italy and a narrow territory between Neustria and Austrasia, died in 855. Of his three sons, *Louis II.* inherited Italy and the imperial title; *Lothair*, the district called after him, Lotharingia; and *Charles* Burgundy and the Provence. When soon afterwards the two latter died without leaving issue (869), their uncles seized their possessions before Louis II. had time to interpose. By the *treaty of Mersen in* 870 *Charles the Bald* obtained the Romanic, and *Louis the Germanic* the German portions of their father's empire. Thus was the great Carolingian monarchy divided into three states, each of distinct language and nationality, viz., Germany, France, and Italy.

3. *The Papacy till the Time of Nicholas I.* — However weak and devout, *Louis the Pious* was not prepared, any more than his immediate successors, to surrender the supremacy which as Emperor he claimed over the See and city of St. Peter. What the popes felt most galling was, that before being consecrated their appointment required to be ratified by the Emperor. As this had been eluded on more than one occasion, *Louis* sent *Lothair*, his son, to Italy, in order to arrange the matter once for all with Pope *Eugen II.* The so-called *Constitutio Romana* now agreed upon enacted that in future the Romans should have no voice in the election of the Pope, and that before the Pontiff was consecrated his appointment should be ratified by the Emperor, to whom the successor of St. Peter was to take an oath of fealty (824). But although the emperors jealously watched over the rights thus accorded them, pretexts were never awanting to evade the terms of this agreement. — Between the pontificate of *Leo* IV. (*ob.* 855) and that of *Benedict* III., the predecessor of Nicholas I., the Papal See was, according to an old legend, occupied by a female called JOAN. The story runs, that a girl from Mayence had in male disguise accompanied her paramour to Athens, where she acquired great learning; that she

had next appeared under the name of Johannes Angelicus at Rome, and been elected Pope. During a solemn procession she had given birth to a child, and soon afterwards died, having officiated for two years, five months, and four days, under the name of John VIII. The oldest testimony in favour of this legend is that of Anastasius, the Roman librarian, whose "liber pontificalis" dates almost from that period; but according to the statements of Roman Catholic editors, what passes as his biography of Joan is awanting in most MSS. of this work, and must therefore be regarded as a spurious interpolation. Marianus Scotus, *ob.* 1086), is the next witness in favour of the story. It is furher related, with all its details, in the Chronicles of Martinus Polonus (Grand Penitentiary of Rome, and afterwards Archbishop of Gnesen, *ob.* 1278), and after him unhesitatingly reiterated by all subsequent chroniclers of the Middle Ages. Pope *John XX.* (*ob.* 1277) acknowledged Joan as one of his predecessors, and accordingly styled himself John XXI. In popular opinion, the seat of the marble chair used in the Lateran Church at the consecration of the popes (the so-called SELLA *stercoraria*), was supposed to be arranged with a view to render in future the mistake of electing a female pontiff impossible; and a statue which, in the sixteenth century, was destroyed by order of the Pope, was regarded as having been a monument of Joan. But the silence of Photius, who would undoubtedly have made his own use of such a piece of scandal, and contemporary evidence (such as the Annals of Prudentius of Troyes, a letter by Hincmas of Rheims, a diploma of Benedict, and a coin of Lothair), which proves that Benedict III. immediately succeeded Leo IV., render it impossible to regard this story as other than a legend. No clue, however, has yet been found to its origin, unless, indeed, it was meant as a satire on the dissoluteness of such infamous pontiffs as John X., XI., or XII. — only that in that case we should have expected a female Pope to have been introduced in the tenth and not in the ninth century. — A Calvinistic divine, *David Blondel*, was the first to show that the story could not stand the test of sound criticism, and was utterly unworthy of credence (Amst. 1649). Since then, however, its authenticity has again been defended by *Spanheim* (Opp. II. 577), and latterly by *N. Chr. Kist* ("Hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1844. II.). *Hase* (Ch. Hist., 8th ed., p. 204) regards it as at least conceivable that a church which has represented as matter of history what has never taken place, may similarly have blotted out what really took place, at least so long as the knowledge of it seemed dangerous to the interests of the Papacy.

4. *Nicholas I. and Hadrian II.* (858–67–72). — Of the pontiffs who occupied the papal chair between the time of Gregory I. and that of Gregory VII., NICHOLAS I. was by far the ablest. A man of unbending will, of keen penetration, and of a bold spirit, he knew how to avail himself of the political troubles of his time, of public opinion, which proclaimed him another Elijah, and ultimately also of the pseudo

Isidorian Decretals, which emerged at that very time (see § 87, 2), to invest his claims for absolute papal supremacy with the appearance of a contest on behalf of truth, right, and purity. Among the various disputes in which he was involved (§ 67, 1; § 83, 1), that with *Lothair II.* of Lotharingia proved the most important. That prince, desirous of marrying *Waldrada*, with whom he had formed an improper connection, accused *Thietberga*, his spouse, of incest with her brother. Two of his prelates, *Gunther* of Cologne and *Thictgunt* of Treves, proved sufficiently venal to gratify the adulterous monarch by dissolving his legitimate marriage at a synod held in *Aix* (859). Lothair now formally espoused Waldrada; but Thietberga escaped from the nunnery to which she had been confined, to do penance for the crime with which she was charged, and appealed to the Pope. The two uncles of Lothair, *Louis* the Germanic and *Charles* the Bald, desirous of possessing themselves of their nephew's country, took her part. By appointment of Charles, *Hincmar* of Rheims undertook the public defence of the queen. Nicholas sent *Rodoald* of Porto (? comp. § 67, 1) and another Italian bishop to Lotharingia to investigate the matter. These legates, however, were bribed, and a *synod held at Metz* (863) decided in favour of the king. But the Pontiff excommunicated his own legates, and deposed the two metropolitans who had travelled to Rome in order there to try what Lotharingian gold could effect for their master. To avenge their wrongs, these prelates now incited the Emperor *Louis II.*, the brother of Lothair, against the Pope. Imperial troops occupied Rome; but Louis soon came to an understanding with the Pontiff. Deserted by his own subjects, and threatened in his possessions by his uncles, *Lothair* was glad to make submission, and humbly implored the protection of the Pope against the covetousness of his relatives. *Arsenius*, the legate whom Nicholas sent across the Alps to arrange matters, acted as if he had been absolute lord of the three Frankish empires. Lothair was obliged to take back Thietberga; her rival was to have accompanied the legate to Rome, but escaped by the way. In the arms of Waldrada, Lothair soon forgot his former promises and oaths. At the same time he succeeded in making his peace with his relatives, whom the overbearing conduct of the legate had offended. Thietberga herself now applied to the Pope for a divorce — a request which the Pontiff absolutely refused. Nicholas I. died in 867. His successor, HADRIAN II., a man seventy-five years of age, was elected through the influence of the imperial party. Accordingly, he proved at first more tractable. He accepted the submission of the two metropolitans, although without restoring them to their offices, and absolved Waldrada from church censure, but refused the petition which Thietberga again addressed for a divorce. *Lothair* himself now went to see the Pope, he took a solemn oath that he had not cohabited with Waldrada since the return of his wife, and received the sacrament from the hands of the Pontiff. In the full hope of at last attaining his object, he returned

homewards, but on his journey was cut off at Piacenza by a fever (869) After his death the uncles of Lothair seized his dominions. *Hadrian* in vain interposed his authority on behalf of the Emperor as the rightful heir, and even threatened to excommunicate those who refused to obey. In the name of Charles the Bald, *Hincmar* of Rheims addressed a remarkable epistle to Hadrian, in which he expressed it as the conviction of the Frankish nobility, that the Pope had no right to interfere with political questions. Hadrian was obliged to allow this act of defiance to pass unpunished. In another affair also (§ 83, 1) *Hincmar* had the better of the Pope.

5. *John VIII. and his Successors.* — The measures adopted by John VIII. (872–882) for subjecting the Carolingian princes to papal supremacy were more successful than those of his predecessor. But then he was also a greater adept in the art of intriguing, a more accomplished hypocrite, and less troubled with conscientious scruples. By his efforts the Papacy was made entirely independent of the Emperor, although, on the other hand, it became an object of furious contention to rival parties in Rome. Hence the almost incredible debasement of the Papal See during the tenth century must be mainly imputed to this Pontiff. On the decease of the Emperor *Louis II.*, in the year 875, this dignity should have devolved on Louis the Germanic, as being both the elder and the full brother of *Louis's* father. But John was anxious to show the world that the imperial crown was in the gift of the successor of the apostles. Accordingly, he invited *Charles the Bald* to Rome, and crowned him at Christmas 875. In return for this act of grace, the Emperor formally renounced his claims as superior of the States of the Church, all control in future elections to the Papacy, and consented to receive a papal vicar and primate for all Germany. But even this was not all. At Pavia, Charles had to submit to become the *elective* monarch of Lombardy, and then to concede to his own nobles the same right of election, as also that of hereditary succession to their fiefs, in order to obtain their consent to these transactions. But Hincmar and the clergy of Neustria offered strenuous resistance, and stormy discussions ensued at the *Synod of Pontion* in 876. — From this shameful compromise neither the Pope nor the Emperor derived advantage. The reign of faction increased at Rome beyond the control of John, and the Saracens ravaged Italy. The Emperor, unable to keep his own against the Northmen, could afford no help. At last, having purchased a disgraceful peace, he crossed the Alps. But fresh domestic troubles speedily obliged him to retrace his steps. Charles died in a miserable hut at the foot of Mount Cenis, in consequence of poison administered to him by his physician (877). Meantime the troubles of the Pope increased, and his intrigues only served to make his situation more dangerous. John VIII. died by the hand of an assassin in 882. The year before his death he had been obliged to crown *Charles the Fat*, the youngest son of Louis the Germanic. This prince was also elected

monarch of Neustria by the nobles of that realm; so that the weakest of Charlemagne's successors once more combined all the dominions of his great ancestor under his sway. But in 887 the Estates of Germany deposed him, and elected in his stead *Arnulph of Carinthia*, a natural son of his brother Carloman. Pope FORMOSUS (894) called in the aid of that monarch, and crowned him Emperor. But Arnulph was not able to maintain himself in Italy against his Langobard rival *Lambert*. *Formosus* died soon after the departure of Arnulph (896). His successor, STEPHEN VI., in the true spirit of Italian revenge, ordered the body of Formosus to be exhumed, maltreated, and thrown into the Tiber, because he had favoured the Germans. The three following popes reigned only a few weeks or months, and were either killed or expelled. In order to appease the German party, JOHN IX. (898–900) rescinded the sentence passed by Stephen against Formosus. Although the reign of Arnulph in Germany had fallen in troubled times, it proved vigorous and honourable. He died in 899, when the German Estates chose his infant son, *Louis the Child*, his successor, — Archbishop *Hatto of Mayence* acting as regent during the minority. But Louis died in 911. With him the German branch of the Carolingians became extinct; in France the dynasty continued to exist till the death of *Louis the Indolent* in 987.

§ 83. THE PAPACY AND THE METROPOLITAN OFFICE.

COMP. *Gass*, Merkwürdigkk. aus dem Leben u. d. Schriften Hinkmar's (*Memorabilia* in the Life and from the Writ. of Hincm.). Gottingen 1806.

The office of Metropolitan was one of great importance and influence in Germany. Among the many various races and tribes which inhabited the Frankish Empire, the metropolitans represented the unity of the National, just as the Pope that of the Universal Church; while, as influential members of the Estates, they took an important part both in the internal administration of the country, and in the direction of its foreign policy. The concentration of spiritual power in one individual afforded to the secular rulers a fresh guarantee for the political integrity of their country. On that account they were opposed to the *multiplication* of metropolitan sees; and where the extent of the country rendered it necessary to have more than one archiepiscopal see, they were anxious to see the most influential of these prelates invested with the authority and jurisdiction of *Primate*. On the other hand, it was the policy of the popes to appoint in every large country at least two or three metropolitans, and to resist the appointment of primates, since it was quite possible that i

the supreme direction of a national church were confided to one person, that prelate might, some time or other, conceive the wish of emancipating his see from the authority of Rome, and constituting himself an independent patriarch. — Since the time of *Charlemagne*, the Frankish monarchs were also wont to establish episcopal and arch-episcopal sees along the borders of their dominions, for the twofold purpose of sending the Gospel into the neighbouring heathen countries, and of preparing for their conquest, or, where this had already been accomplished, strengthening their government. The former of these objects alone could command the approbation of the pontiffs; the latter they resisted to the utmost of their power. It is but justice to say, that the occupants of the See of St. Peter, remembering that they represented the Church universal, always recognized, respected, and watched over the rights of nationality. It was intended that every country in which Christianity was established, should preserve its nationality and political independence, and thus become a member of that great family of which the Pontiff was the spiritual father. In this grand organism, every people was to stand in the same relation, since all were equally to be subject to the Apostolic See. While this policy was in accordance with the rules of humanity and of the Gospel, it promoted at the same time the selfish objects of the Papacy. Hence, whenever a national church had been founded, it was the aim of Rome to set it free from the superintendence of the German clergy, and to render it independent, by giving it a hierarchy of its own.— Lastly, the interests of the metropolitan, as the representative and supreme ruler of a national church, were in great measure identical with those of the sovereign country. Hence these prelates were the strongest supporters of the throne; while, on the other hand, their authority also was most carefully guarded by the secular princes. But this coalition between the metropolitans and secular princes was fraught with manifest danger to the liberties of the inferior clergy, who accordingly sought the protection of the See of Rome, by espousing its separate interests Towards the close of the reign of Louis the Pious, under the pressure of circumstances, a wide-spread conspiracy of bishops and abbots was formed for the twofold purpose of emancipating the clergy, especially the bishops, from the control of the State and of their metropolitans, and of placing them under the immediate jurisdiction of the Papacy. The forged Decretals

which bear the name of Isidore (§ 87, 2) represent these principles as in force and acted upon since oldest times. Although these tendencies met with the most strenuous opposition, the principles of the forged Decretals ultimately became the established law of the Church.

1. For a long time the *English* monarchs resisted the papal attempts to establish another metropolitan see besides that of *Canterbury*, as such a measure endangered the political unity of the Heptarchy. The contest raged most fiercely at the time of *Wilfrid* (§ 77, 6; 78, 3), whom the Romish party had appointed Archbishop of *York*. Wilfrid was obliged to retire; and, after a troubled career, died without having obtained actual possession of the see to which he had been nominated (709). But the Pope ultimately succeeded in his object. In 735 a Northumbrian prince received the pall, and the archbishopric of York has continued ever since. — In the north of ITALY there were three metropolitan sees — those of Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileja — each claiming to be independent of Rome (§ 46). Indeed, *Sergius*, Archbishop of Ravenna (about 760), would fain have followed the example of the See of Rome, and transformed the Exarchate of Ravenna into an independent state in connection with his own see. Of course, instances of opposition to papal supremacy were of frequent occurrence. But Pope *Nicholas I.* succeeded in finally checking these pretensions (in 861), at a time when the See of Ravenna was occupied by *John*, a prelate guilty of sacrilege and violence of every kind. The force of public opinion obliged the Emperor to withdraw his protection from a bishop justly excommunicated for his crimes. But during the pontificate of *John VIII.*, *Ansbert*, Archbishop of Milan and a partisan of Germany, was strong enough to set both papal bans and sentences of deposition at defiance (*ob.* 882). His successor, however, again acknowledged the primacy of Rome. — The Metropolitan of Rheims occupied the first place in the hierarchy of FRANCE. From 845 to 882 that see was occupied by *Hincmar*, the most eminent, vigorous, and influential prelate whom France has ever had. His life presents a series of different contests. The first controversy in which he engaged was on the subject of Predestination (§ 91, 4). But ecclesiastical law and politics, not dogmatic intricacies, were his chosen field. In opposition to the claims of the Papacy, and the attempts of the bishops to emancipate themselves, he firmly and successfully contended for the independence of secular princes from papal control, for the liberties of his national Church, and for the rights of metropolitans. His controversy with *Rothad, Bishop of Soissons*, deserves special notice. This prelate had been deposed by Hincmar on account of insubordination (861), from which sentence he appealed to Pope *Nicholas I.*, on the ground of the Sardican Canon (§ 46, 2), which hitherto had not been acknowledged in the Frankish Empire; while at the same time he supplied

the Pope with the pretended Decretals of Isidore. On this forged collection Nicholas took his stand, and, after considerable resistance, carried the restoration of Rothad (865). Another collision arose out of the contumacious conduct of his own nephew, *Hincmar, Bishop of Laon*. In this instance also, both parties appealed to the forged Decretals. Although *Hadrian II.* took the part of young Hincmar (869), the Metropolitan carried the day; and the Bishop of Laon, who, besides defying his king and his ecclesiastical superior, had entered into treacherous communications with the German Court, was punished with the loss of his eyes. Till the year 875, Hincmar stood by his monarch, and formed the strongest prop both of his policy and of his throne. But when *Charles the Bald*, in exchange for the imperial dignity, bartered away the supremacy of the crown, the liberties of the French Church, and the rights of its hierarchy, the prelate firmly opposed his monarch. Hincmar died during his flight from the Northmen (882). With him the glory of the French hierarchy departed. The authors of the forged Decretals prevailed. But if bishops were emancipated from the rule of their own metropolitans, they were, on the other hand, left unprotected, and hence frequently exposed to the lawless violence of secular grandees. — In GERMANY, metropolitan sees had been founded at Salzburg, Cologne, Passau, Treves, and Hamburg. Over these, and all other sees in the country, the Archbishop of *Mayence* continued to exercise supremacy. Strange to say, in Germany the pretended Decretals of Isidore, although originating in that country under peculiar circumstances, did not affect an organized opposition against the metropolitan office, as was the case in France. Indeed, they recognized the primacy of the See of Mayence. Happily for the Empire, the power of the Metropolitan of Germany continued undiminished for several centuries.

§ 84. STATE OF THE CLERGY.

COMP. *S. Sugenheim*, Staatsleben d. Klerus im M. A. (Polit. State of the Clergy in the Middle Ages). Berl. 1839. — *K. D. Hüllmann*, Gesch. d. Urspr. d. Stände in Deutschl. (Hist. of the Orig. of the Diff. Est. in Germ.). 2d Ed. Berl. 1830. Vol. I.

Those prelates who bore a rank subordinate to the Metropolitan were called *Diocesans*, or also *Suffragan* bishops, from their right to vote in provincial synods. In Germany, instead of the former or canonical mode of episcopal election by the people and clergy, the kings now claimed the right of appointing to vacant sees. At the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (817), *Louis the Pious* restored, indeed, to the people and clergy their former privilege, reserving for the Crown only the right of confirming the election; but his successors on the throne paid no regard to

this enactment. — Sentence of deposition was commonly pronounced by a provincial or national synod. The *Investiture* of bishops with ring and staff (the shepherd's crook and the marriage-ring) appears to have been practised — at least in isolated cases — during the time of the Merovingians, and came in general use in the ninth century. The so-called *Chorepiscopi* of the eighth and ninth centuries — who, however, had nothing but the designation in common with their namesakes of a preceding period (§ 30, 45) — seem to have been intended as successors of the former "*bishops without diocese*," or episcopi regionarii, who were originally set apart for missionary service. They acted as subordinate assistants of diocesan bishops, in cases where love of ease, want of zeal, or frequent absence on public business rendered such aid necessary. But their arbitrary and high-handed proceedings occasioned serious inconvenience to those bishops who devolved not their work on delegates. The office was virtually abrogated by the Synod of Paris in 849, after which it seems gradually to have ceased. The lower clergy were in part drawn from the serfs; generally speaking, they were held in absolute subjection by their bishops. Very frequently these clerks were deficient in the first elements of education. Parochial appointments rested with the bishop; but in many cases the founders of churches reserved to themselves and their successors the *right of patronage*. Towards the close of the Merovingian and at the commencement of the Carolingian period, both the higher and the lower clergy had sunk into a fearful state of moral degeneracy. *Boniface* succeeded in restoring discipline, at least to some extent (§ 78, 4); while the vigorous measures taken by *Charlemagne* greatly tended to improve and elevate the state of the clergy. But all this did not suffice to stem the almost general corruption. Accordingly, in 816 *Louis the Pious* introduced throughout his dominions the rule which *Chrodegang of Metz* had half a century before instituted, with a view to the reformation of the clergy of his own diocese. The remedy proved efficacious — at least for a short period; but during the weak and disturbed reigns of the last Carolingians, ordinances like these were easily set aside. — During this period the clergy obtained the privilege of *exemption from secular tribunals;* but only thus far, that the civil magistrate could not proceed against a clergyman without the concurrence of the bishop, and that a bishop was amenable only to the king or to a provincial synod.

1. In Germany *the higher clergy* were from the first regarded as a kind of spiritual aristocracy, whose superior education ensured them an influence in the State greater even than that of the secular nobility. In all affairs of importance the bishops acted as advisers of the monarch; in almost every instance they were selected as ambassadors; clerical members sat on every commission; and one half of the "Missi dominici" were always selected from the same privileged order. From their proximity to the person of the king, and their influence in public affairs, the bishops became one of the *estates of the realm*. Another element which contributed to the power of the hierarchy was, that, according to Frankish law, the *immunity* which accompanied grants of land made by the king, conferred on the proprietor the power of taxation and of jurisdiction. Thus the bishops wielded not only spiritual, but also *temporal sway*, over a great part of the country. — As the residence of the Frankish king was not stationary, a special *court chapel*, to which a numerous body of clergy was attached, was requisite. Commonly the most prominent and influential prelate of the realm acted as *arch-chaplain* of the court, and from the clergy attached to this chapel the future bishops of the country were generally chosen.

2. The gradual extension of episcopal dioceses rendered it necessary to make some new arrangements in regard to the INFERIOR CLERGY. Formerly the affiliated or country churches had been served by the clergy attached to the cathedrals; but now priests were appointed specially to these charges. Such churches were called *tituli*, from the circumstance that they were always dedicated to some saint, and their priests *intitulati, incardinati, cardinales*. Such was the origin of the institution of the *Parochia* (παροικία) and of the *Parochus* or *parson*, who was also designated *Curate* because the *cura animarum* devolved on him. An *archipresbyter ruralis* was entrusted with the superintendence of about ten parishes, from which circumstance he was called *Decanus* (Dean). As at first he retained the exclusive right of administering baptism, his church bore the name of *Ecclesia baptismalis*, his district of *Christianitas* or *Plebs*, and he himself the title *Plebanus*. In the eighth century, Heddo, Bishop of Strasburg, formed his diocese into seven *archdeaconries* for the purpose of efficiently superintending the labours of the deans. Besides parochial churches, a number of *chapels* or *oratories* existed, in which the nearest parish priest at stated seasons celebrated divine service. In the same category we also include the *private chapels* in episcopal palaces and on the properties of the nobility, which were supplied by *domestic chaplains*. Occasionally the latter were degraded to do menial work, such as taking charge of the dogs, waiting at table, or leading the horse of the lady of the manor. Although the ancient canon, "ne quis vage ordinetur," was frequently re-enacted, there were a large number of so-called *Clerici vagi*, commonly lazy vagabonds, who wandered about the country in quest of some livelihood, ordained by careless bishops for money.

3. The German clergy were very reluctant to submit to the *injunction of celibacy*. Many instances of married bishops, presbyters, and deacons occur. By far the greater part of the inferior clergy were married At their ordination they pledged themselves indeed to separate from their wives, and to abstain from intercourse with them; but this promise was rarely observed. The unmarried clergy were frequently chargeable with uncleanness, adultery, and even with unnatural vices. Accordingly *Ulric*, Bishop of *Augsburg*, scrupled not to expostulate with Pope Nicholas I. on the subject of clerical celibacy, and in the spirit of Paphnutius of old (§ 45, 4), unsparingly exposed the evils connected with it. — In general, the *moral state of the clergy* was very low. Attempts to get hold of the property of devotees, forgery of documents, simony, and other abuses, were openly and shamelessly carried on. The bishops imitated in their hunting and drinking bouts the vices of the nobility, and were more expert with dogs and falcons than in their own peculiar duties. In the seventh century, it was the liking for the profession of arms which induced Frankish bishops to take part in *wars;* at a later period, the obligation of furnishing a military contingent from the lands belonging to the Church, furnished an additional pretext. Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious, issued strict edicts against this practice; but the later Carolingians not only tolerated, but even encouraged the abuse.

4. Though Augustine's institution of a *monasterium Clericorum* (§ 45, 1) had been adopted by several pious bishops of later times, it was CHRODEGANG, Bishop of Metz, who first introduced it generally, and laid down certain fixed rules for it. His scheme (canon) consisted of an adaptation of the monastic Rule of St. Benedict (§ 85), from which it only differed in dispensing with the vow of poverty. He erected a spacious dwelling (called domus or monasterium, whence the term *Münster*), where, under the strict and continuous supervision of the bishop or archdeacon, all the clergy of his cathedral lived, prayed, and wrought together, ate at a common table, and slept in a common dormitory (*vita canonica*, hence *canons*). After morning service all the members assembled in the common hall, when the bishop or archdeacon read a chapter of the Bible (frequently in the book of Levit.) or a portion of the "Rule," taking occasion at the same time to administer any admonition or reproof that might be called for. Hence this hall was called the *chapter-house*, and the designation of CHAPTER was also given to the community as a whole. In towns which were not the seats of bishoprics, the clergy were formed into COLLEGES OF CANONS under an abbot or dean, in imitation of the cathedral chapters. *Louis* the Pious commissioned *Amalarius*, a deacon of *Metz*, to revise the Rule of Chrodegang, so as to make it generally applicable; and at a national assembly held in Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, it was sanctioned for general use throughout the realm (Regula Aquisgranensis). But the canons soon showed a desire to get rid of this troublesome super

vision of their bishops. When *Gunther of Cologne* (§ 82, 4) was deposed by the Pope, he sought to retain his office, among other things, by ingratiating himself with his cathedral chapter. Accordingly he agreed to leave a great part of the property of the Church to their uncontrolled disposal (*præbenda*, prebends). What this chapter had extorted, others also gradually obtained.

§ 85. MONASTICISM.

Comp. *L. d'Achery*, Acta Ss. Ord. s. Benedicti. Sec. I.-VI. (500–1100). ed. *J. Mabillon*. Par. 1688. 9 Voll. fol. — *J. Mabillon*, Annales Ord. S. Benedicti ed. Martene. Par. 1703. 6 Voll. fol. — Gesch. d. Bened. Ord. aus *Spittlers* Vorles. v. *Gurlitt* (Hist. of the Bened. Ord. from the Lect. of Spittler, by Gurlitt). Hamb. 1823. — *C. Brandes*, d. Ben. O. in the Tübingen Quarterly for 1851. — *Helyot*, Histoire des Ordres Rélig.

The disasters which accompanied the irruption of barbarous nations in the fifth century, extended also to the monastic institution. Indeed, it could scarcely have survived that period, at least it could not have proved a source of so great and manifold blessing to Western Christendom, if at the right moment unity, order, and law, had not been introduced among the various monasteries by the adoption of a fixed rule, suited to the times and circumstances. For this the Church was indebted to Benedict of Nursia (*ob.* 543), who may be styled the Patriarch of Western Monasticism. The rule which he prescribed to the inmates of the monastery of *Monte-Cassino* in Campania, which he founded, was free from all ascetic extravagance. It secured strict discipline and order, but breathed a mild and even indulgent spirit, while at the same time it took account of the requirements of human nature and of the times; withal, it was simple, plastic, and eminently practical. Besides, the disciples of Benedict derived from the Rule of Cassiodorus (§ 47, 6) their impulse toward literary employments, and from Gregory the Great their ardour in missionary enterprises. Thus the Benedictine order became thoroughly prepared for the grand mission which it accomplished throughout the West (*St. Maurus* transplanted it to France in 543), in reclaiming both soil and mind, in clearing forests and cultivating waste land, in zealous and faithful preaching, in exterminating superstition and heathenism, and in cultivating and preserving literature, science, and art. But during the troublous period at the close of the Merovingian rule, the Benedictine monasteries also suffered severely. The

court appointed its favourites to the office of abbot; rich abbacies were given to the higher secular clergy *in commendam*, *i. e.*, simply to enjoy its revenues, or else to counts and military chiefs (*lay-abbots*, *Abbacomites*) in reward for their services. These lay-abbots occupied the monasteries with their families, or with their friends and retainers, sometimes for months, converting them into banqueting-halls, or using them for hunting expeditions or for military exercises. The wealthiest abbacies the kings either retained for themselves, or bestowed on their sons and daughters, their wives and mistresses. *Charlemagne* corrected this abuse also; he insisted on strict discipline, and made it a rule that schools should be planted in connection with the various monasteries, and that literary labours were to be prosecuted within their walls. At the *Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle in* 817, Louis the Pious appointed BENEDICT OF ANIANE (*ob.* 821) to reorganize, and to introduce the needed reforms in, the various monasteries throughout the empire. Along with commissioners specially appointed for the purpose, he visited every monastery in the country, and obliged their inmates to adopt an improved rule. — As yet the monks were not regarded as necessarily belonging to the clerical order; but gradually the two professions became more identified. Clerical celibacy and the introduction of the canonical rule (§ 84, 4) assimilated the regular priests to the inmates of cloisters; while the latter frequently took ordination either with a view to missionary service, or to enable them to conduct worship in their monasteries. Withal, the monks would sometimes interfere with the rights and duties of curates, giving rise to mutual jealousies and distrust.— All monasteries were subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they lay. The exemptions granted at this period only secured permission of freely choosing their own abbots, or the power of administering without control their own property, or else the right of receiving ordination without payment of fees.

1. Our knowledge of the life of *Benedict of Nursia* is solely derived from the account given by credulous Pope Gregory the Great in the second book of his Dialogues, which, unfortunately, is full of legendary stories. The RULE of Benedict comprised seventy-three chapters. It was laid down as the first duty of the inmates of a monastery, to pay implicit obedience to the abbot as the vicar of Christ. The brethren had the right of choosing their own abbot, and the "Rule" did not

recognize any order of "serving brothers." Agriculture was to form the principal employment; all idleness was most strictly prohibited. The monks were by turns (each for a week) to take charge of the kitchen, and to read aloud in the refectory. Divine service was to commence at two o'clock in the morning, and the seven "horæ" to the completorium were to be regularly celebrated (§ 56, 2). The monks had two meals a day, and each a pint of wine; only the sick or delicate were allowed animal food. At table, and after the completorium, unbroken silence was to be observed. The brothers slept in a common dormitory — each, however, in a bed of his own — with their dress and girdle on, to be ready for prayers at the first signal. The discipline was careful and strict. Offenders were to be first privately, then publicly reproved; and if this was insufficient, punished with fasts, with bodily chastisement, and finally with excommunication. Every monastery was bound to entertain strangers, and to provide for the poor in the district. The *novitiate* of candidates extended over one year; the *vows* prescribed were those of *stabilitas loci*, of *conversio morum* (implying also poverty and chastity), and of *obedientia*. The so-called *oblati*, or children whom, during their minority, the parents had offered to a monastery, were regarded as a kind of novices. They were educated in the cloister, and not allowed to return to the world.

2. *Benedict of Aniane* was the son of a Visigoth count, and his real name was *Witiza*. In early life he served in the army of Charlemagne. But during a moment of imminent danger, while attempting to rescue his brother from drowning, his mind received a new turn, and distinction in ascetic exercises became now the object of his ambition. He founded the monastery of *Aniane*, by the river Anianus in Languedoc, and became the trusted and all-powerful adviser of *Louis the Pious*, who built the monastery of *Inda* near Aix-la-Chapelle in order to have his friend always beside him. Benedict composed, for the reform of monasteries, a *Codex regularum*, which consisted of a collection of the various monastic rules then known (best ed. by *L. Holstein*; and next to it that by *Brockie*. Augsb. 1759. 6 Vols.), and a *Concordia regularum* (ed. *H. Menard*. Par. 1638. 4to).

3. The rule of the first Benedict made no arrangements about *Nunneries*. *Scholastica*, the sister of that saint, is, however, generally regarded as having originated the female order of Benedictines. The institution of *Canonesses*, in imitation of the "canonical life" of the secular clergy, was another form of female asceticism. The Rule drawn up for them in 816, by order of Louis the Pious, was much less stringent than that which applied to ordinary nuns. By and by these institutions became a provision for the unmarried daughters of the nobility. — The canonical age for entrants before taking the vow was twenty-five years; their novitiate lasted three years. Besides the "propria professio," the "paterna devotio" was also regarded as

binding. The taking of the veil formed the main part of the ceremony of admission: the garland worn was intended to be the symbol of virginity; the ring, that of their spiritual marriage. At this period the practice of cutting off the hair was only resorted to as punishment of nuns who had broken their vow of chastity. From the respect which the Germans were wont to pay to woman, the abbess occupied a place of special distinction; and in later times the principal nunneries enjoyed even such privileges as exemption, a vote among the estates of the realm, and the exercise of sovereign rights. It was a peculiarity of German monasteries, that frequently they were constructed both for monks and nuns, who — of course in separate houses —lived under the common rule of an abbess (as often in England) or of an abbot.

4. To the *Larger Monasteries* a number of buildings were attached, in which every conceivable spiritual or temporal occupation was carried on. Some of these buildings were designed for agricultural purposes, others for trades and arts of every description, or for public instruction, for private studies, for showing hospitality or taking charge of the sick. They often formed of themselves a small town, around which, in many instances, considerable cities sprung up. The monastery of *Vivarium* in Calabria, founded by Cassiodorus, claims the merit of having awakened in the monks of Germany the desire of devoting themselves to literary avocations; the arrangements of *Monte Cassino* were adopted all over Western Europe. Through the exertions of the inmates of *Bobbio*, founded by Columbanus, both heathenism and Arianism were uprooted in Northern Italy; the monks of *Iona* and *Bangor*, in Scotland and Ireland, sustained the important conflict with Rome on behalf of the British Confession; while the monastery of *Wearmouth*, in England, was famed as a seminary of learning. *St. Denys* near Paris, and *Corbey* in Picardy, were the most celebrated abbacies in France. The most famous institutions of this kind in Southern Germany were those of *St. Gall*, *Reichenau*, *Lorsch*, and *Hirschau*; in Central Germany, those of *Fulda*, *Hersfeld*, and *Fritzlar*; and in Northern Germany, that of *New Corbey* (an offshoot of Corbey in France).

5. The severity of the climate prevented Western ascetics from imitating the example of former *Stylites* (§ 78, 3). Instead of this, however, the so-called *Reclusi* or *Reclusæ* adopted the practice of shutting themselves up in their cells, without ever quitting them. A peculiar class of anchorites, who *lived in the woods*, were found in many parts of Germany. This kind of asceticism was peculiarly in accordance with some national characteristics, such as the tendency to dreamy melancholy, the passionate love of nature, and the delight in roaming over mountain and forest. The practice of thus retiring into solitude seems to have been chiefly in vogue during the sixth century;

and the lonely valleys, glens, and mountains of Auvergne were peopled with these saints. But the concourse of admiring followers soon converted the cell of the saint into a monastery, and the practice gradually ceased.[11]

§ 86. ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.

Comp. *Paul Roth*, Gesch. d. Beneficialwesens bis zum 10ten Jahrh. (Hist. of Eccles. Benefices to the Tenth Cent.). Erlg. 1850

By donations and legacies both churches and monasteries gradually acquired immense wealth. If princes knew no bounds in making pious grants, private individuals not unfrequently even surpassed them in this species of liberality. Nor could occasions for its display be ever wanting. Restoration from dangerous illness, deliverance from danger, the birth of a child, or any extraordinary occurrence, swelled the treasury of the church whose patron saint had been of use to the donor. This kind of piety was of course greatly encouraged by the clergy, who, besides, hesitated not to impose on the ignorance of the age by unscrupulous forgeries. Gifts or grants of land, of which the donor retained the use during his lifetime, were called *Precariæ*. Commonly, the private property of priests at their death, and that of monks at their "conversio," went to the institutions with which they were connected. Besides this revenue from property, every church claimed *tithes* from all its parishioners. According to the precedent of the Mosaic law, tithes were regarded as "juris divini," and Charlemagne gave to this arrangement the sanction of public law. On the other hand, the clergy were prohibited from demanding payment for the discharge of their spiritual functions. — It was the first fundamental principle in the administration of ecclesiastical property, that no part of it might be sold or alienated. Hence it increased every year. Thus, in the seventh century, fully one-third of all the landed property in Gaul belonged to the Church, while the fiscal and crown lands had all been alienated. Under these circumstances, *Charles Martel* had no choice left but to reward his adherents and servants by bestowing on them lay-abbacies. His sons, *Carloman* and *Pepin*, went even further; they claimed the right of absolutely disposing of all ecclesiastical property, and at once proceeded to secularize and divide the coveted possessions. *Charlemagne* and *Louis the Pious* were anxious to atone for hese acts of injustice by making such restitution as was possible,

considering the reduced state of the fisc. By these restitutions, and by new donations from wealthy individuals, the property of the Church again accumulated as before. Thus, at the commencement of the ninth century, the monastery of Luxeuil possessed not less than 15,000 manors *(Mansi)*. —The management of Church property was entrusted to the bishops, that of monasteries to their abbots. Special *advocates* or *defensors* (advocati ecclesiæ) were appointed to watch over the temporal rights of churches, and to exercise their secular jurisdiction. But after a time these officials came greatly to abuse their position; they committed every kind of extortion, oppression, and dishonesty; claimed a great part of the ecclesiastical revenues as their dues; and generally disposed both of the property and income of churches as if it were their own.

1. When *Charles Martel* undertook the government of the country, he found that, by excessive liberality towards the Church, and towards their own immediate attendants, the Merovingians had completely exhausted all available resources, so far as crown lands were concerned. But in the peculiar circumstances of the country, threatened by the Saracens on the one hand, and surrounded on the other by a number of petty tyrants, who would have broken up and so destroyed the realm, Charles Martel was in more urgent want of pecuniary means than any of his predecessors. These difficulties gave rise to the bestowal of what were called BENEFICES. The warriors, whose services gave them claims upon the State or the monarch, were still rewarded by grants of land, which conferred on the possessor the obligation of furnishing a military contingent; but these grants of land were no longer hereditary, but valid only during the lifetime of the possessor (for his usufruct, *beneficium*). As the crown lands were almost entirely disposed of, Charles Martel confiscated for this purpose the property of the Church. Thus, without absolutely appropriating these lands, he filled the vacant sees with creatures of his own, and induced them to grant benefices to such of his followers as deserved rewards, while he himself similarly bestowed abbacies *in commendam* (§ 85). But while this half measure did not suffice for the wants of the case, it proved also the occasion of more serious inconvenience to the Church than complete confiscation would have been. Accordingly, the successors of Martel secularized a large portion of the property of the Church. These measures were initiated at the *Synod of Lestines* in 743 (§ 78, 4). St. Bonifacius, and the clergy generally, felt that submission was absolutely requisite, and that any hope of seeing ecclesiastical discipline restored, depended on their willingness to yield. Accordingly, they gave their consent, in the hope of obtaining in better times a restitution. The rights of the ecclesiastical foundation were preserved, at least in point of form; the

lay impropriators granted letters *precariæ*, and agreed to pay for every manor a yearly duty of one *solidus*. Under the reign of Charlemagne this tribute was converted into second tithes called *Nonæ*. But when Charlemagne and Louis made partial restitution of the Church property formerly secularized, the obligations formerly imposed on beneficiary possessors (especially that of furnishing contingents) were not remitted, and, indeed, were gradually extended to all ecclesiastical property.—This system of beneficiary grants, though originating under the pressure of circumstances, gradually spread, and became the basis of social arrangements, and "one of the most important points in the policy of the Middle Ages." — (Comp. also *Hallam*, Middle Ages, Vol. I., pp. 159, etc.)

§ 87. ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION.

The duty of enacting ecclesiastical ordinances for the German Empire devolved in the first place on the various synods. The Papacy exercised scarcely any influence in this respect. It was otherwise with the secular rulers. They convoked synods, submitted to them questions for deliberation, and confirmed their decrees as they saw fit. But when the Frankish sees were filled exclusively with natives, synods gradually ceased to be held, and ecclesiastical affairs, if discussed at all, were settled at the Imperial Diets, in which the bishops took part, as belonging to the estates of the realm. Even those great national synods which St. Bonifacius held for the purpose of remodelling and restoring ecclesiastical arrangements, which had fallen into sad confusion, were *Concilia mixta;* and this continued to be the constitution of such assemblies under the reign of Charlemagne and of Louis the Pious. The former monarch, however, introduced better order into these deliberations, by separating the assembled estates into three distinct curiæ — viz., that of bishops, of abbots, and of counts. Under the rule of the Carolingians, royal ordinances or *Capitularies* settled those ecclesiastical questions on which formerly synods had published their decrees. But at that period, purely ecclesiastical synods also were again held, — a practice which came chiefly in vogue during the time of *Hincmar*.

1. *Collections of Ecclesiastical Laws.*—Gregory II. furnished St. Bonifacius, among other things, with a *codex canonum* (no doubt that of Dionysius, § 43, 3); and Hadrian I. sent one to Charlemagne, which, at the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle in 802, received public sanction. — Another collection of canons was that made in Spain, of which the authorship was erroneously ascribed to Isidore, Bishop of Seville, and which

accordingly is designated as the *Hispana*, or as the *genuine Decretals of Isidore*, in opposition to the forged or Frankish collection which bears that title. In point of form, it resembles the collection of Dionysius. In the ninth century it was introduced into the Frankish Empire, and there gave its name to and became the occasion of the *forged Decretals of Isidore*. Closely connected with this piece of imposture was the collection made by *Benedictus*, "a Levite" of Mayence (about 840). Although professing to be a collection of capitularies, it is chiefly composed of ecclesiastical canons; some genuine, others forged. The earliest collection of capitularies was that made by *Ansegis*, Abbot of Fontenelles, in 827, to which the work of Benedict formed a kind of supplement (best ed. in *Pertz*, Monumenta Germ. III. IV.). Besides these large and general collections, some bishops published abstracts of ecclesiastical canons for the use of their own dioceses, several of which have been preserved under the name of *Capitula Episcoporum*. Of these, the *Capitula Angilramni*, which were spuriously attributed to Angilramnus, Bishop of Metz (*ob.* 701), are evidently composed in the same spirit and for the same purpose as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. What are the true relations of these three collections, so much alike, is still disputed. Though the earlier opinion was that Benedict had made use of the Decretals, Hinschius supposes that the author of the *Capitula* wrote the Decretals, and then also the *Capitularies*. In the above class of works we also include the Penitential books and the Instructions for clerical visitations (§ 88, 5).

2. *The Forged Decretals of Isidore.*—About the middle of the ninth century a collection of canons and decretals appeared in the Frankish Empire, which bore the venerable name of Isidore, and embodied the so-called *Isidoriana*, but contained, besides, also a number of spurious decretals. This work was composed of the fifty Canones Apostt., which were followed by fifty-nine forged decretal letters, professedly written by the first thirty popes from Clemens Romanus to Melchiades (*ob.* 314). Part Second contained genuine canons of synods, and Part Third another series of papal decretals, dating from the time of Sylvester, the successor of Melchiades, and extending to that of Gregory II. (*ob.* 731), of which thirty-five are spurious.[12] From their Frankish Latinity, from the numberless anachronisms of the grossest kind which occur in them, and from the evident purpose throughout the work, we cannot but conclude that all the spurious portions were the production of the same person, probably of the editor of this collection. The following are the leading characteristics of *the system of Pseudo-Isidore:*—The *Sacerdotium* which the Lord has instituted to govern and judge the world, is infinitely superior to the secular *Imperium*. The See of St. Peter represents the unity and the climax of this Sacerdotium. The bishops stand in the same relation towards the Pope as the other apostles occupied towards Peter; metropolitans are only *primi inter pares*.

Between Pope and bishop was the patriarch, belonging to those metropolitan sees set apart by the apostles and their immediate followers, and to such as were necessarily elevated because of a multitude of bishops in lands converted in later times. Provincial Synods cannot be held without leave of the Pope, and their decrees only become valid by his confirmation. All *causæ majores*, among them especially, all charges against bishops, can only be decided by the Pope himself. Priests are the "familiares Dei" and "spirituales;" while the laity are "carnales." Even a clerk may not be summoned before a secular tribunal, far less a bishop; nay, a layman cannot even accuse a priest, while synods are enjoined to render it as difficult as possible to bring any charge against a bishop. A bishop who has already been deprived of his see must be completely reinstated before an accusation can be received against him. If the party accused thinks that the judges are *inimici* or *suspecti*, he may appeal to the Pope, even *before* any investigation had actually commenced. At least seventy-two trustworthy witnesses are required to substantiate a charge, etc.— The forged Decretals originated doubtless in the Frankish Empire, where they were circulated for years before they were heard of in Rome. *Blondel* and *Knust* ascribe them to Benedict the Levite, because they first became known in his Capitularies. *Phillipps* charges them to Rothad of Soissons, who first brought them to Rome, in 864. *Wasserschleben* says they were written by Otgar, Archbishop of Mayence, because O., as a leader in the clerical conspiracy against Louis the Pious, might seek thus to avert punishment. But Louis pardoned Otgar, without trial, as soon as he regained his throne. Besides, there was in Germany no ground for the hostile attitude of the Isidoriana toward the Chorepiscopoi, and they appeared first not in Germany but France. Then the claims put forth by the Decretals for the primacy could avail for Rheims no less than Mayence. *Weizsäcker* and *Von Noorden* have, therefore, thought Rheims was the home, and Archbishop Ebo the author (§ 83, 1); and Ebo was a leading conspirator. Louis had to humble himself before him; and when fortunes changed he deposed and imprisoned Ebo. He was restored by Lothair, only to flee from Charles the Bald in the same year; and from then until Hincmar's elevation, Rheims was in the hands of the local bishops. Before and during Ebo's restoration, says Von N., the Decretals may have been written. *Hinschius*, too, thinks they sprang from Rheims, but not from the hand of Ebo, because, according to H's arguing, the Decretals were the source of Benedict's collection, which was not completed until 847, when Ebo had given up all hope of another restoration. And Ebo never used these Decretals in his own defence. Had he meant to do so, he would not have undertaken, when his time was so short, such a gigantic work, containing so much apart from his immediate need. The work seems far more likely to be the so-called *pia fraus* of some high churchman of the time, who had no specially personal interest in

view; and whose name we cannot determine. The Decretals must have appeared about 851 or 852. At the time, the genuineness of the Decretals was not called in question, even by Hincmar, who only denied their validity so far as the Frankish court was concerned, and who, besides, was so inconsistent as to appeal to their authority, in his controversy with Charles the Bald, at the Council of Kiersy in 857, though at a later period he designated them an "opus a quoquam compilatum et confictum."—The Magdeburg Centuriones were the first to show that these documents were a forgery. Notwithstanding their exposure, *Turrianus*, a Jesuit (Flor. 1572), again entered the lists in defence of their authenticity; but was so completely silenced by *Dav. Blondel* (Ps. Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes. Genev. 1628) as to deter any subsequent writer from taking up so forlorn a cause. (Cf. *Knust*, de fontibus et consilio Ps. Isid. Göttg. 1832.—*H. Wasserschleben*, Beitr zur Gesch. d. falsch. Decretalien. Breslau 1844.—*J. Weizsäcker*, Hincmar, u. Ps. Isidor.—In the Hist. Theol. Zeitschrift, 1858. III.—*C. V. Noorden*, Ebo, Hincmar, u. Ps. Isidor.—In *V. Sybel's* last Zeitschrift, Vol VII. 1862.—*Hinschius*, in the Prolog. to his edition of Ps. Isid. Lps. 1863.)

§88. STATE OF INTELLIGENCE, ECCLESIASTICAL USAGES AND DISCIPLINE.

Cf. *H. B. Schindler*, der Aberglaube d. M. A. Bresl. 1858.

To convince ourselves how thoroughly the German mind could enter into the spirit of genuine Christianity, we only require to peruse the scanty specimens of religious poetry preserved from that period. At first, indeed, the mass of the people had only made outward profession of the new faith. Considerable time lapsed before it reached the heart and leavened the life of the nation. Accordingly, a number of *tenets* and *superstitions* foreign to Christianity — the remnants of former heathen views — were mixed up and almost formed part of the religious life. This tendency was fostered by some adventitious circumstances. Gregory the Great had recommended his missionaries not so much to wage a war of extermination against heathenism, and to sweep away its every trace, as rather to Christianize pagan rites, and to assign a deeper Christian meaning to heathen tenets formerly cherished. In practice the Church continued to follow this suggestion, thereby keeping alive not only the memory, but also the forms, of ancient misbelief. Besides, the representatives of the Church taught that the heathen deities formerly worshipped were real demons, and, as such, had actual existence. Hence,

in popular belief, they were regarded as a kind of dethroned powers who still exercised an uncontrolled sway in certain domains of nature, and whom it would therefore be dangerous to offend. Withal, the highly imaginative and poetic turn so peculiarly characteristic of Germans, their liking for the mysterious and supernatural, their delight in speculation, exercised its own influence in the same direction. The honours paid by the Church to saints, and even its statements about the devil, opened to a highly imaginative race, as it were, a new range, and popular belief soon peopled it with fantastic shapes and strange occurrences. The faithful were always exposed to the vexatious enmity of demons, yet never so as to place them beyond the miraculous protection of angels and saints. The agency of the Prince of Darkness himself was frequently brought into requisition. At this period, however, the relation which the devil and his angels occupied towards man, was regarded as far too serious and solemn to favour the introduction of those stories which circulated during the latter part of the Middle Ages, in which Satan was uniformly duped, and represented as an object of ridicule and contempt, whose impotent rage, as he disappeared, could only find vent in leaving a horrid sulphurous smell.—It must be admitted that the *moral state* of the Germanic races, after their adoption of Christianity, sank very low. Indeed, a more glaring contrast can scarcely be conceived than, for example, between the picture which Tacitus draws of ancient German manners and morality, and the dreadful degeneracy and brutal barbarism which Gregory of Tours describes during the Merovingian period. But in no instance, also, were it more fallacious than in this to reason: "Post hoc ergo propter hoc." The moral decay of the German races which took place at the time when they made their outward profession of Christianity, depended on circumstances wholly distinct from their change of faith. It was, in fact, the consequence of that entire transformation of views and manners caused by the migration of nations. Having left home—that mightiest bulwark of ancestral manners—occupying the fertile and opulent countries which they had recently conquered, and there exposed to most demoralizing influences around, the Germans threw themselves into enjoyments new to them with all the avidity characteristic of a people which had hitherto been unacquainted with luxury and its attendant vices; their passions, once let loose, soon swept away all the landmarks of decency and

propriety. In proof of the correctness of this explanation, we appeal to the fact that this moral decay took place chiefly among those races which settled in countries where the degenerate Romans held sway (as was the case with the Franks in Gaul, and the Langobards in Italy); while, on the other hand, the moral development of other tribes, such as the Anglo-Saxons and the inhabitants of Germany Proper, was entirely different and much more regular.

1. *Religious Education of the People.*—*Charlemagne* was the first to conceive the idea of popular education, and of the elevation of the masses. It will readily be understood that only a small beginning of this could be made during his time. Great merit attaches in this respect to *Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans*, who planted schools in every village throughout his diocese. The religious instruction of youth commonly consisted of learning by heart the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed. Charlemagne directed that adults—male or female—who were deficient in this *modicum* of popular theology, should be induced by fasts or stripes to acquire it. A number of formulas still extant, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, employed in making abjuration, confession of faith or of sins, or in orisons, indicate the kind of religious knowledge common among the people. As further means of popular religious instruction, we may mention the frequent attempts to render patristic or Biblical books generally accessible by translating them into the vernacular. Among German monasteries, the inmates of St. Gall distinguished themselves by their zeal in promoting the growth of a national literature. *Alfred the Great* prosecuted the same object among the Anglo-Saxons, especially by his own contributions. The latest mention of Ulfilas's translation of the Bible occurs in the ninth cent., after which it seems for many centuries to have remained unknown.

2. *Popular Christian Poetry.*—This species of composition first appeared at the close of the seventh, and continued to be cultivated till late in the ninth cent., especially in England and Germany. A considerable number of Biblical poems of great merit, on subjects connected with the Old and New Testaments, have been preserved, which are ascribed to the pen of *Cædmon*, a Northumbrian (*ob.* 680). Even more interesting is the German-Saxon epos, entitled the *Heliand*, dating from the time of Louis the Pious,—the first and only Christian poem on the Messiah, worthy its glorious subject, popular yet perfect in construction, simple and elevated in its conception—in short, deep and genuine Christianity presented in a Teutonic form. The "Krist" of *Otfried* (a monk at Weissenburg, about 860) is a comparatively inferior production. It was, indeed, the great aim of this author, as it had been that of the Saxon poet—to use Otfried's expression—"thaz wir Kriste sungen in unsere Zungen" (to raise Christ's song in our own tongue); but the poetry of the Saxon bears the same relation to that of the monk, "as

the song of the lark under the broad sunlit canopy of heaven to the artificial melody of the bird confined to its cage." To the same class of compositions belong two other pieces, the so-called *Wessobrunn Prayer*, of which the first and poetic portion is probably a fragment of a larger poem intended to celebrate creation, and what is known by the name of *Muspilli*, a poem in high German, treating of the end of the world and the last judgment, of which, unfortunately, only a fragment, unrivalled in depth and pathos, has been preserved.

3. *Social State.* — The high position which *woman* had always occupied among the ancient Germans (§ 75, 2) prevented the spread of those degrading views, both of her sex and of the married relationship, which in great measure were the necessary consequence of the spurious asceticism of churchmen. The Church attached special merit to complete abstinence from conjugal intercourse, which, indeed, was entirely prohibited during the three seasons of Quadragesima, on feast-days, and on the "dies stationis" (Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). *Second* marriages were stigmatized as incontinence, and had to be expiated by temporary penance. The laws regulating *divorce* were, however, still somewhat lax, and only in exceptional cases were persons divorced prevented from again marrying. Intermarriage with Heathen, Jews, and Arians was strictly prohibited. But the stringent regulations about *impediments to marriage arising from affinity* (§ 61) were more distasteful to the Germans than probably any other ordinance of the Church. Such unions, especially that with a brother's widow, had formerly been regarded in popular estimation as a kind of duty. — The national customs and laws connected with property rendered it impossible for the Church to interfere with the institution of *serfdom;* indeed, monasteries and churches, in virtue of their large territorial possessions, owned a considerable number of serfs. But the Church always insisted on the fact, that masters and servants occupied exactly the same place in a moral and religious point of view; it extolled the manumission of slaves as occupying the first rank in the scale of good works, and ever threw the shield of its protection around those who were oppressed by harsh masters.—The *care of the poor* was considered one of the great concerns of the Church, from which even avaricious and unfeeling bishops could not withdraw themselves. If circumstances at all allowed it, every church had its own special buildings, in which the poor, the sick, widows and orphans, were supported or entertained.

4. *Administration of Justice.*—The practice of taking *private vengeance* was common among the German races. Some bounds, however, were set to this abuse, by fixing by law the *composition* or atonement to be paid for every injury (the *Weregild*). From aversion to inflicting capital punishment, the Church readily fell in with this custom. A solemn oath, and the so-called judgment of God, were the means adopted for leading judicial proof. Only a freeman who had not

previously been convicted of crime was allowed to take the *oath* of purgation; a husband might take it for his wife, a father for his children, or a master for his slave. Along with the person accused, his relatives, friends, and neighbours appeared as *compurgators* (conjuratores) to take the oath. Although they repeated the same formula as the party impeached, their oath was only intended as a personal guarantee for the truthfulness and honour of the accused. If, from any circumstance, this oath of purgation could not be taken, if there were no compurgators, or if other means of probation were awanting, resort was had to the *judgment of God* (Ordale). This was ascertained — 1. By *judicial combat*, which owed its origin to the old popular belief: "Deum adesse bellantibus." Only a freeman could demand this mode of trial. Old persons, women, children, and clerks might be represented by a proper substitute. 2. By various *experiments with fire*, such as holding the hand for some time in the fire, walking over a burning pile with no other dress on than a shirt, carrying a red-hot iron with the naked hand for nine paces, or walking barefoot over nine or twelve burning ploughshares. 3. By one of two *experiments with water*. The accused person had to fetch, with his naked arm, a ring or a stone out of a cauldron filled with boiling water; or he was thrown into the water with a rope round his body. If he sank, he was declared to have proved his innocence. 4. By the *experiment of the cross*. Each party stood before the cross with arms expanded; and the person who first became weary, and allowed his hands to droop, lost the cause. 5. By the *experiment with the Eucharist*, specially in disputes among ecclesiastics. It was thought that the guilty party would soon afterwards be struck by some manifestation of the Divine displeasure. The laity underwent the experiment with the *consecrated morsel* (judicium offæ), which the party impeached had to swallow at mass. 6. By the so-called "*judicium feretri*." The accused touched the wounds of the person murdered; if blood flowed from them, or foam from his mouth, it was held to establish guilt. — The implicit credence which the Church attached to so many legendary miracles, sprung from the same tendency which gave rise to these ordeals. It was, therefore, manifestly impossible for churchmen to combat such superstitions; at most, they could object to the pagan rites so frequently connected with them. But by sanctioning and regulating these trials, the Church no doubt contributed not a little to diminish the evils attendant upon them. *Agobard of Lyons* (*ob.* 840) was the first to denounce these practices as damnable superstitions. After that, the See of Rome also (since the pontificate of Nicholas I.) uniformly condemned every kind of appeal to the "judgment of God."—Among the different kinds of *peace* (*i. e.*, immunity of person, property, office, and duty), next to the *peace of the King*, that *of the Church* was most respected. For injuries to ecclesiastical personages and property, or offences committed in consecrated places, a threefold compensation was exacted. A bishop was

regarded as equal to a duke, and a common priest to a count.— (Comp. also *Robertson*, Charles V., First Section, and Notes 21, 22.)

5. *Ecclesiastical Discipline and Penances.* — In Germany, the State fully recognized the jurisdiction of the Church and its right to inflict punishment, so that an offence was considered expiated only when, besides the requirements of the secular, those of the ecclesiastical tribunal also had been satisfied. This gave rise to a system of regular episcopal visitations, called Sends (Synodus, from send?), which came into use during the reign of Charlemagne. The bishop was every year to visit the whole of his diocese, accompanied by a royal *Missus*, and, with the aid of *bailiffs* specially selected (from every congregation) and sworn, to institute a searching inquiry into the moral and religious state of every parish, and to punish the sins or misdemeanors brought to light. Both *Regino of Prüm* and *Hincmar of Rheims* composed instructions for conducting these visitations. — The State also lent its sanction and force to the sentences of *ecclesiastical excommunication*. *Pepin* enjoined that those who had been excommunicated should not enter a church, and prohibited Christians from eating and drinking with, or even saluting such persons. The *public* exercise of discipline was repugnant to German notions of propriety, and the Church generally yielded in this matter to popular feeling. The numerous Penitential books which date from this period, gave ample direction about the administration of discipline, and adopting the custom of judicial compensations, prescribed certain fines for every conceivable kind of offence. *Wasserschleben* has collected and edited all the documents of this character still extant ("The Penitential Books of the Western Church, with Hist. Introd." Halle 1851). They appear to have been generally constructed after the penitential order of *Theodore*, Archbishop *of Canterbury*. Manifestly, the fundamental idea of these arrangements implied an entire misunderstanding of Christian discipline; and their frequent contradictions, their confusedness and arbitrary regulations, led to very sad consequences. Even the rendering of the term *pœnitentia* by "penance," *i. e.*, compensation, shows how superficial were the views entertained by the Church on this important subject. Thus in the Penitential books, "pœnitere" is represented as entirely identical with "jejunare." But if the idea of *pœnitentia* once resolved itself into merely external acts, the penance of fasting might readily give place to other spiritual exercises. Again, if it was only requisite by some penance to make compensation for sins committed, the services of another might fairly be employed as a substitute for those of the guilty person. Accordingly, a system of redemption was gradually introduced, which involved utter disregard of all moral earnestness on the part of penitents. Thus, for example, the penitential books indicate how a rich man might, by hiring a sufficient number of persons to fast in his stead, in three days go through a course of seven years' penance, without incurring any personal trouble. This moral

decay led in the eighth and ninth centuries to determined opposition against penitential books, and the dangerous principles involved in their arrangement. The reaction commenced in Britain at the *Council of Cloveshove* in 747, and soon spread to the Continent, where it found vent at the Synods of Chalons in 813, of Paris in 829, and of Mayence in 847. The council of Paris ordered all penitential books to be delivered up and burnt. But their use was still retained.—At this period, *confession* was not yet regarded as incumbent on the faithful generally. In theory at least, it was still held that it sufficed to confess to God alone. But already the custom of confessing once a year — during Easter Quadragesima — seems to have been so general, that its omission was severely reprimanded at episcopal visitations. The *formula of absolution* adopted was only of a deprecatory, not of a judicial character.

§ 89. PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE FINE ARTS.

Wherever Arianism remained the creed in Germany, the services of the Church were no doubt conducted in the *vernacular*. But when these races joined the Catholic Church, Latin became the ecclesiastical language. Among the tribes which were converted to Christianity by Catholic missionaries, the use of Latin in the public services had from the first been introduced. The Slavonians alone were allowed to worship in their own language (§ 79, 1). — As the language, so also the *liturgy* of Rome was everywhere enforced, except within the diocese of Milan and in the Spanish Church. When *Pepin* entered into negotiations with the Papacy, he consented to have the forms of worship common among the Franks altered to suit the Romish model (745). For the same purpose Hadrian I. furnished *Charlemagne* with a Romish Sacramentarium, and that monarch insisted on having the desired uniformity carried out. At first sight, it may appear strange that the peculiar characteristics of the German mind should not have expressed themselves in corresponding modifications in the services of the Church. But it must be remembered that the Romish ritual, when imported into Germany, was not only in itself complete, but so constituted as scarcely to admit improvements of a fundamental character; and that, besides, the vernacular was excluded from the Liturgy, and the people really took no active part in the services. Where, as in this case, so much depends on the choice of expressions, the national mind could not find full or free utterance so long as the use of a foreign idiom was enforced.

1. *Liturgy and Preaching.*—Besides the Roman or *Gregorian*, other liturgies were in use; differing from it in some respects. Such was the attachment both of the people and clergy of Milan to their old *Ambrosian* Liturgy, that even Charlemagne was not strong enough to displace it; and to this day has Milan preserved its possession of this relic. Not less tenacious were the Spaniards in their adherence to their national or so-called *Mozarabic* Liturgy (§ 81, 1). In several points it resembled the Eastern liturgies; after having been recast and enlarged by Leander and Isidore of Seville, it was adopted throughout the Spanish Church by the national Synod of Toledo in 633. This similarity to Eastern liturgies is also noticeable in some of the older *Gallican* liturgies, before the time of the Carolingians.—Throughout the West, the SERMON always occupied a comparatively subordinate place in public worship. The intellectual decay subsequent on the migration of nations, almost banished it entirely from the services of the Church. But when, in the seventh century, the Latin Church addressed itself to missionary work, the great importance of sermons in diffusing the truth was deeply felt. Few, however, of the clergy were capable of composing sermons. *Charlemagne* therefore commissioned *Paulus Diaconus* (§ 90, 3), in 782, to collect from the writings of the Fathers a (Latin) Homiliarium for Sundays and feast-days, to serve as a model for similar compositions, or, where this could not be expected, to be read to the people either in the original or in translation. Of course the missionaries preached in the vernacular; in established congregations the sermon was mostly delivered in Latin. But *Charlemagne* and the synods of his time enjoined preaching, either in German or in the Romanic. (COMP. also *Johnson*, English Canons; *Maskell*, Ancient Liturgy.)

2. (CF. *Hoffmann* v. Fallersleb. Gesch. d. deutsch. Kirchenlieds bis auf Luther. 3 Aufl. Hann. 1854.—*A. Schubiger*, d. Sängerschule St. Galleus. Einfied. 1831.)—According to the rule laid down by Gregory, the *chanting* in churches was performed by the clergy. The ordinance of Charlemagne, that the people should at least take part in singing the "Gloria" and the Sanctus," was not obeyed. Between the seventh and the ninth centuries flourished a number of Latin hymn-writers, among whom we specially mention *Beda Venerabilis, Paul Warnefried, Theodulf of Orleans, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus.* The beautiful hymn for Pentecost, "Veni creator Spiritus," is commonly ascribed to Charlemagne himself. Instead of following, as formerly the tone and style of the classics, the religious compositions of that age became gradually more German and Christian in their spirit, being characterized by deep simplicity and genuine feeling. Towards the close of this period a considerable impulse was given to this species of compositions by the adoption of what were called SEQUENCES (sequentiæ) into the service of the Mass. Instead of the long series of notes without words—intended to indicate that the feelings were

too strong for expression (hence the term *Jubili*) — which formerly had followed upon the Hallelujah of the Mass, suitable rhythmical language in Latin *prose* was adopted, which by and by was cast into metre, rhyme, and stanzas. *Notker Balbulus*, a monk of St. Gall (*ob.* 912), was the first distinguished writer of sequences. — The only part which the people were allowed to take in the services of the Church was to sing, or rather to shout, the "Kyrie Eleison" in the Litany, and that only at extraordinary seasons, such as processions, pilgrimages, the transportation of relics, funerals, the consecration of churches, and other similar occasions. In Germany, during the second half of the ninth century, short verses in the vernacular were introduced at such times — the Kyrie Eleison forming the refrain of every stanza. This was the humble commencement of German hymnology. The only monument of this kind of poetry still extant from that period is a hymn in honour of St. Peter, composed in the old high German dialect. — The Ambrosian CHANT (§ 59, 3) had entirely given place to the *Gregorian* (the so-called Cantus firmus or choralis). When Stephen II. visited France in 754, *Pepin* ordered that the Romish chant should be universally adopted. To this injunction *Charlemagne* gave general effect throughout the West, by entirely abolishing the Ambrosian chant, by instituting excellent singing-schools at Metz, Soissons, Orleans, Paris, Lyons, and in other places, over which he placed musicians sent from Rome for the special purpose, and by introducing music as a branch of education in all the higher schools throughout the Empire. The first ORGAN brought to France was that which the Byzantine Emperor Copronymus presented to Pepin in 757. A second organ was given to Charlemagne by the Emperor Michael I. and placed in the church at Aix-la-Chapelle. After that it was gradually introduced throughout the Church. But these instruments were still very imperfect; they had only from nine to twelve notes, and the keys were so ill constructed that they required to be struck with the fist.

3. *The Sacrifice of the Mass.* — The idea of a sacrifice attaching to the Eucharist, which led to the celebration of masses for the benefit of the dead (§ 58, 3), *i. e.*, for alleviating and shortening the torments of purgatory, was gradually developed and applied to other purposes. Thus private masses were celebrated for the success of any undertaking, as for the restoration of a sick person, for favourable weather, etc. This increase of masses was somewhat limited by the enactment, that only one mass might be celebrated at the same altar and by the same priest in one day. The desire to secure as many masses as possible after death, gave rise to associations of churches and monasteries on the covenant that a certain number of masses should be said in all these churches and monasteries for every member of the association that died. The idea of such fraternities — into which, by special favour, kings, princes, and lords were sometimes received — seems to have originated with St. Boniface.

4. Among the Germans THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS was in great repute, especially as they served as substitutes for the displaced deities of former days. Far above the other saints towered in popular esteem the Mother of God, the fair and gracious Queen of Heaven -- the full ideal of woman, that object of ancient veneration among the Germans. Partly from the want of images, and partly from national dislike, THE WORSHIP PAID TO IMAGES was little in vogue in the German Church. Indeed, during the time of the Carolingians, the Frankish Church formally protested against such services (§ 92, 1). But all the greater was the zeal displayed in THE WORSHIP OF RELICS, in which the saint reappeared, as it were, in concrete and bodily form. Innumerable relics existed in the West, supplied partly from the inexhaustible treasury at Rome, and partly from the band of zealous missionary martyrs, from the solitudes of hermits, or even from monasteries and episcopal sees. The bones of these saints were the objects of enthusiastic veneration. When a church or a monastery acquired a new relic, the whole country rejoiced in the accession; the concourse of multitudes, and an abundant harvest in the shape of donations by the pious, attended the deposition of the prized memorial in the crypt of the sanctuary. In the ninth century the Frankish monastery of Centula boasted of a large quantity of such relics; among them, memorials from the grave of the Innocents at Bethlehem, part of the milk of the Virgin, of the beard of St. Peter, of his casula, of the Orarium of St. Paul, nay, even of the wood with which Peter was about to construct the three tabernacles on Mount Tabor. — Among the Germans, and especially the Anglo-Saxons, who were so fond of travelling, the PRACTICE OF MAKING PILGRIMAGES was very general. The favourite places for such devotions were the tombs of the princes of the apostles at Rome, the grave of St. Martin at Tours, and, towards the close of this period, that of St. Jago de Compostella (Jacobus Apostolus the Elder, the supposed founder of the Spanish Church, whose bones were discovered by Alphonse the Chaste). But the demoralizing influences attendant on these pilgrimages, which formed subject of complaint even in older times, were painfully felt. Accordingly, St. Boniface insisted that his countrywomen should be prohibited joining them, since they only served to provide loose women for the towns of Gaul and Italy. — The idea of PATRON ANGELS proved specially attractive to the Germans. More particularly did they accord their sympathies to Michael, the knightly Archangel, who had defeated the great dragon.

5. *Ecclesiastical Seasons and Places.* — Besides the Easter *Quadragesima*, another was introduced after Pentecost, and a third before Christmas. The ecclesiastical year now commenced at Christmas, instead of Easter. In the ninth century, the Feast of *All-Saints* (§ 57, 1), which at first had been only celebrated at Rome, was observed throughout the Church. — In consequence of the number of relics and the increase of masses, additional *altars* were erected in the churches.

Charlemagne enjoined them to be limited to the number actually required. The HIGH ALTAR stood unsupported in the centre of the niche in the choir. The other altars were either placed in juxtaposition or supported by pillars. Pulpits and confessionals had not yet been introduced into churches. Special baptistries adjoined those churches in which the sacred rite was administered (§ 84, 2). But when this privilege was extended to all churches, *a baptismal font* was placed at the left side of the principal entrance, or at the point where the nave was crossed by the transept. This change contributed to the general introduction of the practice of sprinkling instead of immersion in baptism. *Bells and towers* were common; the latter stood at first by themselves, but since the time of Charlemagne they were connected with the main building. *Charlemagne* prohibited the *christening of bells*, but the practice still continued.

6. During the domination of the Ostrogoths, the *Fine Arts* were chiefly cultivated on the other side, during that of the Carolingians on this side, the Alps. On the British Isle also, considerable attention was paid to their cultivation. The German monasteries of St. Gall and Fulda bore, in the ninth century, the palm in artistic taste. Thus *Tutilo*, a monk of St. Gall (*ob.* 912), was greatly distinguished as an architect, painter, sculptor, poet, and general *savant*. The old Roman Basilica still formed the model for ecclesiastical architecture. At Ravenna—the Byzantium of Italy—some splendid churches were built in the Byzantine style during the domination of the Goths. *Einhard* was the favourite architect of Charlemagne. Among the various churches built by that monarch, the Münster of Aix-la-Chapelle, constructed after the model of these Ravenna churches, is the most beautiful. Being intended to serve as royal chapel, it was connected with the palace by a colonnade. For the same reason, it was originally of moderate size; but being also used for coronations, it was enlarged in 1355 by the addition of the grand principal choir, in the Gothic style. The ceremonies of the Church tended to the promotion of the *plastic arts*. as costly shrines were required for relics; and the crucifixes, candlesticks, ciboria, censers, and other vessels, called forth the skill of artists. The liturgical books were covered with boards elaborately carved, and the doors of churches, the stalls of bishops, reading-desks, and baptismal fonts adorned with decorations in relief. Among the various kinds of pictorial representations, miniature painting was employed in adorning copies of ecclesiastical books.—(COMP. *G. Kinkel*, Gesch. d. bildenden Künste. I. Bonn 1845.—*E. Förster*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Kunst. Leips. 1851–55. 3 Vols.)

§ 90. STATE OF SCIENCE AND OF THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Comp. *J. C. F. Bähr*, Gesch. d. rom. Liter. im karoling. Zeitalter. Karlsr. 1840.

So long as Arianism continued the creed of the German races, independent scientific pursuits seem not to have been followed, with the exception of those of *Ulfilas*. But *Theodoric*, the generous monarch of the Ostrogoths, patronized and distinguished the representatives of ancient Roman literature. Among them *Boethius* and *Cassiodorus* have the merit of preserving the remnants of classical and patristic learning in Italy. A similar service *Isidore* of Seville (*ob.* 636) performed for Spain, and his works were for centuries used also on the other side of the Pyrenees as text-books and guides for students. The numerous *monasteries of Scotland and Ireland* were, till late in the ninth century, equally famed for the extensive learning and the deep piety of their inmates. The learned Greek monk, *Theodore of Tarsus*, whom the Pope elevated to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury (*ob.* 690), and his companion *Hadrian*, awakened among the Anglo-Saxons an ardent zeal for the prosecution of learned investigations, while *Beda Venerabilis*, though he never left his monastery, was regarded, throughout the Western Church, as a leading authority. For a time the Northmen pirates swept away the traces of this high civilization, till *Alfred the Great* (871 to 901) again restored it. This monarch, equally great in peace and in war, distinguished as a general, a statesman, and a legislator, and renowned both as a poet and prose writer, raised the literature of his country to a height never before attained—though, unfortunately, only for a time. In *Gaul*, *Gregory of Tours* (*ob.* 595) was the last representative of Roman ecclesiastical lore. After him came that chaos which only under the reign of Charlemagne (768 to 814) gave place to a new day, of which the light shone throughout the West. The encouragement which that monarch gave to literature dates from the period of his first visit to Italy, in 774. There he made the acquaintance of such men as *Petrus of Pisa*, *Paul Warnefried*, *Paulinus of Aquileja*, and *Theodulf of Orleans*, whom he attached to his court. From the year 782, *Alcuin*, an Anglo-Saxon "Levite," was the leading spirit at the Frankish court. Charlemagne had

made his acquaintance the year before in Italy. Study now became one of the main pursuits, which even the royal family, the court, and all connected with it, encouraged or followed; but among these noble scholars, Charlemagne himself was the most zealous and docile pupil of Alcuin. At the *court school* (schola palatina), which, like the court itself, was migratory, the sons and daughters of the king received, along with the children of the noblest families in the empire, a liberal education. From England, Ireland, and Italy, continual additions were made to the staff of teachers employed in it. At last Charlemagne issued, in 787, a circular letter addressed to all the bishops and abbots of his empire, in which, under pain of his royal displeasure, he commanded that schools should be attached to all monasteries and cathedral churches. And, in truth, the result of these measures was most encouraging, although as yet the course of study was limited to the acquisition of classical or patristic lore, to the neglect of anything like national literature. The great, the liberal, and patriotic mind of Charlemagne perceived, indeed, the importance of encouraging the growth of a national literature; but, with the exception of Paul Warnefried, his other learned advisers had lost every sympathy with the spirit, the language, and the nationality of Germany. They even regarded such studies as endangering Christianity and encouraging the spread of former heathen notions; hence their influence was rather in the way of discouraging these views of their monarch. —The weak administration of Louis the Pious (814 to 840), disturbed as it was by party fights and civil wars, was far from favourable to the promotion of science; but as yet the fruits of his father's labours had not disappeared. *Lothair*, his son, issued an edict by which the scholastic arrangements of Italy were entirely reorganized, and indeed completely remodelled. But that country, with its factions and tumults, was not the place where such institutions could for any length of time prosper. It was otherwise in France, where, under the reign of *Charles the Bald* (840–877), a new period was inaugurated. At his court, as at that of his grandfather, the choice spirits of the West gathered; under the guidance of *Johannes Erigena*, a Scotchman, the court-school rose rapidly; the cathedral and monastic schools of France emulated the most celebrated institutions of Germany (such as St. Gall, Fulda, Reichenau, etc.); and the French sees were occupied by men of the most extensive learn-

ing. But after the death of Charles this high state of cultivation rapidly disappeared, and, amidst the troubles of that period, gave place to deep ignorance, confusion, and barbarism.

1. It was the primary object of these monastic and cathedral schools, to train persons for the Church. The writings of Cassiodorus, of Isidore, Beda, and Alcuin, were the manuals and text-books chiefly in use. The inmates of monasteries were in the habit of making careful copies of books, for the purpose of founding libraries and of multiplying celebrated works. Alcuin arranged all knowledge under three branches, viz., Ethics, Physics, and Theology. His Ethics included what was afterwards designated as *Trivium* (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics); Physics corresponded to the later *Quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy); both together constituting what were called the Liberal Arts. Conversation and instruction were to be carried on in Latin. In the higher schools Greek, of which Theodore of Tarsus and his pupils had promoted the study, was also taught. Acquaintance with Hebrew was a more rare accomplishment; some scholars obtained a knowledge of it by intercourse with learned Jews. The writings of Boethius were the principal source for the study of philosophy; Plato and Aristotle were known, however, to some extent, and in the ninth century the Byzantine Emperor Michael presented Louis the Pious (§ 92, 1) with a copy of the so-called writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. He was regarded as the same Dionysius who had founded the Church of Paris, and on this ground his writings, even when not understood, were vaunted. *Hilduin*, Abbot of St. Denis, and afterwards Johannes Erigena, translated them into Latin.—*Isidore of Seville* and *Rabanus Maurus* composed encyclopædias which embodied a summary of the lore of their times. The work of Isidore, which bears the title of Originum s. Etymologiarum Ll. XX., is a remarkable monument of industry and comprehensive learning. Almost the same meed of praise is due to the Ll. XXII. de Universo, by Rabanus. Both writers group theology along with the other sciences.

2. The following were the most celebrated *Theologians before the time of the Carolingians:*

(1.) Gregory of Tours, the scion of a noble Roman family. While on a pilgrimage to the grave of St. Martin, to implore the removal of a disease (in 573), he was elevated to the See of Tours, which he occupied to his death (*ob.* 595). His family connections, his office, his character, learning, and piety, contributed to make him one of the most celebrated men of his time. Posterity is indebted to his writings for its knowledge of public and private affairs at the time of the Merovingians. (Best edition by *Th. Ruinart.* Par. 1699 f. Comp. also *J. W. Loebell*, Gregor von Tours u. s. Zeit. Leipz. 1869.)

(2.) Isidore of Seville (Hispalensis), the scion of a distinguished Gothic family, who succeeded *Leander*, his brother, in the archiepisco-

pal See of Hispalis (*ob.* 636). He composed excellent and careful compilations, in which information and fragments not otherwise known are preserved. For his cotemporaries he did a more important service, by making the German Church acquainted with classical and patristic lore. (Best ed. by *F. Arevalo.* Rom. 1797. 7 Voll. 4.)

(3.) BEDA VENERABILIS, an Anglo-Saxon, educated in the monastery of Wearmouth, which he afterwards left for that of Jarrow, where he died in 735. His fame for learning, in all branches of science known at the time, was very great. These acquirements were combined with great modesty, piety, and amiability. While his numerous disciples attained the highest posts in the Church, Beda himself continued in quiet retirement, a simple monk, satisfied with this his chosen lot. Even on his death-bed he was engaged in teaching and writing; and immediately before he expired, he dictated the last chapter of an Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospel according to John. (Best ed. of his writings by *J. A. Giles.* London 1843.)

3. The most eminent theologian during the reign of *Charlemagne* (768–814) was an anglo-Saxon, ALCUIN (Albinus), surnamed *Flaccus.* He was trained in the celebrated academy of York, under Egbert and Elbert. When the latter was elevated to the archiepiscopal see, Alcuin became president of this academy. On a journey to Rome (781), he was introduced to the notice of Charlemagne, who invited him to his court, where he became the teacher, friend, and most intimate adviser of the monarch. To the period of his death (in 804), he continued the king's great authority in all religious, ecclesiastical, and scholastic questions. In 790 he went as ambassador to his own country, whence he returned in 792, no more to leave France. In 796 Charlemagne bestowed on him the Abbacy of Tours; and the school connected with it became henceforth the most celebrated in the empire.—(Best ed. of his writings by Frobenius. 2 Voll. f. 1777.—COMP. *Fr. Lorentz,* Life of Alcuin transl. by *J. M. Slee,* London 1839.—*F. Mounier,* Alcuin. Par. 1853.)—After Alcuin, the most learned man of that age was PAULUS DIACONUS (son of) WARNEFRID, a Langobard of noble family, and chancellor of King Desiderius. From grief over the decay of his own country, he retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino, whence Charlemagne drew him to his court in 774. His attainments were vaunted as those of a Homer in Greek, of a Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus in Latin, and of a Philo in Hebrew. But love to his country induced him to return to his monastery (in 787), where he died at a very advanced age. The story of his having conspired against Charlemagne, and being sent into exile, is devoid of historical foundation. It deserves special notice that this learned and amiable man was also distinguished for qualities rare in his time, such as openness, enthusiastic admiration of the language, the national legends, the poetry, and the ancient laws and customs of his own people. Besides these two divines, the names of PAULINUS, Patriarch of Aquileia, a native of Friaul (*ob.* 804), of LEIDRAD *of*

Lyons (*ob.* 813), and of THEODULF of Orleans, deserve particular notice. The latter acquired fame, not only as a poet and a man of learning, but from his zeal in establishing elementary schools. Under the reign of Louis the Pious, he was accused of traitorous communications with Bernard of Italy, deposed and exiled (in 817), but afterwards pardoned. He died before again reaching his own diocese (in 821).

4. The following were the most celebrated theologians under the reign of *Louis the Pious* (814–840).

(1.) AGOBARD OF LYONS, by birth a Spaniard, *ob.* as Bishop of Lyons in 840. His anxiety for preserving the unity of the empire, and his position as chief of the national party among the Frankish clergy, implicated him in the conspiracy against Louis the Pious, in consequence of which he was deposed and exiled (835). Two years afterwards he obtained the royal pardon. Agobard was a man of rare mental endowments and learning; withal a keen opponent of ecclesiastical and other superstitions (§ 92, 2).

(2.) CLAUDIUS, BISHOP OF TURIN (*ob.* 840), also a Spaniard, and a pupil of Felix of Urgellis (§ 91, 1); whose heretical views, however, he did not share; well known as a bold reformer. — (Comp. § 92, 2).

(3.) JONAS OF ORLEANS, the successor of Theodulf (*ob.* 844), one of the most renowned prelates of his age, who completely succeeded in restoring discipline and order in his own diocese.

(4.) AMALARIUS, a priest of Metz (comp. § 84, 4).

(5.) CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, a monk of Corbey, and celebrated as at the time the only advocate of a grammatical and historical exegesis.

(6.) WALAFRID STRABO, teacher and Abbot of Reichenau (*ob.* 849).

(7.) FREDEGIS, an Anglo-Saxon, who came with Alcuin from England, and succeeded him both in the school and Abbacy of Tours, — a man whose philosophical investigations constitute him in a certain sense the precursor of mediæval scholasticism.

5. The following were the most celebrated theologians during the reign of *Charles the Bald* (840–877).

(1.) RABANUS MAGNENTIUS MAURUS, the descendant of an ancient Roman family which had early settled in Germany, and a pupil of Alcuin, who designated him St. Maurus (§ 85). He was first a teacher, then became Abbot of Fulda, and finally Archbishop of Mayence (*ob.* 856). Maurus was the most learned man of his age, and under his tuition the academy of Fulda rose to highest distinction. — (COMP. *N. Bach*, Arab. Maur., der Schöpfer d. deutsch. Schulwesens (Rab. Maur., the Originator of the Schol. System in Germ.). Fulda 1835. — *Fr. Kunstmann*, Arab. Magn. Maur. Mayence 1841).

(2.) HINCMAR OF RHEIMS, (comp. § 83, 1). (Best ed. of his writings by *J. Sirmond.* Par. 1645. 2 Voll. f.).

(3.) PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, from 844 Abbot of Corbey, an office which he resigned in 851, when he dedicated himself exclusively to

studies and writing (*ob.* 865). Despite occasional ultraisms, he was deservedly celebrated (§ 91, 3).

(4.) RATRAMNUS, a monk of Corbey, the opponent of Radbertus; a clear and acute thinker, but somewhat rationalistic in his views.

(5.) FLORUS MAGISTER, a clerk at Lyons, celebrated both for his learning and for the share he took along with Agobard in certain controversies.

(6.) HAYMO. Bishop of Halberstadt, a friend and class-mate of Rabanus.

(7.) SERVATUS LUPUS, Abbot of Ferrières, a deep and independent thinker, distinguished alike for his interest in science and in public instruction.

(8.) PRUDENTIUS of Troyes.

(9.) ANASTASIUS, papal librarian at Rome.

(10.) REGINO, Abbot of Prüm (*ob.* 915); and lastly, that enigma and wonder of his time, JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA. He was born in England. Like a brilliant meteor, he appears at the court of Charles the Bald; like a meteor he disappeared; and no one knew whence he came, or whither he went. He was undoubtedly the most learned man, and the deepest, boldest, and most independent thinker of his time. His speculations have not been surpassed for centuries before or after him. Had he lived three centuries later, he might have occasioned a complete revolution in the learned world; but in his own time he was neither understood nor appreciated, and scarcely deemed even worthy of being declared a heretic. The latter omission, however, was rectified by the Church after the lapse of three and a half centuries (§ 108, 2). For further details see below, Note 7.—(COMP. *F. A. Staudenmaier*, J. Sc. Erig. u. d. Wiss. sr. Zeit. Frankf. 1834.—*M. Taillandier*, Sc. Erigène et la philos. scholast. Strassb. 1843.—*N. Möller*, J. Sc. Erig. u. d. Wissensch. s. Z. Frankft. 1834.—*A. Torstrick*, Phil. Erigenæ. Gött. 1844; and *Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Phil. Voll. III.—*N. Möller*, J. Sc. Erig. u. s. Irrthümer. Mayence 1844).

6. *The theological* investigations of the German Church at that time were specially directed to the immediate wants of the Church, and hence chiefly of a practical character. Withal, such was the reverence paid to the Fathers, that, whenever practicable, their words and thoughts were employed in teaching, writing, preaching, demonstrating, and refuting. But the reformatory movement initiated under Charlemagne led, in the domain of theological science, also to greater freedom; while the controversies of the ninth century necessitated independent thinking, and gradually inspired theological writers with greater confidence.—Among the various branches of theology, most attention was paid to EXEGESIS, although commentators still confined themselves to making notes on the *Vulgate*. Charlemagne commissioned Alcuin to make a critical revision of its text, which had been greatly corrupted.

The first to oppose the theory of a mechanical inspiration was *Agobard of Lyons*. He started from the principle, that the prophets had not been merely passive instruments like Balaam's ass, and that only the *sensus prædicationis* and *modi vel argumenta dictionum*, but not the *corporalia verba*, had been inspired by the Holy Ghost. One only among the numerous exegetical writers of that age, *Christian Druthmar*, perceived that it was the first and most important work of an interpreter to ascertain the grammatical and historical meaning of the text. All other interpreters set lightly by the literal meaning of the text, while they sought to discover the treasures of Divine wisdom by an allegorical, tropical, and anagogic interpretation. After Druthmar, it was probably *Paschasius Radbertus* who devoted greatest attention to a calm investigation of the literal meaning of Scripture. Besides these, the most celebrated exegetical authors at that time were *Beda Venerabilis*, *Alcuin*, *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Walafrid Strabo*, whose "Glossæ ordinariæ" formed, on account of their convenient size (next to the more full commentaries of Rabanus), the exegetical manual in common use during the Middle Ages. The work, however, contains little that is original, by far the greater part being derived from the Latin Fathers.

7. In the study of *Systematic Theology*, proportionally least attention was bestowed upon *apologetics*. Though the illiterate character of the *heathen* around called not for any elaborate refutation of their superstitions, this remark applies not either to *Mohammedanism* or to *Judaism*. In Spain, a large number of Jews were obliged to submit to baptism, or else expelled; but in the Frankish Empire, especially under the reign of Louis the Pious, wealth and briberies ensured them ample protection. Thus encouraged, they not only prohibited their Jewish and heathen slaves from being baptized, but obliged their Christian servants to observe the Sabbath, to work on the Lord's day, and to eat meat during Lent. Occasionally they even openly blasphemed the name of Christ, derided the Church, and sold Christian slaves to the Saracens. *Agobard of Lyons* was very active in opposing them, by his preaching, writings, and measures; but they enjoyed the protection of the court. *Isidore* of Seville and *Rabanus Maurus* also refuted their distinctive tenets. — The department of *polemical theology* was more fully cultivated than that of apologetics, especially since the time of Charlemagne (comp. §§ 91, 92).—In his Ll. III. Sententiarum, *Isidore of Seville* collected from the writings of the Fathers a system of dogmatics and ethics, which for several centuries continued the text-book in use. Another manual of dogmatics, chiefly derived from the writings of Augustine, was *Alcuin's* Ll. III. de fide sanctæ et individuæ trinitatis.—Philosophical mysticism, which was first introduced by the writings of the so-called Areopagite, was represented by Johannes Scotus Erigena, a mind far in advance of his age. Following up the gnosticism of the school of Origen, the theosophic mysticism of the

Areopagite, and the dialectics of Maximus Confessor, his work "De Divisione Naturæ" embodied a system of speculative theology of vast dimensions. Though Erigena felt anxiously desirous to retain the fundamental doctrines of the Church, his system, from first to last, was one great heterodoxy. He started from the principle, that true theology and true philosophy were essentially the same, and differed only in point of form. Faith had to do with the truth as "theologia affirmativa" (καταφατική), revealed in the Bible, and handed down by the Church in a metaphorical and figurative garb, and in a manner adapted to the limited capacity of the multitude. It was the task of reason to strip off this envelope (theologia negativa, ἀποφατική), and, by means of speculation, to convert faith into knowledge. The peculiar title of the work was intended to express its fundamental idea, viz., that nature—*i. e.*, the sum of everything existent and non-existent (as the necessary opposite of what existed)—manifested itself in a fourfold manner, as natura creatrix non creata (*i. e.*, God as the potential sum of all existence and non-existence), natura creatrix creata (*i. e.*, the eternal thoughts of God as the grand eternal types of everything created, the source and medium of which is the Logos), natura creata non creans (the eternal, invisible, and ideal world), and natura nec creata nec creans (*i e.*, God as the final end of everything created, to which, after all antagonisms have been overcome, everything created returns in the ἀποκατάστασις τῶν παντῶν). It is evident that this system must speedily have merged into Pantheism; but in the case of Erigena himself genuine Christian feeling seems to have prevented these consequences, and he was anxiously desirous of preserving at least the fundamental truths of Christian Theism.

8. The *Homiletic* literature of that period was comparatively very scanty. Besides the Homiliarius of *Paul Warnefrid* (§ 89, 1), only *Bede*, *Walafrid*, *Rabanus*, and *Haymo* appear to have been known as writers of original sermons. But the *Theory of Worship* (its description and mystical interpretation) attracted considerable attention. The first work of this kind was that of *Isidore*, "de officiis ecclesiasticis." Charlemagne invited his theologians to discuss the import of the rites connected with baptism. During the reign of Louis the Pious, *Agobard of Lyons* proposed to reform the Liturgy, and defended himself with considerable vehemence in several tractates against the attacks of *Amalarius of Metz*, whose liturgical work (de officiis ecclesiasticis) he sharply criticised. *Florus Magister* (de actione Missarum) also entered the lists against Amalarius. Of other important works on this subject, we mention those of *Rabanus* (de institutione Clericorum), of *Walafrid* (de exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum), and of *Remigius of Auxerre* (expositio Missæ). The great authority on questions connected with ecclesiastical law and church-politics was *Hincmar* of Rheims, and next to him *Agobard* and *Regino* of Prüm (§ 88, 5).

9. The scanty knowledge of ancient *Church History* which theologians possessed, was solely derived from the works of Rufinus and Cassiodorus. The ecclesiastical history of *Haymo* consists only of a compilation from Rufinus. All the more diligent were writers throughout the Middle Ages in chronicling the current political and ecclesiastical events, and in recording those which had taken place within the memory of man. To these labours we owe a threefold kind of literature: — 1. That of NATIONAL *historians*. Thus the Visigoths had an *Isidore* (Hist. Gothorum, Hist. Vandal. et Suevorum); the Ostrogoths a *Cassiodorus* (Ll. XII. de reb. gestis Gothorum — a work which unfortunately has been lost; or at least only preserved in extracts, in the tractate of *Jornandes*, in 550, de Getarum orig. et reb. gestis); the Langobards a *Paul Warnefrid* (Ll. VI. de gestis Langobardorum); the Franks a *Gregory of Tours* (Hist. eccles. Francorum); the Britons a *Gildas* (about 560): Liber querulus de excidio Britanniæ) and a *Nennius* (Eulogium Brittanniæ s. hist. Britonum, about 850); and the Anglo-Saxons a *Bede* (Hist. eccles. gentis Anglorum). 2. ANNALS or CHRONICLES, chiefly composed in monasteries, and continued from year to year. 3. BIOGRAPHIES of prominent political or ecclesiastical personages. Among the former, the most important are the Vita Caroli M., by *Einhard*, and the Vitæ Ludovici Pii, by *Theganus*, by *Nithard*, and by an anonymous writer commonly designated as *Astronomus*. The number of *Vitæ Sanctorum*, compiled in a most credulous spirit, chiefly in honour of local saints, was very great. In the same class we also reckon the numerous martyrologies, generally arranged according to the calendar. The best known of these compositions were compiled by *Bede*, *Ado* of Vienne, *Usuardus*, *Rabanus*, *Notker Balbulus*, and *Wandelbert*. The Miraculorum hist., by *Gregory of Tours*, deserves special mention. Books III. to VI. give an account of the miracles of St. Martin; while Book VII. (de vitis patrum) describes the lives of other twenty-three Frankish saints. — The Biographies of the Popes in the Liber pontificalis of *Anastasius* the Librarian, the Historia Mettensium Episcoporum by *Paulus Warnefrid*, and the continuation of Jerome's Catalogus s. de ecclesiast. scriptoribus by *Isidore*, deserve to be ranked among more solid historical contributions.

§ 91. DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE AND DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES.

COMP. *C. G. Fr. Walch*, hist. Adoptianorum, Gottg. 1755, and his "Ketzerhist." (Hist. of Heret.); against him: *Frobenius*, Diss. in his ed. of Alcuin.—*J. G. Walch*, Hist. controversiæ Græcorum et Latin. de process. Spir. s. Jenæ 1751.— *G. Mauguin* (a Jansenist), Vett. auctorum, qui in Sec. IX. de prædest. scripserunt opera et fragmenta. Par. 1650. 2 Voll. 4to; with hist. dissert. Against him: *L. Cellot* (a Jesuit), Hist. Gotteschalci. Par. 1655. *Jac. Usserii*, Gotteschalci et controversiæ ab eo motæ hist. Dubl. 1631. 4to.

The first important heresy of Germanic origin (at the time of Charlemagne) was that to which the name of *Adoptionism* has been given, and which originated in Spain. Following up the doctrine about the person of Christ, as it had been defined by the sixth Œcumenical Council of Constantinople in 680 (§ 52, 8), it was argued that the idea of a twofold nature and of a twofold will implied also that of a twofold Sonship. But the Frankish divines regarded this innovation not as a further development of the doctrine in question, but apostacy into Nestorianism, and accordingly carried its condemnation.—About the same time the doctrine of the *procession of the Holy Spirit* became the subject of discussion, when the Frankish Church defended orthodox truth against the objections of Eastern theologians.—Several controversies took place during the reign of Charles the Bald. In the *Eucharistic Controversy*, the principal Frankish divines opposed the views of Radbertus about transubstantiation Connected with this was another discussion about the *parturition of the Virgin.* On neither of these questions did the Church give any formal or synodical deliverance. It was otherwise in reference to the *controversy about predestination*, which soon afterwards broke out. Although discussed in councils, the question was not finally settled. Of less importance was the controversy about the appropriateness of the expression "*trina Deitas.*"

1. *The Adoptionist Controversy* (785–818).—Of all the doctrines of Christianity, none was so repugnant to Moslem feelings, or excited their ridicule more than that of the Divine Sonship of Christ. It was probably with the view of meeting these Moslem objections that a number of Spanish bishops, headed by *Elipandus*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and *Felix*, Bishop of *Urgellis*, addressed themselves anew to the elucidation of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. These divines held that Christ was *properly the Son of God* (*filius Dei naturâ* or *genere*) only in reference to His divinity; in reference to His humanity He was properly a *servant* of God, as all of us, and only *adopted* as *Son* (*filius Dei adoptivus*) by the determination of God, just as all of us are by Him, and after His similitude to be transformed from servants to children of God. Hence, according to His Divine nature, He was the ONLY-*begotten*, according to His human nature the FIRST-*begotten* Son of God. This adoption of His human nature into Sonship had commenced at His conception by the Holy Ghost, appeared more fully at His baptism, and had been completed at the resurrection. The controversy occasioned by these views first broke out in Spain. Two representatives of the Esturian clergy (? 81), *Beatus*, a presbyter of Libana, and *Ethe-*

rius, Bishop of Osma, attacked the views of Elipandus both by word and writing (785). The doctrinal divergence between these divines probably received a keener edge by the desire of emancipating the Esturian Church from the See of Toledo, which was still subject to Saracen rule. The Esturians appealed to Pope *Hadrian I.*, who, in an encyclical addressed to the bishops of Spain, condemned Adoptionism as essentially akin to the Nestorian heresy (786). Another stage of this controversy commenced with the interference of *Charlemagne*, occasioned by the circumstance that Adoptionism was rapidly spreading in the portion of Spain subject to his sceptre. Most probably he gladly seized this opportunity of coming before the West in the character of Protector of Orthodoxy, and hence as Emperor *in spe*. At the *Synod of Ratisbon* in 792, Felix was obliged to abjure his heresy, and was sent to Pope *Hadrian I.* In Rome he was made to repeat his recantation; but escaped from captivity and gained Saracen territory. Meantime *Alcuin* had returned from his journey to England, and immediately took part in the controversy by addressing to Felix a kind, monitory letter. To this the Spaniards replied in strong language, when *Charlemagne* convoked the celebrated *Synod of Frankfort* (794), at which Adoptionism was again fully discussed and condemned. The judgment of the Synod was accompanied by four detailed memorials (to represent the different national churches and authorities — in order to give it an œcumenical character). Although dispatched with such formalities to Spain, it produced little impression. No greater was the success of a learned controversial work by Alcuin, to which Felix replied in a clever tractate. Meantime Charlemagne had sent a commission, with *Leidrad* of Lyons and *Benedict* of Aniane at its head, into Spain, in order to put an end to the spread of this heresy. The commissioners persuaded Felix to submit to a second investigation. At the great council *held at Aix-la-Chapelle* in 799 he disputed for six days with Alcuin, and at the close declared himself perfectly convinced. *Alcuin* and *Paulinus* of Aquileja now published controversial tractates on the subject; and *Leidrad* went a second time into Spain, where he succeeded in almost extirpating the heresy from the Frankish provinces But the bishops who were subject to Saracen rule continued to defend these opinions; and when Alcuin addressed a flattering and conciliatory letter to Elipandus, the latter replied in the most violent and coarse language. *Felix* was, till his death in 818, committed to the charge of the Bishop of Lyons. *Agobard*, the successor of Leidrad, found among his papers clear evidence that Felix had to the end continued in heart an adoptionist. Agobard now published another controversial tractate, which happily proved the last written on the subject. In Spain Proper, also, Adoptionism became extinct, with the death of its leading representatives.

2. *Controversy about the Procession of the Holy Ghost.*—At the *Synod of Gentilly* in 767, held for the purpose of meeting a Byzantine em

bassy in connection with the iconoclastic controversy, the question of the enlargement of the Creed by the addition of the expression "*filioque*" (§ 50, 6; 67, 1) was also discussed. The result of this conference is not known. At the time of Charlemagne, *Alcuin* and *Theodulf* wrote special tractates in defence of the Latin view. At the *Synod held in Friaul* in 791, *Paulinus* of Aquileia vindicated the insertion of the expression in the Creed — a view also defended by the Caroline books (§ 92). The question was discussed anew, when the Latin monks on Mount Olivet appealed to the practice of the Frankish Church in reply to the attacks of the Greeks. *Pope Leo III.* communicated on the subject with Charlemagne, and a *Council held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in* 809, gave its solemn sanction to the addition. But although the Pope did not question the correctness of this tenet, he disapproved of the alteration of the Creed. Accordingly, he erected in the Church of St. Peter two silver tablets, on which the Creed was engraved *without* the addition — manifestly as a kind of protest against the ecclesiastical interferences of the Emperor.

3. *Controversies of Paschasius Radbertus.* — I. EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY (844). — (Cf. *Ebrard u. Kahnis*, § 33. — *A. W. Dieckhoff* die Abendmahlsl. im Reformationszeit. Göttg. 1854. Bd. I.—*L. J. Rückert*, d. Abendmahlstreit im M. A., in Hilgenfeld's Ztschr. für wschl. Theol. 1858, I., II.) — So late as the ninth century the views of theologians concerning the Eucharist were expressed in ambiguous terms (§ 58, 2). But in 831, *Paschasius Radbertus*, a monk of Corbey, wrote a treatise, "De sanguine et corpore Domini," for the purpose of proving that the elements were completely changed—an opinion which, even before his time, had been current in ecclesiastical practice and in popular belief. The work of Radbertus breathes a spirit of genuine piety; manifestly, it was his chief aim to present the deep import of this sacrament in all its fulness, power, and depth. Withal, the treatise was popularly written. Already the author could, in the course of his argumentation, appeal to a number of supposed facts in the "Vitis Sanctorum," in which this internal *veritas* had also become outwardly manifest. For the circumstance that such was not always the case, he accounted on the ground that the Eucharist was intended to be a *mysterium* for faith, and not a *miraculum* for unbelief; as also, on that of the Divine condescension, which had regard to the infirmity of man and his shrinking from flesh and blood, and which, besides, would cut off all occasion for the heathen to blaspheme. The treatise at first remained unnoticed. But when Radbertus became Abbot of Corbey, he recast and handed it to *Charles the Bald* in 844. This monarch commissioned Ratramnus, a learned monk of Corbey, to express his opinion on the question; and the latter gladly seized the opportunity of controverting the statements of his abbot. In his tractate "De corp. et sang. Domini ad Carolum Calvum," Ratramnus submitted the views of his abbot (without naming him) to a searching criticism, and then explained his own opinions.

according to which the body and blood of Christ was present in the Eucharist only "spiritualiter et secundum potentiam." In the same sense, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Scotus Erigena*, and *Florus of Lyons* wrote against Radbertus' view of a magic transformation. *Hincmar* and *Haymo* took the side of Radbertus; while *Walafrid Strabo*, and that able interpreter of Scripture *Christian Druthmar*, sought to avoid either extreme, and propounded the doctrine of impanation or consubstantiality, as adequately expressing the import of this mystery. But *Radbertus* had only given publicity to what really were the tendencies of the Church generally; and the opposition of so many great divines could only retard, but not prevent, the spread and prevalence of these views.—II. Controversy about the Parturition of the Virgin (845). In entire accordance with his fundamental views about the marvellous influences of the Divine power and presence, *Radbertus* soon afterwards composed a tractate, "De partu virginali," for the purpose of defending the view that the Virgin had given birth "utero clauso," and without pain — an opinion which Ambrose and Jerome had already broached. *Ratramnus* opposed this tenet as savouring of Docetism (De eo, quod Christus ex Virgine natus est). — In the controversy about predestination, Ratramnus took the side of Gottschalk, and Radbertus that of his opponents.

4. *Controversy about Predestination* (847–868). — (Cf. *G. Mauguin* (Jansenist), Vett. auctorum, qui in seculo IX. de prædest. scripserunt opera et fragmenta. Par. 1650, 2 volls. with a hist. diss. Against him: *L. Cellot* (Jesuit), hist. Gottschalkii. Par. 1655. — *Jac. Usserii* Gotteschalkii et controv. ab eo motæ hist. Dubl. 1631, 4to.)—The former discussions on this subject (§ 53, 5) had not issued in the final settlement of the question. Indeed, the views of theologians varied from the extreme of semi-Pelagianism to that of a predestination to condemnation, which went even beyond the statements of Augustine. In the ninth century the controversy broke out afresh. Gottschalk, the son of Berno, a Saxon count, had as a child been devoted by his parents to the monastic profession, and trained at Fulda. At a *synod held in Mayence* (829), he obtained permission to leave that monastery; but *Rabanus Maurus*, at the time Abbot of Fulda, prevailed on Louis the Pious to annul this dispensation. Translated to the monastery of Orbais in the diocese of Soissons, Gottschalk sought consolation in ardent study of the writings of Augustine, from which he rose an enthusiastic advocate of the doctrine of absolute predestination. In one point he went even beyond his great teacher, since he held a twofold *predestination* (gemina prædestinatio)—one to salvation, and the other to condemnation; whilst Augustine generally spoke of the latter only as God *leaving* sinners to deserved condemnation. While travelling in Italy in 847, he sought to gain adherents to his views. Among others, he addressed himself to *Noting*, Bishop of Verona. This prelate gave information to Rabanus, who in the meantime had been elevated to the

See of Mayence. Rabanus immediately issued two thundering epistles, in which the views of Gottschalk were in some particulars misrepresented, and certain unjust inferences drawn from them, more especially in the way of transforming the "prædestinatio ad damnationem" into a "prædestinatio ad peccatum." Rabanus himself distinguished between foreknowledge and predestination, ranging under the former head the condemnation of the reprobate. But other weapons than those of discussion were employed. *A synod was convoked at Mayence* (848), before which Gottschalk appeared, strong in the conviction of the orthodoxy of his statements. But the council took a different view. Gottschalk was excommunicated, and handed over to his metropolitan, *Hincmar of Rheims*, for punishment. This prelate, not content with the spiritual sentence which *the Synod of Chiersy* pronounced against him (849), condemned him to the most severe bodily chastisement, since he refused to recant, and consigned him to a prison in the monastery of *Haut Villiers*. In vain Gottschalk proposed to submit the justice of his cause to a solemn ordeal. Hincmar, though otherwise favourable to these trials, retorted by characterizing this offer as the boast of a Simon Magus. — The inhuman treatment of which the poor monk had been the victim, and the rejection of the doctrine of Augustine by two influential prelates, excited an angry controversy in the Frankish Church, of which the weight was chiefly directed against Hincmar. *Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes*, was the first to publish a tractate in favour of Gottschalk. Upon this *Charles the Bald* requested *Ratramnus* of Corbey, and *Servatus Lupus*, Abbot of Ferrières, to express their judgment on the question, which in both cases was in favour of Gottschalk. The position of *Hincmar* was becoming very difficult, when at last he succeeded in enlisting the advocacy of *Florus*, a deacon of Lyons, of *Amalarius*, a priest of Metz, and of *John Scotus Erigena*. But the aid of Erigena was fraught with almost greater danger to Hincmar than the attacks of his opponents. The Scotch metaphysician founded his opposition to the doctrine of predestination on the principle, hitherto unheard of in the West, that evil was only a μὴ ὄν. Accordingly, he argued that condemnation was not a positive punishment on the part of God, and only consisted in the tormenting consciousness of having missed one's destiny. The cause of Hincmar was fast getting into disrepute, as his opponents made him responsible for the heresies of his Scottish friend. Not *Prudentius of Troyes* only, who had long been his literary antagonist, but even *Wenilo*, Archbishop of Sens, and *Florus* of Lyons, who hitherto had espoused his cause, now turned their weapons against him. But Charles the Bald came to the aid of his metropolitan. A *national synod* was convoked at Chiersy in 853, when four articles (*Capitula Carisiaca*), embodying a moderate form of Augustinianism, were adopted, and the doctrine of a twofold predestination formally rejected. Thus the opponents of *Hincmar* in Neustria were silenced. But *Remigius*, Archbishop of Lyons, convoked

a *Lotharingian Synod at Valence* in 855, in which both the decrees of Chiersy and the "Scottish mess" (pultes Scotorum) were stigmatized, and six articles of a very different tone adopted, as the test of orthodoxy. At last the secular rulers interposed, and convoked a *general synod at Savonnières*, a suburb of Toul, in 859. But here also the disputants could not arrive at an agreement. Already the members were about to separate in mutual estrangement, when *Remigius* proposed to leave the settlement of the controversy to a future council in less troubled times, and till then to continue in harmony. The Synod unanimously adopted this suggestion; and as the proposed council never took place, the controversy completely terminated. Abandoned by his former friends, Gottschalk now appealed to *Pope Nicholas I.*, who ordered Hincmar to defend himself for his conduct towards the monk before Papal legates at the *Synod of Metz* in 863 (§ 82, 4). Hincmar deemed it prudent not to obey the citation. Happily for him, the Pope himself afterwards annulled the decrees of this synod on account of the venality of his legates, and the metropolitan soon afterwards succeeded in appeasing the Pope by intercessions and letters. Thus Gottschalk was deprived of his last hope. Twenty years had he lingered in prison, but to his latest breath he rejected with indignation every proposal of recantation. He died in 868, and by order of Hincmar was interred in unconsecrated earth. — From his prison he had charged his metropolitan with another heresy. In the hymn, "Te Trina Deitas Unaque," Hincmar had substituted the expression "Sancta Deitas" for "Trina Deitas." On this ground his opponents accused him of Sabellianism, a charge which Ratramnus embodied in a controversial tractate. But the reply of Hincmar put an end to this agitation (857).

§ 92. REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS.

The independence which Charlemagne restored to the German Church seems to have awakened in the divines of Germany a feeling that they were destined to become the reformers of prevailing abuses. This tendency, though limited, one-sided, and frequently liable to aberrations, manifested itself more or less throughout the Middle Ages, until it reached its maturity and perfection in the sixteenth century. The series of reformers commenced with *Charlemagne* himself, who vigorously opposed the image-worship of that time. *Louis the Pious* continued in the path of his father, and allowed *Agobard of Lyons* and *Claudius of Turin* to combat kindred forms of ecclesiastical superstition — in the case of the latter divine, perhaps, even beyond the bounds of evangelical prudence.

1. *Opposition of the Carlovingians to Image-Worship* (790–825).—On occasion of an embassy from the Emperor Constantinus Copronymus (§ 66, 2), *Pepin the Short* had convoked in 767 a synod at *Gentilly* (§ 91, 2), where the question of image-worship was also discussed. But we are left in ignorance of all beyond this fact, as the acts of the synod have been lost. Twenty years later *Pope Hadrian I.* sent to Charlemagne the acts of the Seventh Œcumenical Council of Nice (§ 66, 3). In his character of emperor-expectant, *Charlemagne* felt deeply aggrieved at the presumption of the Greeks, who, without consulting the German Church, had ventured to enact laws which were in direct opposition to the practice of the Frankish Church. He replied by issuing in his own name the so-called *Libri Carolini* (best ed. by *Heumann*, Han. 1731). In this work the attempts of the Eastern prelates are sharply met, and the acts of the Synod refuted *seriatim*. Although Charlemagne disavowed the views of the iconoclasts, and admitted the utility of religious images for exciting devotional feelings, for instructing the people, or as suitable decorations in churches—with special reference to the views of Gregory the Great (§ 59, 3)—he reprobated every species of image-worship as a kind of idolatry. On the other hand, the Libri Carolini expressed approbation of the reverence paid to saints, to relics, and to the crucifix. Charlemagne sent this significant treatise, which in all probability was composed by *Alcuin*, to the Pope, who rejoined, although in the most guarded language. But this reply made no impression on the Frankish monarch. Nay, the authority of a great general council of all the Germanic churches was to be opposed to that of the Council of the Byzantine Court. During his sojourn in England (790–792), Alcuin secured for this purpose the co-operation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The Synod met *at Frankfort* in 794, and solemnly confirmed the principles of the "Libri Carolini." The Pope deemed it prudent to leave this controversy to the operation of time and popular feeling.—Under the reign of *Louis the Pious* the question was again discussed, on occasion of an embassy from the iconoclastic emperor, Michael Balbus. *At a national synod held at Paris* (825), the conduct of Hadrian I. was reprehended, the practice of image-worship reprobated, and the principles of the "Libri Carolini" once more confirmed. *Pope Eugene II.* made no reply. This rejection of the Second Nicene Council and opposition to image-worship continued in the Frankish Empire till the tenth century.

2. Soon after the Council of Paris, *Agobard of Lyons* (§ 90, 4) published a tractate: Contra superstitionem eorum, qui picturis et imaginibus Sanctorum adorationis obsequium deferendum putant. But the prelate went much further than the Libri Carolini. He proposed entirely to remove all images from churches, as the practice would inevitably lead to abuses. Besides, he also rejected the idea of paying homage to saints, relics, or angels. Our confidence was to be placed only in Almighty God, whom alone we were to worship through Jesus

Christ, the sole Mediator. At the same time, he wished to introduce certain reforms in the Liturgy (§ 90. 8). He also opposed those portions of the public services which were merely designed to affect the senses, and would have banished the use of all non-inspired hymns. On the other hand, he insisted on the necessity of diligent study of the Bible, and condemned all appeals to ordeals (§ 88, 4), and all the popular superstitions about witchcraft, and supernatural means for securing favourable weather (Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis); as also the belief, that diseases and other plagues might be averted by donations to churches. On the subject of inspiration his views were somewhat loose (§ 90, 6). Still nobody thought of charging him with heresy. — *Claudius, Bishop of Turin* (§ 90, 4), went even beyond Agobard. From the writings of Augustine that prelate had derived views, more deep and full than any of his cotemporaries, of the blessed truth, that man is justified without any works of his own, only through the mercy of God in Christ. *Louis the Pious* had elevated him to the See of Turin for the express purpose of opposing image-worship in Italy, the great stronghold of this superstition. In his diocese the veneration paid to images, relics, and crucifixes had been carried to fearful excess. These abuses seemed to call for stringent measures. Accordingly, Claudius ordered all images and crucifixes to be flung out of the churches. Popular tumults ensued in consequence, and only fear of the Frankish arms could have preserved the life or protected the office of the bold prelate. When Pope Paschal expostulated with him on the subject, he replied, that he would only recognize his apostolic dignity so long as he did the works of an apostle; if otherwise, Matt. xxiii. 2, 3, applied to him. Claudius expounded his views in some exegetical tractates. In answer to *Theodimir*, Abbot of Psalmody, the Bishop of Turin wrote, in 825, a work entitled "Apologeticus," which is only known from the rejoinder of Theodimir. A Scotchman, *Dungal*, teacher at Pavia, also wrote against him, and accused him before the Emperor. Upon this *Jonas, Bishop of Orleans*, was commissioned to refute the Apologeticus. The work (de Cultu Imaginum Ll. III.), which appeared only after the death of Claudius, embodies the principles of the Frankish Church on the subject of image-worship.

SECOND PERIOD

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

FROM THE TENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENT.

I. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

§ 93. MISSIONARY OPERATIONS DURING THAT PERIOD.

The christianization of the continent of Europe was almost completed during this period, that of Lapland and *Lithuania* alone being reserved for the following. Both the mode and results of missionary operations continued as before. The labours of the heralds of the Cross were supported by armed force; monasteries and fortresses became the bases for the spread of Christianity; political motives and marriages with Christian princesses generally effected the conversion of heathen rulers; and the peoples were either obliged to follow the example of their sovereigns, or submitted in silent resignation; while, under the cover of Christianity, many heathen superstitions continued to exist. It was the policy of the German emperors to place the newly-converted races under the spiritual supremacy of the Metropolitan of Germany. Thus *Hamburg* and Bremen was made the see for Scandinavia and the Baltic Provinces, *Magdeburg* that for Poland and the adjoining countries, *Mayence* for Bohemia, *Passau* and Salsburg for Hungary. But the Papacy uniformly opposed such attempts of the German clergy and rulers. Each of these countries was to have its independent metropolitan, and thus to occupy a place of equality in the great family of Christian states, of which the See of Rome was

to be the spiritual head (§ 83).—The Western Church repeatedly commenced missionary operations among the *Mongols* of Asia and the *Saracens* of Africa, but without leading to any lasting results.

1. *The Scandinavian Mission.*—(Comp. *Fr. Münter*, K. G. v. Dänemark u. Norweg., I. Lpz. 1823.—*K. Maurer*, d. Bekehr. d. Norweg. Stammes. 2 Bde. Münch. 1856.—*F. C. Dahlmann*, Gesch. v. Dänem. I. Hamb. 1840.—*C. G. Geijer*, Gesch. Schwed. I. Hamb. 1832.—Main Source: *Adam v. Bremen*, Gesta Hamb. eccl. Pontiff.)—The labours of *Ansgar* and *Rimbert* (§ 80) extended only to the border provinces of Jütland and some places of traffic in Sweden; and the churches even there established had virtually died out. A revival of the mission was not to be thought of, in the face of the predatory incursions of the Normans, or Vikinger (Wikingar = warrior), who were the terror of the entire European coast, during the ninth and tenth centuries. But their incursions opened the way, in other respects, for the new introduction of Christianity in those countries. Many of the returning Vikinger had embraced Christianity abroad, and thus carried the knowledge of it back to their homes. In *France* Norwegian Normans founded (912) Normandy, under Rollo's guidance; in *England*, in the tenth century, the northern half of the country fell into the hands of the Danish Normans, and ultimately King Sven of Denmark conquered (1013) the whole country. In both countries the invaders embraced Christianity, and in virtue of the intimacy kept up with their native countries, participated in the work of their conversion.—In Denmark *Gorm the Aged*, the founder of the Danish monarchy, showed violent hostility to Christianity. He destroyed all the Christian institutions of the country, drove away all the priests, and devastated the neighbouring German coasts. Finally the German king *Henry I.* went on an expedition against the Danes, made them tributary, and exacted toleration of the Christian faith (934). At once Archbishop *Unni* of Bremen resumed the work of missions. With a large part of his clergy he went into the Danish territory, restored the churches of Jütland, and died in Sweden (936). Gorm's son, *Harold Blaatand* (Blue-tooth), was baptized after having concluded a peace with Otho I. in 972. But his son, *Sven Gabelbart*, although likewise baptized, became leader of a heathen reactionary party. Harold fell in battle against him (986), and Sven madly persecuted the Christians. In 988, however, *Erich of Sweden*, also a heathen and foe of Christianity, drove out Sven, and by the advice of a German embassy, tolerated Christianity. After Erich's death Sven returned (998). Converted during his exile, he now furthered Christianity as zealously as he had opposed it. In 1013 he conquered all England and died there in 1014. His son, *Canute the Mighty* (*ob.* 1036), united the two kingdoms under his sceptre, and made great efforts to reconcile both nations in a com-

mon Christian faith, and thus form a bond of union between them. The German mission of Bremen, urged by him, now actively co-operated with an English mission. In 1026 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and effected an intimate connection of the Danish Church with the ecclesiastical centre of the Western Church; a movement which was probably based on far-seeing political considerations. Thenceforth Denmark appears as a completely Christianized country.—(Main Source, next to Adam of Bremen: *Saxo Grammaticus, ob.* 1204, Hist. Danica.)—In SWEDEN also, Archbishop *Unni* of Bremen reopened the work of missions, and died there in 936. From that time the German mission continued uninterruptedly active. But little was effected, however, until English missionaries went, early in the eleventh century, from Norway, with *Sigurd* (Sigfried) at their head, and baptized King *Olaf Skautkonung* (Lap-king, *ob.* 1024). Olaf and his followers did all they could to promote the mission, which was very successful in Gothland, also; whilst in Swealand (with the heathen temple at Upsala), heathenism still prevailed. King *Inge*, having refused to relapse from Christianity, was, 1080, driven with stones from a popular assemblage at Upsala. His brother-in-law, *Blot Sven*, headed the heathen reaction, and excited a violent persecution against Christians. After reigning three years he was killed, and Inge restored Christianity, which, however, first became predominant in Upper Sweden, under *St. Erich* (*ob.* 1160).—(Sources: Adam v. Br.; Saxo Gramm.)—NORWAY had early obtained a knowledge of Christianity through the romantic adventures of its seafaring youth, through captives, and by intercourse with Norman colonies in England and Normandy. The first Christian king of Norway was *Haco the Good* (934–61) who had been trained a Christian at the English court. After gaining the affections of his people by his admirable government, he ventured to request them legally to adopt Christianity. The people, however, compelled him to participate in heathen sacrifices; and when he made the sign of the cross over the sacrificial bowl before he drank it, he barely escaped violence by an evasive reference of the act to Thor's mark. He could never forgive himself for this weakness, and died broken-hearted, not even deeming himself worthy of a Christian burial. *Olaf Tryggvason* (995–1000), at first the ideal of a Northern Viking, then of a Northern king, was baptized during his last invasion of England, and bent all the energies of his character to the forcible introduction of Christianity. Not even a stranger left Norway without being persuaded or compelled by him to be baptized. Those who resisted were imprisoned or put to death. He fell in a battle against the Danes. His example was followed by *Olaf Haroldson* (the *Fat*, afterwards *Saint;* 1014–30). Without possessing the amiability and noble-heartedness of his predecessor, but pursuing his ecclesiastical and political schemes more arbitrarily and cruelly, he soon lost the regard of his subjects. His enraged chieftains conspired with Canute the Dane; the whole country rose against

him; he fell in battle, and Norway became a Danish province. But the hard Danish yoke soon changed the popular sentiments regarding Olaf, who now came to be considered a martyr of national freedom and independence. Countless miracles were wrought by his relics, and in 1031 he was unanimously proclaimed a national saint. Enthusiasm in his worship daily increased, and with it enthusiasm for the liberation of their country. Borne onward by this mighty agitation, Olaf's son, *Magnus the Good*, expelled the Danes (1035). But although the elevation of Olaf to saintship at first led to purely political results, it was the means of stamping the country forever with the seal of Christianity (Source: *Snorrs* Sturleson *ob.* 1241 Heimskringla oder norw. Königssagen). On the NORTH-WESTERN GROUP of islands, the Hebrides, Orkneys, Sketland, and Faroe islands, the sparse Christian Celtic population was driven out in the ninth century by the immigration of heathen Norwegian Vikinger, among whom Christianity was first introduced by the two Norwegian *Olafs*. — The first mission to ICELAND was conducted by the Icelander *Thorwald*, who, baptized in Saxony by a bishop (?) *Frederick*, took him to Iceland to assist there in the conversion of the heathen natives. After nearly five years' labour a number were converted, but the Thing (national diet) condemned the movement, and the missionaries left the island (985). *Olaf Tryggvason* did not readily allow an Icelander visiting Norway to return without being baptized, and twice sent expeditions thither to convert the natives. The first, under *Stefnir*, a native Icelander, accomplished but little (996); the second, under Olaf's court chaplain, *Dankbrand* (a Saxon who was both priest and warrior, effecting with his sword what his preaching failed to accomplish), converted many of the most powerful chieftains. A civil war threatened to ruin everything, but was averted by a timely compromise, in accordance with which all the natives were baptized, Christian worship only publicly performed, whilst secretly idolatry, infanticide, and the eating of horseflesh was tolerated (1000). Subsequently an embassy of the Norwegian king, *Olaf Haraldson*, had these relics of heathenism expunged from their laws. — GREENLAND also, which had been discovered by an outlawed Icelander, *Eric the Red*, and soon after colonized (985), owes its Christianity to King *Olaf Tryggvason*, who sent thither (1000) a son of Eric, *Leif the Lucky*, with an expedition for its conversion. The people did not object to being baptized.[13] This same Leif discovered on his voyage a rich fertile country, which he called Vinland, from the wild grapes found there; it was subsequently colonized by Icelanders. In the twelfth century yet, a Greenland bishop, Eric, went thither to confirm the inhabitants in the faith. It doubtless lay on the east coast of North America, and is probably identical with Massachusetts and Rhode Island. — (Main Source: *Snorrs* Sturleson.)

2. *The Slavonian Magyar Mission* — (COMP. *J. Palacky, Gesch. v.*

Böhmen. I. Prag. 1836.—*C. G. v. Friese*, K. G. d. Königr. Polen. I. Bresl. 1786.—*R. Roepell*, Gesch. Polens. Hamb. 1840. I.—*J. v. Mailath*, Gesch. d. Magyaren, I. Wien 1828. 2 Ausg. Regensb. 1852.—*L. Giesebrecht*, wendische Gesch. 3 Bde. Berl. 1843.—*E. W. Spieker*, K. u. Ref. Gesch. d. Mark Brandenb. I. 1839.—*Jul. Wiggers*, K. G. Mecklenb. Parchim. 1840.—*P. F. Kannegiesser*, Bekehrungsgesch. d. Pommern. Greifsw. 1824.—*F. W. Barthhold*, Gesch. v. Rügen u. Pommern. 2 Bde. Hamb. 1839.—*E. L. Dümmler*, Piligrim v. Passau Lpz. 1854.—*F. C. Kruse*, St. Vicelin. Altona 1826. (*J. J. Sell*) Otto v. Bamberg. Stettin 1792.—*C. F. Busch*, Memoria Ottonis ep. Bamb. Jen. 1824.)—The Gospel had been introduced into BOHEMIA during the preceding period (§ 79, 2). After the death of *Vratislav*, *Drahomira*, his widow, a heathen, seized the reins of government in name of *Boleslav*, her younger son. The attempt of Ludmilla, with the aid of certain priests and Germans, to elevate to the throne *St. Wenceslav*, the elder son, whom she had educated, was frustrated. Ludmilla was killed by order of Drahomira (927), and Wenceslav fell by the hand of his brother. *Boleslav* at first attempted to exterminate Christianity from his dominions, but was obliged to relax his former severity after his defeat by *Otho I.* in 950. His son, *Boleslav II.*, established Christianity in the country, and founded the archiepiscopal see of Prague. The Pope gave his consent to the erection of this see, on condition that the Romish Liturgy should be introduced (973).—From Bohemia the Gospel spread to POLAND, Duke *Miecislav* was induced by *Dambrovka*, his wife, a Bohemian princess (daughter of Boleslav I.), to adopt the Christian religion (966). His subjects followed his example, and the See of Posen was founded. The Church secured a firmer footing under his son, the powerful *Boleslav Chrobry* (992–1025), who, with the approbation of Otto III., emancipated the Polish Church from allegiance to the Magdeburg See, and founded an archiepiscopal see at Gnesen (1000). He also freed Poland from fealty to the German empire, and let himself be crowned shortly before his death (1025). Five years of anarchy, which threatened to destroy Christianity in the land, were brought to an end by his grandson *Casimir* (1039). Casimir's grandson, *Boleslav II.*, murdered Bishop *Stanislaus* of Cracow (1079), who had put him under the ban, and thus furnished Poland with a saint.—(Main Source: *Thietmar's* v. Merseb. (*ob.* 1018) Chronik, and MARTINI Galli (*c.* 1130) Chronic. Polon.)—The Gospel was first carried to HUNGARY from Constantinople, where *Gylas*, a Hungarian prince, was baptized in 950. He returned home with *Hierotheus*, a monk who had been consecrated Bishop of Hungary; but this connection with the Greek Church was only temporary. After Henry I. routed the Hungarians (933) at Keuschberg, and still more after they had been enfeebled by the defeat inflicted on them by Otto I. in 955, German influence became predominant there. The indefatigable missionary zeal of Bishop *Piligrim* of Passau, and the immigration of many

foreigners, especially Germans, soon secured for Christianity a complete ascendancy over heathenism. This end was also favoured by Duke *Geisa* (972–97), and his resolute, energetic wife, *Sarolta*, a daughter of the above-named Gylas. The work was perfected by Geisa's son, *St. Stephen* (997–1038), who was baptized at his marriage with *Gipela*, sister of the subsequent Emp. Henry II., suppressed a heathen insurrection, and gave the country a constitution and laws. He also founded the archiepiscopate of *Gran*, with ten suffragan bishops, put on his head the crown (1000) which had been solicited from Pope *Sylvester II.*, and made Hungary a powerful member of the national confederacy of Christian Europe. Under his successors, heathenism twice made menacing insurrections, but was soon put down. Its last remains were annihilated by *St. Ladislaus* (1077–95). — (Chief Source: *Thietmar.*)

Among the numerous *tribes of Wends*, in N. and N. E. Germany, the most prominent were the *Obotrites*, (in modern Holstein and Mecklenburg), the *Luticians* or Wilzens, (between the Elbe and Oder), the *Pomeranians*, (from the Oder to the Weichsel), and the *Serbians* or *Sorbens*, (southward in Saxony and Lusatia), Henry I. (919–36), and his son Otho I. (936–73), subjected them to German rule, and Otho founded, besides, several bishoprics, the archbishopric of *Magdeburg* (968). The loss of their national liberty, as well as the pride and tyranny of the German Margraves, rendered Christianity exceedingly odious to the Wends, so that it could not be firmly established among them until their freedom and nationality had been wholly eradicated, and the Slavic population had been merged in the predominent German element. An insurrection of the *Obotrites*, under *Mistevoi* (983), who hoped with one blow to get rid of the German yoke and Christianity, overthrew all Christian institutions. His grandson *Gottschalk* was reared in a German monastery, but enraged by the murder of his father, *Udo* (1032), fled from the monastery, renounced Christianity, and excited a fearful persecution against Christians and Germans. This revengeful madness, however, was soon followed by repentance. The Germans captured him; on being set free, he went to Denmark, but soon returned and founded a great Wend empire which extended from the North sea to the Oder (1045). He then bent all his energy, with glowing zeal, to the establishment of the Church in his empire upon a national basis, Adalbert of Bremen furnishing him with missionaries. He himself became in a great measure their interpreter and expounder. The success was brilliant, but the national sentiment of the Wends hated him as a friend of the Saxons and the Church. He was assassinated 1066. Then followed a most cruel persecution of the Christians. Gottschalk's son, Henry, was supplanted, and *Cruco* (of the island Rügen), the powerful prince of the Rani, a fanatical foe of Christianity, was chosen ruler. At Henry's instigation, he was murdered, 1105, in his house. Henry died 1119. A Danish prince, *Canute*, bought the Wend crown from the Saxon duke, Lothar; but he was murdered in 1131. Thus

ended the Wend empire; only among the Obotrites, prince *Niclot* (*ob* 1160), maintained his authority for some time. His son, *Pribislas*, (the ancestor of the present princes of Mecklenburg), by a timely adoption of Christianity (1164), secured for himself a part of his paternal inheritance, as a Saxon feudal principality. The rest of the country *Henry the Lion* divided among his German warriors, settling the devastated possessions with German colonists. The power of the LUTICIANS was broken by *Albert the Bear*, the founder of Mark Brandenburg, after long contests and numerous insurrections (1157). He, also, placed a great number of German colonists upon the desolated country. The work of Christianizing the Sorbi was much easier. After their first defeats by Henry I. (922–927), they never regained their liberty. The mission of the sword more or less closely attended the mission of the cross among the Wends. Among the *Sorbi*, bishop *Benno of Misnia* (*ob.* 1106), laboured with special zeal; among the Obotrites, *St. Vicelin*, under sore trials and sufferings. St. Vicelin died whilst bishop at Oldenburg (1154). His successor, *Gerold*, who transferred the see to Lübeck, followed in his footsteps. Other zealous Wend apostles deserving mention, are, bishop *Everanod* of Ratzeburg (from 1154), bishop *Berno* of Schwerin (from 1158). (Chief sources: — *Widukinds.* v. Corbei. (*c.* 970), Chronik. — *Thietmar's* Chronik. — *Adam* v. Brem. — *Helmold's* (*ob.* 1170), Chronicon. Slavorum). The *Pomeranians* were subjugated (1121), by the Polish duke *Boleslav III.*, who extorted from them an oath that they would embrace Christianity. But the work of their conversion proved so difficult, that he could find no one among his clergy willing to undertake it. Thereupon *Bernhard*, a Spanish monk, offered his services (1122). But the Pomeranians drove him off as a beggar, asserting that if the God of the Christians was really Lord of heaven and earth, he would send them a servant corresponding with his dignity. This convinced Boleslav that none but a man who combined with a true missionary spirit, the show of worldly grandeur and wealth, could succeed on that field, and bishop *Otho v. Bamberg* seemed to suit the case. *Otho* consented, and in two missionary towns (1124, 1128), founded the Pomeranian Church. Following Boleslav's counsel, he both times travelled in princely style. The result was astonishing, though he several times came near losing his life. The entire Middle Ages furnish no example (unless St. Boniface be excepted), of a like noble, pure, and successful missionary effort. No missionary of that period exhibited the same firmness, without egotism; earnestness, without severity; gentleness, and placability, without weakness; glowing zeal, without fanaticism; and, in no other instance did the German and Slavic nationalities merge so harmoniously. The last bulwark of Wend heathenism was the island RÜGEN; it yielded (1168), to a league between the Danish king Waldemar I., and princes of Christian Pomeranians and Obotrites.—(Main source: Vitae Ottoni).

3. *Missions among the Fins and Letonians.* — (Cf. *Fr. Rühs*, Finnl. u. s. Bewohner. Lpz. 1809. — *F. K. Gadebusch*, livl. Jahrb. 5 Bde. Riga. 1780. — *Fr. Kruse*, Urgesch. d. esthnisch. Volksstammes. Lpz. 1846 (unreliable). — *Osk. Kienitz*, 24 Bb. livl. Gesch. Bd. I. Dorp. 1847. — *K. v. Schlözer*. Livl. u. d. Aufänge. d. deutsch. Lebens im balt. Norden. Berl. 1850. — *A. v. Richter*, Gesch. d. russ. Kaiserth. einverleibten. deutsch. Ostseeprov. Bd. I., Abth. I. (1158–1347), Riga. 1857. — *E. Papst*, Meinhart, Livland's Apost. Reval. 1847–49. — *J. Voigt*, Gesch. Preussens. bis z. Unterg. d. Herrsch. d. deutsch. Ordens. Bd. I–III., Königsb. 1827. — *K. O. Tornwaldt*, d. Leb. Adalb. v. Prag. &c., in d. hist. theol. Ztschr. 1853, II. — *J. M. Watterich*, d. Gründung. d. deutsch. Ordenstaates Preussen. Lpz. 1857). — Christianity was introduced into FINLAND by *St. Eric*, by means of conquest and force (1157). Bishop *Henry of Upsala*, the apostle of the Fins, who accompanied him, suffered martyrdom in 1158. The Fins hated Christianity as ardently as the Swedish rule which brought it to them. It was only after the third invasion, under the chief magistrate *Thorkel Canuteson* (1293), that success was achieved. LAPLAND became subject to Sweden in 1279, and Christianity was gradually introduced. In 1335, bishop *Hemming* of Upsala consecrated the first church in Tornea. Modern ESTHONIA, LIVONIA, and CURLAND, were settled by people of Finnish descent; though Livonia and Curland were likewise settled by Letonians from the South and East, (Letonians and Letonian-Gauls in Livonia, and Semgauls and Wends in Curland). The first attempts to plant Christianity in those regions proceeded from Swedes and Danes, and, as early as 1048, under the Danish king *Sven III.*, Estritson, a church was built in Curland by Christian merchants; and the Danes, not long after, built the fortress *Lindanisso*, in Esthnia. The elevation of the bishopric of *Lund* to a metropolitan see (1098), occurred with reference to these countries. In 1171, Pope *Alexander III.* sent *Fulco*, a monk, as bishop of Finland and Esthnia, to convert the heathen there, but he seems not to have entered upon his duties. The first permanent results were secured by *German* preachers and swords. Merchants from Bremen and Lübeck had formed commercial leagues with the regions along the Düna. *Meinhart*, a pious priest from the monastery of Segeberg, in Holstein, undertook, in their company, and under the auspices of the Bremen archbishop, Hartwig II., a missionary journey thither (1186), established a church at Uerküll, on the Düna, and became its bishop, but died 1196. His companion, *Dietrich*, laboured in the vicinity of Treiden, as far as into Esthnia. Meinhart's successor as bishop was the Cistercian abbot *Berthold* v. Loccum, in Hanover. Driven off soon after his arrival, he returned with a band of German crusaders, and fell in battle, 1198. His successor was the Bremen canon, *Albert von Burhowden*, (v. Appeldern). He removed the see to *Riga*, which he built in 1201; and, for the protection of the mission, established, 1202, the *Order of the Sword* (§ 98, 6), and

founded, amid constant conflicts with the Russians, Esthnians, Curs, and Letonians, new bishoprics in Esthnia, Dorpat, Oesel, and Semgaul, and wellnigh Christianized all these countries. He died 1229. After 1219, the Danes co-operated with Albert in the conquest and conversion of Esthnia. *Waldemar II.* founded Reval (1219), elevated it to a bishopric, and used all means to expel the Germans; but he failed. Indeed the Danes were compelled (1227), to leave Esthnia. After Albert's death, the difficulties of the Germans so increased, that *Volguin*, the excellent master of the Order, had to invoke the aid of the new Prussian order of Teutonic Knights. The union of the two orders, hindered by Danish intrigues, was not effected until 1237, when a fearful defeat of the Germans by the Letonians not only threatened the existence of the Order of the Sword, but the Livonian Church itself. Then first was Curland (the see at Pilten), permanently subjugated and converted; it had promised to embrace Christianity in 1230, but soon again relapsed into heathenism. Finally, in 1253, *Riga* was also made a metropolitan see; Albert *Suerbeer* (previously archbishop of Armagh in Ireland), having been appointed by Innocent IV. archbishop of Prussia, Livonia, and Esthnia, removed his see to Riga. (Cf. *P. v. Götze*, Albert Suerbeer, St. Petersb. 1854). — (Chief sources: *Henry the Lettonian*, (*ob.* after 1227), Origines Livonicae. — *Ditleb's* v. Alepeke livl. Reimchronik.) — The old Prussians and Lithuanians also belonged to the Letonians. To the PRUSSIANS (between the Weichsel and Memel), *St. Adalbert of Prague* first bore the tidings of salvation, but suffered martyrdom soon after he commenced labours in Samland (997). In 1009, the zealous monk *Bruno*, and eighteen companions, met with a similar fate on the borders of Letonia. Two centuries elapsed before another missionary showed himself in Prussia. The first was abbot *Godfrey*, of the Polish monastery of Lukina. At the outset he and his companion Philip were encouraged, but they soon suffered martyrdom (1207). The labours of the Cistercian *Christian*, of the Pomeranian monastery Oliva, three years later (1209), were more successful and permanent. He was the real apostle of the Prussians, became bishop in 1214, and died in 1244. Following the example of the Order of the Sword in Livonia, he founded, 1225, the order of the *Milites Christi*, which, however, was reduced to five men in the first year of its existence. — In union with duke *Conrad of Masovia*, whose country had also suffered fearfully from the inroads of the heathen Prussians, Christian called in the aid of the *Teutonic Knights* (§ 98, 6), then already in high repute in Germany, a branch of whom emigrated to Culmerland in 1228, and thus laid the foundation of the civil sway of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia. Then commenced a sanguinary conflict of sixty years' duration, for the extermination of Prussian heathenism. This struggle may be said to have lasted until the greater part of the Prussians, after numerous insurrections, victories, and defeats, were slain (1283), by the swords of the Knights and of crusaders from

Germany, Poland, Bohemia, &c. Among hosts of missionaries (chiefly Dominicans), Bishop *Christian*, the papal legate *William*, bishop of Modena, and the Polish Dominican *Hyacinth*, an ardent preacher of repentance and faith (*ob.* 1257), merit special mention. As early as 1243, William of Modena had drawn up an ecclesiastical constitution for the country, which divided Prussia into four bishopries, which, after 1253, were under the metropolitan of Riga. — (Chief sources: the *Chronicon Prussiæ* of Peter of Duisburg, of the 14th cent., a Chron. van d. Duitscher Oirder of the 15th cent., and the Pruss. Chron. of Luk. David (*ob.* 1583), in which use was made of the, since then, lost work of bishop Christian, Liber filiorum Belial). — The establishment of Christianity in Lithuania proved a difficult task. After *Ringold* had founded (1230), a grand duchy in Lithuania, his son *Mindowe*, (Mendog), resolved to extend it by conquest. The Prussian Livonian Knights, however, so reduced him that he sued for peace, and was compelled to be baptized (1252). But he had scarcely recovered from his humiliation, when he threw aside the mask (1260), and assailed his Christian neighbours anew. His son, *Wolstinik*, who had adhered to the faith, reigned too short a time (*ob.* 1266), to secure recognition from his people. With him disappeared every trace of Christianity in Lithuania. The grand duke *Gedimin* (1315–40), was the first again to tolerate Christianity in his country. Under his successor, *Olgerd*, Romish Dominicans and Russian priests rivalled each other in their missionary zeal. Olgerd was baptized by the Greeks, but soon relapsed. His son, *Jagello*, whose mother was a Christian, and who had married the young Polish queen, *Hedwig*, whose hand and crown he obtained by being baptized, and obligating himself to introduce Christianity into his country (1386), put an end to heathenism in Lithuania. His subjects, to each of whom a woollen garment was given by their sponsors, pressed in crowds to be baptized. An episcopal see was founded at Wilna.

4. *Missions among the Mongols.* — (Cf. *Marco Polo*, Travels, &c. — *De Guignes*, hist. générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols. Par. 1756. — *D'Avezac*, Rélation des Mongoles ou Tartares. Par. 1838, in the Récueil de voyages et mémoires publié par la soc. géogr. T. IV. — *Abel-Remusat*, Mémoires sur les rélations politiques des princes chrétiens avec les empereurs Mongols, in the Mém. des l'Instit. royal de France.—T. VI., 396, &c., VII., 355, &c., Par. 1822, 1824.—*D'Ohsson*, Hist. des Mong. depuis Tschingis-Khan jusqu'à Timur-lenk. Par. 1824, — *L. Mosheim*, Hist. Tartarorum eccl. Helmst. 4to, 1741. — *W. Heyd*, Studien über d. Kolonien d. röm. K. unter d. Tartaren, in the hist theol. Ztschr. II. 1858). — The most extravagant accounts of the power and glory of the Tartar priest-king *John* (§ 73, 1), were current in the West, even after his kingdom was overthrown by Genghis Khan, in 1202. Pope Alexander III. sent an embassy to him (1177), of the result of which nothing is known. The *Mongol* princes, after the time

of Genghis Khan, in deistic indifference, showed themselves equally tolerant and inclined towards Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. The Nestorians were very numerous, though greatly reduced in their empire. In 1240 and 41, the Mongol hosts, in their constant advances westward, threatened to overrun and lay waste all Europe. Russia, Poland, Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, had been already fearfully devastated, when the wild plunderers suddenly and unexpectedly turned their course. Pope *Innocent IV.* sent (1245), a Dominican embassy, under *Nich. Ascelinus*, to the commander-in-chief *Batchu*, then in Persia, and a Franciscan embassy under *John of Plano-Carpini* to the Great Khan, *Oktai*, (successor of Genghis Khan, from 1227), to his capital Caracorum, calling upon him to be converted, and commanding him to abstain from his repeated incursions. Both embassies were fruitless. Equally so were two embassies of Louis IX., of France, occasioned by a pretended Mongol embassy, which told the king some fabricated stories concerning the inclination of the Great Khan, *Gajuk* and his princes, to Christianity and of their purpose to conquer the Holy Land for the Christians. The first embassy (1241), proved an utter failure, for the Mongols regarded the presents brought to them as tribute and an acknowledgment of voluntary subjection. The second, also, to the Great Khan *Mangu* (1253), although conducted by that admirable tactician, the Franciscan, *William Ruysbroek* (de Rubruquis), was fruitless, for, Mangu, instead of allowing them to remain and preach the gospel in the country, sent them back to Louis, after they had held a debate with the Mohammedans and Buddhists, with a menacing demand of subjection to him. After Mangu's death (1257), the Mongol empire was divided into an Eastern (China), and Western (Persia). The former was ruled by the Khan *Kublai*, the latter by the Khan *Hulagu*. Hulagu, whose mother and wife were Christians, put an end to the caliphate of Bagdad, but was thereupon so pressed by the Sultan of Egypt, that he opened a long series of embassies and negotiations in England with the popes, and kings of France, who were planning a common movement against the Saracens, and made splendid offers to the East. His successor continued these negotiations, which, however, were only empty promises and encouragements. The age of the crusades had passed, and even the most powerful popes could not revive them. The Persian khans, vaccilating between Islam and Christianity, sank into greater impotence, until, finally, *Tamerlane*, upon the ruins of their power undertook (1387), under the auspices of the Crescent, to found a universal Mongol empire. But with his death (1405), perished the rule of the Mongols in Persia, and that of the Turcomans began. Thenceforth Islam remained the predominant religion amidst all the changes of dynasties. *Kublai-Khan*, the ruler of CHINA, a genuine type of the mixed religion of the Mongols, also seemed inclined to Christianity, but at the same time favoured the Mohammedans, and in 1260, gave to Buddhism a hierarchal form and

consolidation by the appointment of the first Grand Lama. The journey of two Venetians, of the house of *Poli*, who returned from the country of the Mongols in 1269, led to the establishment of an Eastern Christian mission in China. In 1272, Pope Gregory X. sent two Dominicans thither, who were joined by the two *Poli*, and the son of one of them, *Marco Polo*, then seventeen years old. Marco won the implicit confidence of the Khan, who entrusted him with an important vicegerency. On his return he published a *Perigrinatio s. Ll. 4 de Oriental. regionibus*, which attracted great attention, and was the first work to furnish the West with correct ideas of the state of Eastern Asia. But the Franciscan, *John de Monte-Corvino* (1291–1329), one of the most noble, discerning, and faithful missionaries of the entire Middle Ages, was the first to start regular and persevering efforts to evangelize that region. Having frustrated the inimical machinations of the Nestorians, he gained a high degree of favour with the Khan. He built two churches in Cambalu (Peking), the Khan's residence, baptized about 6000 Mongols, and translated the Psalms and N. T. into the Mongol language. Until 1303 he laboured alone. After that, other Franciscans went to his aid. Clement V. appointed him archbishop of Cambalu. Annually new congregations were gathered. But intestine quarrels among Kublai's successors reduced the strength of the Mongol dynasty, and it was overthrown in 1368, by the national Ming dynasty. The Mongols were driven from China, and with them the missionaries whom they had favoured, so that the harvest was lost.

5. *Missions in Mohammedan Countries.*—The princes and hosts of the crusaders only desired to wrest the Holy Land from the power of the unbelievers, but did not (unless we except Louis IX.) think of conferring upon them the blessing of the Gospel. Still less could it be expected that an influence favourable to Christianity would be exerted upon them, by men so dissolute, covetous, cruel, faithless, and immoral, as most of the crusaders were. At the commencement of the 13th century, the new orders of *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* started zealous but unsuccessful missionary operations among the Moslems of Africa and Spain. The leader in this movement was *St. Franciscus* himself, who, during the siege of Damietta by the crusaders, 1219, went into the camp of the Sultan, *Kamel*, and challenged him to kindle a large fire, into which St. F. and a Moslem priest should plunge. When the priest, who was present, secretly withdrew, Franciscus offered to enter the flames alone, if the Sultan would promise, that he and his people would embrace Christianity if he came forth unhurt. The Sultan declined the test, and dismissed Franciscus with presents, which the latter rejected. Subsequently many Franciscan missions were undertaken to the Moslem, which, however, accomplished nothing but the increase of their number of martyrs. The *Dominicans* commenced similar efforts earlier, but with no better results. Their General, *Raymund of Pennaforti* (*ob.* 1273) devoted himself to this

work with great zeal. For the purpose of preparing the brethren of his order for this work, he founded institutions at Tunis and Murcia, for the study of Oriental languages. Most important were the labours of *Raymund Lullus* of Majorca, who after his conversion, thoroughly studied the requisite languages, and thrice visited North Africa, and there engaged in disputations with Saracen scholars, to convince them of the truth of Christianity. But his "great art" (§ 104, 2), which he had devised for this purpose with extraordinary efforts, failed to secure appreciation either there or in Europe. Imprisonment and abuse were his usual reward. He died of maltreatment in 1315.

§ 94. THE CRUSADES.

Sources: *J. Bongars*, Gesta Dei per Francos. Hann. 1611. 2 Voll.— *F. J. Michaud*, Biblioth. des Croisades. Par. 1830. 4 T.—Comp. *William of Tyre*, Hist. of the Crus. and of the Kingd. of Jerus.— Chronicles of the Crusaders (in Bohn's Antiquar. Libr.)—*J. Michaud*, Hist. des Croisades, transl. by *W. Robson*. London 1852, 3 Vols.— *F. Wilken*, Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge (Hist. of the Crus.). Leips. 1807. 7 Vols.—*H. v. Sybel*, Gesch. d. ersen Kreuzzüge. Düsseld. 1841— the same author: Aus d. Gesch. d. Kreuzz. and Braunschw. 1858.— *A. H. L. Heeren*, Versuch u. Entw. d. Folgen d. Kreuzzüge für Europa (essay on the results of the Crus. for Europe). Göttg. 1808.

During the rule of the Arabs, Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre had enjoyed ample protection. But under the reign of the Fatimites, at the commencement of the tenth century, persecutions commenced, especially during the Caliphate of *Hakim*, who equally oppressed native Christians and pilgrims, and interdicted their worship under severe penalty, probably in order by such severities to wipe out the disgrace of having sprung from a Christian mother. Under the dominion of the *Seljookian* Turks, from 1070, these measures of oppression greatly increased. The feeling evoked throughout the West by these persecutions was all the more deep, since the expectation of the approaching end of the world, which was general in the tenth century (§ 106, 1), induced many to undertake pilgrimages to the Holy Land. So early as the year 999 *Sylvester II.* had —ex persona devastatæ Hierosolymæ—made an appeal to Christendom to rescue the Holy Land from the infidel. *Gregory VII.* entered warmly into this project, and had indeed resolved to head a crusade in person; but his dissensions with *Henry IV* prevented the execution of the plan. Twenty years later *Peter of Amiens*, a hermit, returned from his pilgrimage. In burning

language he portrayed to the Sovereign Pontiff (*Urban II.*) the sufferings of the Christians; he recounted a vision in which Christ Himself had charged him with the commission to rouse Christendom for the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre. By direction of Urban, Peter travelled through Italy and France, everywhere exciting the feelings of the people. A council was summoned at *Piacenza* in 1095, where this cause was pleaded. Still greater success attended the address of Urban at the Council of *Claremont* in the same year. In response to his enthusiastic appeal for a holy war under the standard of the Cross, the universal exclamation was heard: "It is the will of God!" and on the same day thousands enlisted in the cause, and had the red cross affixed to their right shoulder — among them *Adhemar*, Bishop of *Le Puy*, who was named Papal legate for the war. On their return to their dioceses, the bishops everywhere preached the Crusade, and before many weeks had elapsed Western Christendom was stirred to its inmost depths. Thus commenced a movement which lasted for two centuries, and which in its character can only be compared with the migration of nations. By these expeditions Europe lost nearly 5,000,000 of men in bootless attempts. In the end every hope and purpose cherished by the crusaders was frustrated. Still, the consequences of these expeditions proved of deepest importance, and their influence extended to all departments of life, both ecclesiastical and political, spiritual and intellectual, civil and industrial. New views, requirements, tendencies, and forces were introduced, by the operation of which mediæval history entered on the last stage of its development, and which prepared the way for the modern phases of society.

1. *The First Crusade* (1096).—In the spring of 1096 vast multitudes of people, impatient of the tardy preparations of the princes, started on their journey under the leadership of *Walter the Penniless*. He was followed by *Peter*, with 40,000 men. But the excesses committed by them, and the utter absence of all discipline, aroused the hostility of the populations: half the army was destroyed in Bulgaria, the rest perished by the sword of the Saracens at Nicæa. Several fresh gatherings, finally a disorderly host of 200,000 men, perished in Hungary, or on its confines. At length, in the month of August, the regular army of the crusaders set out under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon. Originally it consisted of 80,000 men, but by the way it increased to not less than 600,000 The reception which the Byzantine Government accorded the crusaders was by no means favourable. In 1097 they crossed to Asia. Nicæa, An-

tioch, and Edessa were taken, not without considerable resistance and great losses. But their efforts ultimately proved successful, and on the 15th July, 1099, the crusaders scaled the walls of Jerusalem with the shout, "It is the will of God!" By the light of burning houses, and wading in blood, they marched in solemn procession to the Church of the Resurrection, repeating psalms. Godfrey was chosen King of Jerusalem, but refused to wear a royal diadem where his Master had been crowned with thorns. The pious leader of the crusaders died after the lapse of only one year, and was succeeded by *Baldwin*, his brother, who was crowned at Bethlehem. The bestowal of numerous fiefs soon gathered a number of vassals around the new monarch. Jerusalem was made the seat of a patriarchate, to which four archiepiscopal sees and a corresponding number of bishoprics were subjected. Tidings of these events awakened fresh enthusiasm throughout the West. So early as the year 1101 three other large armies of crusaders set out. They marched against Bagdad, with the view of breaking the Moslem power in its great stronghold; but these undisciplined masses never reached their destination.

2. *Second Crusade* (1147).—The fall of Edessa (1146)—the great bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem—seemed a loud call for renewed exertions. *Pope Eugene II.* summoned the nations to arms. *Bernard of Clairvaux*, the great prophet of that period, preached the Crusade, and predicted victory. LOUIS VII. OF FRANCE took the cross, thereby to expiate the sacrilege of having burned down a church filled with people. Under the impression of the sermons of St. Bernard, CONRAD III. OF GERMANY followed his example, not without considerable reluctance. But their noble armies fell under the sword of the Saracens, or perished through the perfidy of the Greeks and the utter dissolution of all discipline, amidst want, pestilence, and fatigue. Damascus was not taken; humbled, and with the scanty remnants of their armies, the Christian princes returned to their own countries.

3. *Third Crusade* (1189).—A century had not elapsed before the kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen into complete decay.[14] The incessant animosities between Greeks and Latins, the intrigues of vassals, the licentiousness, luxury, and lawlessness of the people, the clergy, and the nobles, and, after the extinction of the dynasty of Baldwin, the disputes of pretenders to the crown, rendered order, security, or stability impossible. Under these circumstances, it was comparatively easy for Sultan *Saladin*—that Moslem knight without fear or stain, who had already dethroned the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt—after the bloody victory of Tiberias, to put an end to the domination of Christians in Syria. Jerusalem was taken in October 1187. Tidings of this calamity once more roused Western Christendom. *Philip Augustus* of France, and *Henry II. of England*, for a season laid aside their disputes, and took the cross at the hand of *William of Tyre*, the historian of the Crusades. They were joined by the Emperor FREDERIC I., in

personal courage a youth, but old in years and experience, whose energy, prudence, and ability seemed to insure success. The intrigues of the Byzantine court, and the indescribable difficulties of a march through a desert, could not arrest his progress. He met and defeated the well-appointed army of the Sultan of Iconium, and took his capital, but soon afterwards was drowned in a small river of Pisidia (1190). The greater part of the army now dispersed; the rest were led against Ptolemais by *Frederic of Swabia*, the Emperor's son. Soon afterwards appeared under the walls of that city PHILIP AUGUSTUS and RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION, who, after the death of his father, had undertaken his vow, and on his passage to Syria conquered Cyprus. Ptolemais (St. Jean d'Acre) fell in 1191; but disputes among the leaders prevented any lasting success from that enterprise. Frederic of Swabia had fallen, and Philip Augustus returned to France under pretence of illness. *Richard* gained, indeed, a splendid victory over Saladin, took Joppa and Askelon, and was about to march upon Jerusalem, when tidings arrived that Philip Augustus was arming against England. *Saladin*, who respected the knightly qualities of his opponent, agreed to an armistice for three years, on conditions favourable to Christian pilgrims (1192). The district along the shore, from Joppa to Askelon, was ceded to *Henry* of Champagne. On his return to England, *Richard* was seized by *Leopold* of Austria, whose flag he had insulted before Ptolemais, and kept a prisoner for two years. The Crusade was not resumed even after his liberation. He died 1199.

4. *Fourth Crusade* (1217).—Pope *Innocent III.* summoned Christendom a fourth time to the Holy War. The monarchs of Europe were too much engaged with their own affairs to give heed to this call; but *Fulk of Neuilly*, the great penitential preacher of his age, induced the nobility of France to fit out a considerable armament. Instead, however, of marching against the Saracens, they were induced by *Dandolo*, the Doge of Venice, to assist him in subduing *Zara* in Dalmatia, by way of payment for the transport of the troops, and then to advance against Constantinople, where *Baldwin of Flanders* founded a *Latin Empire* (1204–1261; Cf. § 67, 4). The Pope excommunicated the Doge and the crusaders for the conquest of Zara, and strongly censured the campaign against Constantinople. But he was appeased by the unexpected result; he rejoiced that Israel, after casting down the golden calves in Dan and Bethel, was again united with Judah, and bestowed the pallium, in Rome, upon the first Latin patriarch of Constantinople. —The *Crusade of the Children* (1212), which robbed parents in France and Germany of 40,000 children (boys and girls), terminated most sadly. Many thousands of them perished in Europe of hunger and fatigue, the rest fell into the hands of ruthless men who sold them into Egypt. At the urgent persuasion of Pope Honorius III., ANDREW II. of Hungary led another army of crusaders to Palestine in 1217. He gained some advantages; but, being betrayed or forsaken by the barons

of Palestine, he returned the following year. The Germans, however, who went out with him under Leopold VII. of Austria, remained, and, having been strengthened by a fleet from Cologne and the Netherlands, undertook (1218), in connection with King *John* of Jerusalem, a *campaign* into EGYPT. *Damietta* was taken; but by the breaking of the dykes of the Nile, they were driven to such extremities, that they owed their escape to the generosity of *Kamel* (1221).

5. *Fifth Crusade* (1228).—The Emperor FREDERIC II. had also promised the Pope to undertake a crusade, but delayed on various pretexts, till Pope Gregory at length excommunicated him. Frederic now set out at the head of a comparatively small army (1228). *Kamel*, the Sultan of Egypt, was at the time engaged in war with a rival. Under the apprehension that Frederic might co-operate with him, he hastily concluded peace, ceding Jerusalem and several other towns. On the Holy Sepulchre the Emperor crowned himself with his own hands (Jerusalem being the hereditary portion of his spouse *Jolanthe*), and then returned to make his peace with the See of Rome (1229).—The crusaders whom King *Theobald of Novarra* (1239) and Count *Richard of Cornwallis* (1240) led to Palestine, accomplished nothing, in consequence of factions among themselves, and the distractions prevailing among Syrian Christians.

6. *Sixth* (1248) *and Seventh Crusades* (1270).—The ardour in this cause had for a considerable time been declining. Nevertheless ST. LOUIS (IX.) of France assumed the cross, during a dangerous illness (1244). At that time Jerusalem was taken by the Carizmians, whom the Sultan of Egypt had hired, amid the most fearful cruelties. Until 1247 the authority of the Christians in Palestine was confined to Acre and some seaports. Louis could be restrained no longer. In 1248 he once more set out at the head of a considerable army, and, having wintered in Cyprus, passed in 1249 into Egypt. He defeated the Egyptians both by sea and by land, and took Damiette. His army, however, was decimated by battles, pestilence, and famine, and himself made prisoner by the Mamelukes, who had lately dethroned the dynasty of Saladin. After payment of a heavy ransom, he was allowed to return to his own country in 1250. The pious monarch still felt as if his vow had not been fulfilled. Accordingly, he embarked a second time in 1270 for Tunis, in the hope of making that city the basis of further operations. But half of his army, and the king himself, were swept away by a pestilence that same year. Ptolemais, the last stronghold of the Christians in the Holy Land, fell in 1291. The Popes failed ever afterwards to awaken an interest in new crusades.

§ 95. ISLAMISM AND THE JEWS IN EUROPE.

In the eleventh century the dominion of the Saracens in *Sicily* (§ 81) gave place to that of the Normans. In *Spain* (§ 81)

also the sway of Mohammedanism was drawing to a close. Frequent changes of rulers and dynasties, and the division of the country into small caliphates, had weakened the power of the Moors; while increasing degeneracy of morals, in a rich and luxurious country, gradually diminished the military prowess and ardour of the people. Although the Christian forces of the country were also drawn from a number of small kingdoms, patriotism and religious enthusiasm, which grew as the contest continued, rendered them invincible. *Rodrigo Diaz*, the Castilian hero (called by the Moors the *Cid*, or Lord, by Christians the *Campeador* or Commander) — *ob.* 1099 — appeared to these warriors the embodiment of Spanish and Christian chivalry, though it must be confessed that the conduct of this hero towards vanquished infidels was at times neither Christian nor knightly. The Moors called in the aid of the *Almoravides* (1086); but neither could they nor the *Almohades* from Barbary, who afterwards (1146) took their place, restore the former glory of the Moorish arms.[15]

1. *Islamism in Sicily.*— To the predatory incursions of the Sicilian Saracens into Italy, the Norman settlers there put an end (from 1017). *Robert Guiscard* subverted the remnants of Greek rule in Lower Italy, subdued the small Lombard dukedoms there, and founded an independent Norman duchy of Apuleia and Calabria (1060), whilst his brother *Roger*, in a war of 30 years' duration, seized all Sicily from the Saracens, and governed it as a vassal of his brother, under the name of Count of Sicily (*ob.* 1101). His son *Roger II.* (*ob.* 1154) connected the government of Apuleia and Calabria with that of Sicily, had himself crowned king of Sicily in 1130, and in 1139 conquered Naples. By the marriage of his daughter Constancia with *Henry IV.*, the Sicilian crown passed over to the Hohenstaufen (1194). But as Robert Guiscard already had given an oath of fealty to Pope Nicholas II., the successors of Peter regarded Sicily as a papal fief.

2. *Islamism in Spain.*— The times of *Abderrahman III.* (912–61) and *Hakem II.* (961–76), were the most brilliant and happy of the Ommiyahen caliphate. After the death of the latter the Hadschib *Almansur* (*ob.* 1002) reigned in the name of the effeminate and voluptuous *Hescham II.* But endless civil wars were the consequence of this arrangement; and in 1031, during one of these insurrections, the last Ommiyah, *Abderrahman IV.*, voluntarily renounced the crown and fled. The caliphate was now divided into as many emirates as there had been emirs. Amid these distractions Christian princes could extend their power. *Sancho* the Great, King of Navarre (970–1035), united under his dominion, by marriage and conquest, wellnigh the

whole of Christian Spain, but severed it again by division among his sons, of whom Ferdinand I. (*ob.* 1065) inherited Castile and conquered Leon (1037). With him began the glory of Spanish knighthood. His son Alfonzo IV. (*ob.* 1109) wrested (1085) Toledo, and a great part of Andalusia from the Moors. These called the potent *Almoravide* lord, *Yusuf Ben Taschfin*, of *Morocco*, to their aid. The Christians were defeated on the plains of Salacca (1086). Soon the victor turned his arms against the confederates, and within six years all Moslem Spain fell under his dominion. His son *Ali*, in the fearfully bloody battle of *Ucles* (1107), annihilated the flower of the Castilian nobility. That was the zenith of the Almoravide rule; from that time their star grew pale. *Alfonzo I.* of Aragon (1105–34) took Saragossa (1118), and other towns; Alfonzo VII. of Castile (1126–57), whose power rose to such a height that most Christian princes acknowledged him as their feudal lord, and that he had himself solemnly crowned, 1135, as Emperor of Spain, made a splendid campaign into Andalusia, and pressed even to the S. coast of Granada (1144). *Alfonzo I.* of Portugal wrested Lisbon from the Moors. Count *Raymund* of Barcelona, took Tortosa, &c. Simultaneously the power of the Almoravides was undermined in Africa In 1146 Morocco, and the whole of N.W. Africa, fell into the hands of *Almohaden Abdolmumin*, whose general Abu Amram at the same time took Andalusia (Moslem Spain). Abdolmumin's son *Yusuf* himself entered Spain, 1184, with an immense army, to exterminate Christian rule there, but fell in the battle of Santerem, against Alfonzo I. of Portugal. His son *Yakub* avenged this defeat by the bloody battle of *Alarcos*, in which 30,000 Castilians perished (1195). But as, after a few years, the Christians made new attempts, Yakub's successor, Mohammed, entered Spain with a half million of fanatical Africans. It was the decisive hour for Spain. The Christians had gained time to unite their strength. On the plains of *Tolosa*, 1212, they fought, under *Alfonzo VIII.* of Castile, with unexampled heroism. More than 200,000 Africans were left dead on the field of battle. It was the death-blow of Almohaden rule in Spain. In spite of the feuds which broke out among the Christian princes, they conquered (especially *St. Ferdinand III.* of Castile, 1217–52, and *James I.*, the Conqueror of Aragon, 1213–76), during twenty-five years, all Andalusia; so that only in the extreme south of Spain, in the kingdom of *Granada*, there remained a remnant of Moslem dominion, under the Emir *Mohammed Aben Alamar*, where the splendour of Arabic culture once more again shone forth.—In 1469 the two most powerful Christian kingdoms of Spain were united by the marriage of *Ferdinand* of Aragon with *Isabella* of Castile. Then came Granada's last hour. On January 2d, 1492, *Abu-Abdilahi* (*Boabdil*), the last caliph, concluded a disgraceful treaty, in accordance with which he evacuated Granada, and a few moments afterwards the Castilian banner waved over the loftiest turret of the proud Alhambra. The Pope bestowed upon the royal pair the title of Catholic kings. Those

Moors who refused baptism were expelled; but even the *Moriscoes*, or baptized Moors, proved so dangerous an element in the state, that Philip III., 1609, resolved upon their entire expulsion. Most of them sought refuge in Africa, where they again professed Islamism, which they had never cordially renounced.

3. By trade and usury the *Jews* had obtained almost exclusive possession of the coined money. The influence thus acquired was more than counterbalanced by the cruelty and oppression to which, from their wealth, they were exposed on the part of needy princes and nobles. Every public calamity was popularly ascribed to them; they poisoned the wells, and thus occasioned epidemics; they stole consecrated wafers in order to pierce them through with needles; they abducted Christian children to sacrifice them at their Passover. Popular superstition and enmity, thus excited, frequently found vent in tumults, in which thousands of these Jews were slain. But their faith was even dearer to them than their gold, and they feared baptism more than torture. Occasionally the crusaders also commenced their heroic exploits at home with a massacre of Jews. In Spain the synagogue suffered persecutions similar to those of the Moors and Moriscoes. Several of the popes — especially *Gregory VII.*, *Alexander III.*, and *Innocent III.*—published ordinances for the protection of the Jews, interdicted the practice of forced conversions, and called attention to the circumstance that they were destined by Providence to be living evidences to the truth of Christianity.—The German Emperors, also, took the Jews under their special protection, regarding them as *servi cameræ nostræ speciales* (as Vespasian and Titus had done). In England and France also, they were considered as property of the crown.

II. HIERARCHY, THE CLERGY, AND MONASTICISM.

§ 96. THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN GERMAN EMPIRE.

Cf. *W. Giesebrecht*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Kaiserzeit. Braunschw. 1852, etc. (So far 2 vols.)

The history of the Papacy during this period opens amid its deepest degradation. It was Germany which put an end to these infamous abuses; the Papacy once more recovered from its low state, and remembering its high aims, rapidly rose to the highest point of its influence and power. With the alternative before it

of being subject to the secular power of the emperors or of rendering them subject to its spiritual sway, it entered into mortal conflict with that very monarchy to which it owed its recovery. In this contest, which raged most fiercely during the disputes with the Hohenstaufen dynasty, the Papacy carried indeed the victory, but only again to experience that it could neither coexist nor dispense with a strong imperial government. As the overturn of the empire of Charlemagne had reduced the Papacy to utter degradation under the vile rule of Italian nobles, so its victory over the German monarchs issued in rendering it subject to French policy, to an extent scarcely less humiliating. — At the time when the Papacy rose from its decay, the orders of Clugny and Camaldoli (§ 98) proved its strongest supporters and best advisers; afterwards, the begging friars formed a sort of Papal standing army; while the Crusades, besides contributing a good deal of enthusiasm in favour of the Church, found employment and a grave for troublesome princes and their armies.— When *the Papacy* reached its climax, the Holy Father was regarded as absolute head of the Church. Already theologians argued that the position of the Supreme Pontiff in the theocracy must insure the *infallibility* of his official decrees. *Gregory VII.* claimed for the chair of Peter the right of confirming all appointments to vacant sees. From the time of *Innocent III.*, what formerly had been merely papal recommendations to vacant posts (*preces*, whence the parties recommended were called *precistæ*) were issued as *mandata;* while *Clement IV.* (*ob.* 1268) insisted that the Pontiff possessed the power of "plenaria dispositio" over all ecclesiastical benefices. According to these vicars of Christ, *Universal Councils* had only a deliberative voice. From every tribunal *an appeal* might be taken to the successors of the apostles; they might grant *dispensation* from any law of the Church, and they alone possessed the right of *canonizing*. The practice of *kissing the foot* originated in an Italian custom; and even emperors stooped to hold the stirrup to the Pope.[16] In all countries, *legates*, with absolute power, acted as representatives of the Pope. Theirs it was to convoke and to preside over provincial councils. From the time of Nicholas I. it was customary to crown the Sovereign Pontiff, although at first only a simple crown called *tiara* was used for the purpose. The College of *Cardinals*, which consisted of the clergy of the cathedral at Rome, and of the seven bishops in the metropolitan diocese,

formed the ecclesiastical and secular council of the Pope. The Romish curia discharged all the ordinary business; the ministry of finance bore the name of *Rota Romana*. Besides the regular revenues derived from the States of the Church and the annual tribute from foreign countries, the bestowal of the pall upon newly-elected metropolitans brought considerable sums into the papal treasury. Under special circumstances, the popes also claimed the right of levying a contribution from all churches.

1. *The Papacy to the Death of Sylvester II.* (904–1003). — (Cf. *F. E. Löscher*, Gesch. d. röm. Hurenregiments, 1707, 2. Aufl. unter d. Titel: Hist. d. mittlern Zeiten als ein Licht aus d. Finsterniss. Lpz. 1725, 4to. — *L. Ranke*, Jahrb. d. deutsch. Reiches unter d. sächs. Hause v. *G. Waitz*, *R. A. Köpke*, *W. Dönniges*, *W. Giesebrecht*, u. *R. Wilmanns*, 3 Bd. Berl. 1837, &c. — *Vehse*, Otto d. Gr. u. s. Zeit. Zittau, 1835. — *C. Höfler*, d. deutsch. Päpste. Bd. I. Regensb. 1839.—*Floss*, d. Papstwahl unter d. Ottomen. Freib. 1858.) — In the contests of the Italian nobles which ensued after the departure of the Emperor Arnulf (§ 82, 5), the party of *Adalbert*, Margrave of Tuscany, proved ultimately victorious. For half a century *Theodora*, the concubine of that prince — a beautiful and noble Roman, but steeped in lowest vice — and her equally infamous daughters, *Marozia* (Maria) and *Theodora*, filled the See of Peter with their paramours, their sons, and grandsons, who surpassed each other in vileness and wickedness of every kind (the so-called *Pornocracy*). The first of these pontiffs was Sergius III. (904–911), the paramour of Marozia. He was succeeded by John X. (914–928), whom the elder Theodora summoned from his see at Ravenna, as the distance of that city from Rome put some restraint on her infamous connection with him. John successfully resisted the inroads of the Saracens in Italy (§ 81), and after the death of Theodora would have put an end to the infamous rule of these women; but Marozia had him cast into prison and smothered. The next occupant of the papal chair was John XI. (931), the son of Pope Sergius and Marozia. But *Alberic*, his brother, deprived this pontiff and his successors of all secular power (*ob.* 954). *Octavianus*, the son of Alberic, and the most dissolute of that race, at the age of eighteen, once more combined the spiritual and secular power. He was the first pontiff who on his elevation to the Papal See changed his name, adopting that of John XII. (955–963).—Meanwhile matters had progressed beyond measure in Germany. After the death of Louis III. (911), the last of the Carlovingians, the Frank duke, *Conrad I.* (911–18), was chosen German king. Although vigorously supported by the higher clergy (the Synod of Hohenaltheim, 915, which invoked all the terrors of hell upon insurgents), his conflicts with other dukes prevented his founding a united German empire. This point was first attained under his successor, *Henry I.* of Saxony (919–36), who, disclaiming the politics of the clergy, granted the dukes

independence in the government of their respective districts. His great son, *Otho I.* (936–73), after long civil wars, reducing the power of the dukes, conquering and converting the heathen Danes, Wends, Bohemians, and Hungarians, decided on interference in the French dissensions; and, gathering around him energetic German clergy, secured such influence as no Western ruler since Charlemagne had enjoyed.—Pope John XII. and the princes of Lombardy invoked the aid of Otho I., against Berengar II. Otho conquered the kingdom of Italy, and at Candlemas, 692, in St. Peter's, was crowned by the pope as Roman Emperor — a dignity which had been extinct for thirty-eight years (962). Thus was the *holy Roman German Empire* established—a power which for centuries continued the central point of the history of the world and the Church. But Otho had hardly left Rome before the Pope changed sides, and entered into alliance with Berengar for the purpose of expelling the Germans. Otho hastened to Rome, and at a *synod* held in that city (963) deposed the Pontiff, as guilty of incest, perjury, blasphemy, murder, and other crimes, and made the Romans swear over the relics of St. Peter that they would never again elect or consecrate a pope, without obtaining the Emperor's privilege and approbation. Otho suppressed repeated insurrections of the Romans, without difficulty. After his death, the Tuscan party, under *Crescentius*, a son of John XII. by the younger Theodora, again obtained the ascendency, and was only temporarily kept in check by Otho II. (973–983). While in Rome itself the Papacy was thus in the hands of an unprincipled political party, its spiritual supremacy was seriously threatened in France. In 987 *Hugo Capet* had assumed the French crown; he now appealed to Pope *John XV.* (985–96) to remove *Arnulf*, Archbishop of Rheims, who had opened the gates of that city to the enemies of the new monarch. The Pope hesitated; but the French king summoned a synod at Rheims, which deposed the rebellious prelate, whose place was filled by *Gerbert* (991), the most learned man and the ablest politician of his age. The council, at the same time, openly avowed the purpose of separating the entire French Church from Rome, whose bishops for a century had sunk into the deepest immoralities. Gerbert presented a confession of faith, which rejected celibacy and fasting, and only recognized the first four general councils. But the scheme failed, less in consequence of the rather ineffectual opposition of the Pope, than of a reaction of the high-church Cluniacensian party, and popular feeling excited against it by that party. Gerbert could not maintain his position, and was heartily glad to shake the dust of Rheims from his feet, and to accept an honourable call of *Otho III.* to become his classical tutor (997). *Robert*, the successor of Hugo, was weak enough to abandon Gerbert and to restore Arnulf (996). John XV. called in the aid of *Otho III.* (983–1002) against the oppressions of Crescentius, but died before the arrival of the Emperor (996). Otho directed the choice upon Bruno, his cousin, who assumed the name of

Gregory V. (996–9), the first German pontiff. This excellent prelate only survived to 999. Gerbert, who had lately been appointed Archbishop of Ravenna, was now elected through the influence of the Emperor. He ascended the chair of Peter by the name of Sylvester II. (999–1003). In Ravenna, already, Gerbert had adopted high-church views, and as pope he developed a degree of energy which made him a worthy follower of Gregory V., and a more worthy predecessor of Gregory VII. He especially assailed simony, that real cancer of the Church, and by sending the ring and staff to Arnulf, he made the first attempt at securing for the papacy the right of investiture. As Otho's tutor he had flattered the young prince's vanity, by inspiring him with the idea of reviving the ancient glory of Rome, and becoming a universal Emperor. This led Otho to raise Gerbert to the papal chair. But now Gerbert endeavoured by various crafty measures to evade the scheme. The phantom of a *renovatio imperii Romani* was actualized by introducing the mummery of the ceremonies and grand titles of the Byzantine Court. Upon the occasion of a pilgrimage to the tomb of his friend, St. Adalbert, in Gnesen (§ 93, 3), the Emperor emancipated the Polish Church, by elevating the see there to an archbishopric. He also released *Boleslav Chrobry* (§ 93, 3), the most dangerous foe of Germany, from vassalage to the German Empire, and incorporating him in his imaginary universal dominion, called him "A friend and confederate of the Romish nation" (1000). In the same year *Sylvester* bestowed, in the exercise of papal authority, the crown on *St. Stephen* of Hungary, and appointed him, on the annual payment of a feudal tax, papal vicar, with full power in ecclesiastical affairs over his country, which, by forming a separate metropolitinate at Gran, he wrested from its ecclesiastical subjection to Passau and Salzburg. Thus Otho allowed himself to be tied to the hierarchical leading-strings of his papal friend; although, on one occasion, when the Pope had obtained the gift of eight manors in the Roman territory, Otho reminded him that it was a free gift of imperial grace, and unsparingly chastised the extravagance and covetousness of the popes, and pronounced the grant of Constantine a fraudulent fable. His Germans, and especially the German clergy, were alienated by his anti-national course. The German princes charged him with treason against the German Empire. Soon all Italy, with spoiled Rome at its head, was in open rebellion. But an early death, in his twenty-second year (1002) rescued the unhappy youth from extreme humiliation. The Pope's lucky star also set. He died 1003. According to popular belief, he had practised the black art, and was indebted for his learning and the success of his hierarchical measures to his league with the devil.

2. *To the Synod of Sutri* (1003–1046). — (Cf. *J. G. H. Stenzel*, Gesch. Deutschl. unter d. fränk. Kaisern, 2 Bde. Lpz. 1827. — *C. Höfler*, d. Deutsche Päpste. 2 Bde. Regensb. 1839). — After the death of Otho III., *Henry II.* (1002-24), Duke of Bavavia, a great-grandson of Henry

I., and the last offshoot of the house of Saxony, attained to the German throne, one of the best rulers who ever occupied it. Neither a bigoted zealot nor a slave of the priests, and yet truly pious in the spirit of his age; strictly churchly, and looking to his bishops as the props of his empire against all revolutionary tendencies of temporal princes, no German emperor ever ruled the Church as he did, none ever so ventured to cut away the excrescences which clung to her, or so thoroughly to reform her abuses. In Rome, on the contrary, after the death of Otho III., *John Crescentius*, son of Crescentius II., who had been beheaded by Otho's orders, made himself sole ruler of the city, and placed his own creatures on Peter's chair. But when he, and the pope he had last appointed, both died, in 1012, the long-oppressed Tusculan party arose and chose a scion of that family, *Benedict VIII.* (1012–24), as pope. *Gregory*, whom the Crescentians had elevated, was compelled to flee. He sought aid of *Henry II.* But Henry preferred the more mighty and noble *Benedict*, had himself crowned by him (1014), and thenceforth continued on the best of terms with him. Both the emperor and pope maintained friendly relations with the monks of Clugny, both acknowledged the need of a thorough reformation in the Church, and both were every way well qualified to effect it. But Benedict was so occupied with vanquishing the Crescentians, and then the Greeks and Saracens in Italy, and Henry so engaged with the suppression of the internal and external dissensions of his empire, that they could not devise the desired measures until near the end of their life. The pope took the lead; at the *Synod of Pavia* (1018), he excommunicated all priests having wives and concubines, and condemned their children to servitude. The emperor had still larger schemes: he wished to call a general Western council at Pavia, and there reform the entire Western Church. But Benedict's death, and that of Henry, a few months later (1024), frustrated these plans. Henry II. left no issue. After his death, *Conrad II.* (1024–39), ascended the throne; he founded the Frankish or Salic house. He was an energetic, and in his way, pious ruler, who, however, lacked all deep views of the evils of the Church, or of the means necessary to correct them. The empire was greatly strengthened and extended by him, but the reformatory plans of his predecessor were wholly disregarded by him. Still less did the cotemporary popes attempt any thing in this direction. *Benedict VIII.* was followed by his brother *Romanus*, as *John XIX.* (1024–33), who utterly lacked his brother's qualities (Cf. § 67, 2). When he died, Count Alberich of Tusculum persuaded the Romans, by bribes and promises, to elect his son Theophylact, but ten years old, yet an adept in the most scandalous vices; he called himself *Benedict IX.* (1033–48), and dishonoured the chair of St. Peter with the most vile profligacy. Not until *Henry III.*, Conrad's son (1039–56), interfered, did matters improve. He aimed at establishing a universal monarchy, after the idea of Charlemagne, and came nearer attaining this object than any

other German emperor; at the same time he was animated with a strong desire to have the Church reformed. *Benedict IX.* was expelled the second time by the Romans, in 1044. They sold the tiara to *Sylvester III.*, whom, however, Benedict drove off three months afterwards. Benedict now conceived the mad fancy of marrying as Pope; but the father of his chosen bride refused his assent. Then Benedict sold the papal chair to the archdeacon, *John Gratian*, for 1000 pounds of silver. He, though a pious, unassuming man, subjected himself (by advice of his Cluniacensian friends, among whom was a young Roman monk, *Hildebrand*, the son of a blacksmith at Saona, who had then already distinguished himself), to the scandal of simony, in order to rescue the papal chair from ruin. He assumed the name of *Gregory VI.* (1045–46). But he lacked strength for his onerous task. *Benedict*, whose marriage scheme failed, again set up as pope; likewise *Sylvester*. Rome had three popes at once, and all notorious simonists. The Cluniacensian party abandoned Gregory, and invoked the intervention of the German king. *Henry* came, and at the *Synod of Sutri* (1046), caused all three popes to be deposed as simonists. The Romans allowed him to choose a successor. He selected Bishop *Suidger of Bamberg*, who took the title of *Clement II.* (1046–47), and crowned the king emperor on *Christmas* (1046). The Romans were so overjoyed at the restoration of order in the city, that they conferred upon the emperor the patriciate, and the right, perpetually, of chosing the pope, and swore that they would never consecrate a pope without the emperor's consent. Henry took the ex-pope, Gregory, to Germany, where he died in Cologne. Hildebrand, his chaplain, attended him to the last, and soon after his death entered the Clugny monastery.

3. *To Gregory VII.* (1046–73). — (Cf. *Höfler* and *Stenzel*, ll. cc. — *J. F. Gaab*, Apologie Gregor's VII. Tübg. 1792. — *J. Voigt*, Hildebr. als Gr. VII. u. s. Zeit. 2. A. Weimar, 1846. — *G. Cassander*, d. Zeitalter Hildebr. für. u. wider ihn. Darmst. 1842.—*J. M. Söltl*, Greg. VII. Lpz. 1847.—*J. Helfenstein*, Gregor's VII. Bestrebungen nach d. Streitschfrr. s. Zeit. Frankf. 1856. — *A. F. Gfrörer*, P. Greg. VII. u. s. Zeitalt. Schaffh. 1859. Bd. I.—*J. M. Söltl*, Heinr. IV. Münch. 1823.—*H. Floto*, Heinr. IV. u. s. Zeitalt. 2 Bde. Stuttg. 1855 etc. — *R. A. Lipsius*, zur Gesch. Gr. VII. In the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1859, II.) — *Clement II.* was the first of a long series of able *German Popes*. They were chosen by Henry III., and under his protection laboured energetically and effectually at reforming the Church. All the reformatory spirits of that age, whether disciples of Clugny, pupils of Romuald, or hermits of Vallambrosa (§ 97, 1), acknowledged *simony* (or the procuring of ecclesiastical offices by purchase and bribery, Acts 8 : 19), and *Nicolaitanism* (§ 19), which term designated all the carnal sins of the clergy, including marriage and concubinage, as well as unnatural lecheries, — as the root of all prevailing evils; and both these were so common, especially in Italy, that scarcely an ecclesiastic could be

found who was not guilty of them. *Clement II.* opened, in the emperor's presence, at a synod in Rome (1047), the attack on simony. But he died (possibly of poison) before the end of a year. Whilst Roman ambassadors were seeking a new pope at the German court, *Benedict IX.*, supported by the Tusculan party, resumed the papacy, and Henry had to use severe threats before his choice, Bishop *Poppo of Brixen*, could ascend the papal throne as *Damasus II.* In twenty-three days he was a corpse. This fatality cooled the ambition of German bishops to obtain the tiara. After long resistance, Bishop *Bruno of Toul*, the emperor's cousin, and Clugny's zealous friend, accepted the appointment, but only on condition that the people and clergy of Rome should assent to his choice, by a canonical election. At Besançon he met with Hildebrand, who, at his request, joined him, and induced him to lay aside his papal insignia, and proceed to Rome in the garb of a pilgrim. Bruno entered the Eternal City barefoot, and once more elected by the clergy and people, ascended the throne as Leo IX. (1048–54). He found the treasury utterly empty, and all the revenues from estates seized by the nobility. But Hildebrand became his treasurer, and soon improved the finances of the pope and his retinue. Leo displayed unexampled activity for the reform of the Church and the elevation of the papacy. No pope travelled about so much as he, none held so many synods at different places. At all these the extirpation of simony was the burden of their decisions. Gratitude, consanguinity, and inseparable common interests, bound him to the German emperor. He could, therefore, not yet have thought of an emancipation of the papacy from imperial supremacy. But in France (Council of Rheims, 1049), he confirmed the Pseudoisidore decretal, and demanded of the Greek emperor the restitution of Constantine's grant. In the war with the excommunicated Normans in South Italy, his army was routed, and he was taken prisoner (1053). But as soon as he released them from the ban they kissed his feet most devoutly. On the other hand his ambassadors in Constantinople completed the schism between the Eastern and Western Church (§ 67, 3). — After Leo's death, Hildebrand's friends desired him to wear the papal robes; but he refused. The Church had not yet acquired sufficient power to endure the deadly conflict with imperial supremacy. He therefore went at the head of an embassy which solicited the emperor to appoint a new pope. Hildebrand had fixed upon Bishop *Gebhard of Eichstädt*, who enjoyed the full confidence of the emperor, and was his ablest counsellor, and he did not rest until he had overcome Henry's and then the bishop's objections. It was a masterpiece of Cluniacensian policy; for thus the opposite party in Germany lost its ablest leader, and Rome obtained a competent pope. At length Gebhard yielded to the plea of the emperor with the declaration: "Well! I yield myself soul and body to St. Peter, but only on condition that you likewise restore to him what belongs to him." The emperor consented to a

supplementary election in Rome, and pledged himself to restore in full the patrimony of St. Peter. Gebhard took the title of *Victor II.* (1055–57). Henry kept his word; he restored the papal territories in the widest sense, and, besides, transferred to the pope the governorship of all Italy. Henry died in 1056, having first conveyed the regency to his wife *Agnes*, and earnestly recommended her to the counsel and support of the pope, then present. But Victor, likewise, died in 1057. Hildebrand could not boast of having ruled over him, influential as his position was under Victor's reign.

After Victor's death, the cardinals, regardless of the imperial prerogative, forthwith elected Cardinal *Frederick of Lorraine*, then abbot of Monte-Cassino, and Hildebrand went to Germany to obtain the approbation of the empress. *Stephen IX.* (1057–58) as Frederick called himself, died before Hildebrand's return. During his absence the Tusculan party elevated a pope after their own mind, *Benedict X.* (1058.) But an embassy of Hildebrand to the empress procured the selection of Bishop *Gerhard* of Florence as the successor of Peter. Benedict had to flee, and Gerhard, under the name of *Nicholas II.* (1058–61) ascended the papal chair. Then Hildebrand's greatness began to shine forth in its full brightness; he became, until his own elevation, the ruling spirit of the Roman court. In spite of obstacles, he raised the papacy and Church to unprecedented power and glory. He advanced systematically, ever more boldly and irresistibly, toward a total reformation of the Church. The freedom of the Church from the arbitrariness and power of the State; independence, in the election of popes, of all temporal influences; the extermination of simony; fearless severity against the immorality of the clergy; the enforcement of celibacy as the most efficient means of emancipating the clergy from the power of the world and the State; and the appointment of the best men to the respective offices, were the lever of this reformation. The indispensable temporal support in these measures Hildebrand sought among the Normans. Hence Nicholas II. early applied to them; released them of the ban under which they had rested since Stephen's time; on the ground of Constantine's grant, invested their leader, *Robert Guiscard* (§ 95, 1) with the dominion over Apuleia, Calabria, and Sicily (not yet wrested from the Saracens); took from him an oath of vassalage, by which he bound himself to pay an annual tribute, to protect the papal chair against every invasion of its rights, and above all to maintain the papal elections of the "meliores cardinales." After Nicholas, aided by the Normans, had overthrown the last citadels of the Tusculan counts, he issued a decree, at a Lateran Council in Rome (1059), according to which the election of popes was thenceforth to be made by the *cardinals* alone, and then recognized by the clergy and people, yet *salvo debito honore et reverentia dilecti filii nostri Heinrici, qui impræsentiarum rex habetur, et futurus imperator Deo concedente speratur, sicut jam sibi concessimus et successoribus illius, qui ab apos-*

tolica sede personaliter hoc jus impetraverint.—This decree, and no less the league with the Normans, was a public insult to the imperial rights over Italy and the papal chair. The empress, therefore, summoned a council of German bishops, about Easter, 1061, at which a sentence of condemnation was passed upon Nicholas, and all his regulations were annulled. The pope soon after died. The Tusculan party now united with the Germans, under the Lombard Chancellor *Wibert*, requested the empress to furnish a new pope. At the *Council of Basel* (1061), Bishop *Cadalus of Parma* was appointed. He assumed the title of *Honorius II.* (1061–72). But Hildebrand had, four weeks before, by agreement with *Beatrix* of Canossa, caused Bishop *Anselm of Lucca* to be elected by the cardinals, and consecrated as *Alexander II.* (1061–73) Honorius, led by Wibert, went to Rome and repeatedly vanquished the party of his opponent in bloody conflicts. Duke *Godfrey* the Bearded, of Lorraine, the husband of Beatrix, now interfered as mediator. He induced both popes to return to their Sees, and submit their controversy to the decision of the empress. Meanwhile, matters in Germany were tending toward a most pernicious catastrophe. Archbishop *Anno of Cologne*, at the head of a conspiracy of princes, allured the young king, then twelve years old, at Kaiserswerth, on a Rhine vessel, and carried him off to Cologne (1062). He now secured the guardianship of the royal youth, and with it the government of the empire. A Council at Augsburg (1062) deposed Honorius, and acknowledged Alexander as the legitimate pope. But Honorius by no means yielded his claims. With a small army he marched upon Rome (1064), seized the Leonine city, fortified himself in St. Angelo castle, and repeatedly routed the troops of his opponent. But Hildebrand reminded the Normans of their oath. They therefore came, and for two years besieged the anti-pope in St. Angelo, when he escaped by flight. At the *Council of Mantua* (1067), Alexander was again acknowledged, and Honorius, who tried in vain to split the council by martial force, once more deposed. After that he sank into obscurity, and died forsaken in 1072. Meanwhile the proud, ambitious priest of Cologne had to surrender the training of the young king, *Henry IV.* (1056–1106), to his Northern colleague, Archbishop *Adalbert* of Bremen; and if the former, by his excessive severity, had exerted an unhappy influence upon the royal youth, the latter spoiled him by excessive leniency. In order to put a check upon his debaucheries, Anno persuaded him to marry the Marchioness *Bertha*. Ere long he endeavoured to obtain a divorce, but his attempt was frustrated by the opposition of the papal legate *Damiani*, at the Diet of Worms (1069). This was Henry's first conflict with the papacy. Soon afterwards the Saxons complained to the pope of his extreme oppression of his subjects, and making merchandise of all the offices of the Church. *Alexander II.* had the unprecedented boldness to cite him to Rome. The pope died soon after, and escaped Henry's wrath, and the matter ended

4. *Gregory VII.* (1073–85).—(For sources see the preceding section.) — *Hildebrand* had now sufficiently strengthened the papacy, and no longer hesitated to complete, in his own name, the work which he had so auspiciously begun. He ascended the chair of Peter by the name of Gregory VII., and intimated his appointment to Henry IV. in a letter so humble and conciliatory as to procure the emperor's confirmation. At a *synod held in Rome* in 1074, he re-enacted the old stringent laws of *celibacy;* declared all priests who lived in wedlock, or had obtained their offices by simony, to be deposed and their priestly functions invalid. The lower clergy, who were generally married, violently opposed this measure; but Gregory carried the point (comp. § 97, 2). Papal legates visited every country, and, supported by the popular voice, carried the order of the Pope into execution. At another synod held in Rome (1075), the real contest against simony and the practice of receiving *investiture* from secular lords was commenced. Any ecclesiastic who in future should accept office from the hands of a layman was to be deposed, and the secular lord who bestowed investiture to be excommunicated. This threat was first put in execution in the case of Henry's personal advisers, who had been guilty of the most shameless simony. The emperor, at the time fully engaged with suppressing a revolt of the Saxons, concealed his anger, and dismissed his advisers. They were, however, restored at the close of the war, and the former simony, spoliation of churches, and oppression recommenced. Meantime Gregory himself met with opposition in Italy. *Cencius*, the leader of that party among the nobles which was opposed to reform, attacked the pope in church during the celebration of the Christmas festivities (1075); but the Romans set him free, and Cencius had to fly. A papal embassy was now (1076) despatched to the court at Goslar, to cite the emperor to appear personally at Rome under pain of excommunication. Henry no longer restrained his indignation; he insulted the legates, and at a *synod held at Worms* in 1076 had the pope deposed, on the charges of tyranny, magic, and adultery. Gregory replied by excommunicating all the bishops who had taken part in the synod, and by solemnly deposing and excommunicating the emperor, at the same time freeing his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The papal ban made a deep impression on the people and princes of Germany, and the prelates submitted one after the other. At a *diet held at Tribur* the election of a new emperor was even discussed, when the weak monarch, as much dismayed as formerly he had been obstinate and imperious, resolved upon humbling himself to the utmost. Indeed, such a step had now become necessary, and took not the pope by surprise, although it disconcerted his plans. — In the cold winter of 1077, from the 25th to the 27th January, the emperor stood barefoot in the garb of a penitent, and fasting the whole day, in the court of the castle of Canossa, belonging to the Countess *Matilda*, whom Gregory was at the

time visiting. At length the pope consented to give him absolution, but only on condition of his not assuming the royal dignity till his cause had been investigated and decided. But Henry immediately broke his promise, and accepted the proffered aid of the Lombards. Gregory again hurled his anathema, pope and emperor deposed each other, and both parties set up antagonists. The armies of Henry were successful. *Rudolf of Swabia*, his opponent in the empire, died soon after the battle of Merseburg (1080), and Henry escorted the anti-pope, Clement III., to Italy. Rome was taken; but still Gregory refused all overtures of peace, and shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, till the Norman duke, *Robert Guiscard*, restored him to liberty in 1084. Gregory died the following year at Salerno (1085).

Gregory VII. also came in conflict with King *Philip I. of France*, and threatened him with an interdict and with deposition for his simony. But the result of this attempt was comparatively trifling. Philip apparently obeyed the command of the Pope, but did not change his course, and Gregory thought it prudent not to press the matter. Still more cautiously did he act towards *William the Conqueror*, of England, although William tyrannized with an iron grasp over the Church of his realm, and was scarcely less guilty of simony than the Kings of Germany and France. But the Pope, who hoped to engage William in a war against Henry IV., and who even excited expectations of obtaining the imperial crown, closed his eyes against William's faults, and overloaded him with favours. The primate of England, also, *Lanfranc of Canterbury*, who was displeased with the Pope for protecting the heretic Berengar (§ 102, 2), showed no special zeal on behalf of the reforms desired by the Pope. Indeed at a *Synod at Winchester* (1076), the law of celibacy was defeated, though with the restriction that the secular clergy should no longer be allowed to marry, but priests then married were not required to dismiss their wives.

It was the great object of Hildebrand's life to form a *universal theocracy*, of which the *Pope*, as vicar of Christ upon earth, and hence as possessing supreme power, should be the visible head. Not that the royal power was to be abrogated, or its independence limited; it was an institution of God, but its province extended only to secular matters, and any invasion of spiritual rights was to be corrected and punished by the Pope. In this grand papal theocracy, which itself was subject only to God and His law, all Christian states were to be joined together as members of one body. It was the spiritual power which consecrated and bestowed divine sanction upon secular rulers; they reigned by the grace of God, but mediately, not immediately—the Church being the medium between them and God. The Pope was supreme arbiter and lord over them, to whose decisions they were implicitly to submit. The relation between royalty and the Papacy was similar to that of the moon to the sun, receiving from the latter light and heat. As the Church gave its divine authority to secular

rule, it might again withdraw it where power was abused, and in such cases subjects were absolved from their allegiance. — Admitting that this system was not consonant with the Gospel, it cannot be denied that during this period of transition it formed a necessary counterpoise to the arbitrary and despotic interferences on the part of the secular power. Gregory, and with him the ablest men of his age, considered that in this system alone lay the salvation of society, the sole and true preservation both of Church and State, of princes and peoples. And in a certain sense they were right. If the Church was to accomplish its great mission in the training of *those* nations on whom the future devolved, if it was not to perish amidst the barbarism of that period, it must have been concentrated and secured in a power such as, according to Gregory, the Papacy was intended to establish. — It was not to place his own individuality on the summit of human authority, but to preserve the Church from imminent destruction, that Gregory undertook his gigantic work. Not vulgar love of power nor vain ambition animated him, but the idea of the high destiny of the Church, to which he devoted his life with enthusiastic ardour. In such a service only would he have spent his high intellectual and moral powers. True, a strong individuality supported him in his struggles, but at the same time he always preserved the consciousness of being a poor sinner, who could find mercy only through the merits of the Saviour. Occasionally, indeed, his energy degenerated into passionate obstinacy, and his enthusiastic devotedness to the interests of the Church led him to forget what by Divine appointment was the province and authority of the State; but these exaggerations were provoked by the determined perversity with which he was met. Even his bitterest enemies could not impugn the strict morality of his conduct. However strict and unbending in matters which he deemed true or necessary, he displayed at the same time, not unfrequently, a kindliness and liberality far in advance of his age, as, for example, in the dispute of Berengar (§ 102, 2), and in his decided opposition to the belief in witchcraft and magic, common at that period.

5. *To the Settlement of the Dispute about Investiture* (1085–1123) — (cf. *E. Garvais*, polit. Gesch. Deutchl. unter. Heinr. V. u. Lothar III. 2 Bde. Lpz. 1841, 2.) — The immediate successors of Hildebrand had been trained in his views, and adopted his policy. The contest between the imperial and papal parties still continued. Urban II. (1088–1099), the second in the See of Peter after Gregory, was indeed obliged to vacate Rome in favour of Clement III., the imperial anti-Pope; but the enthusiasm for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre excited by *Peter of Amiens*, and with which at the *Council of Claremont* (1095) the Pope inspired Western Christendom, gave him the greatest influence among his cotemporaries. An army of crusaders chased the anti-Pope from Rome; and Urban was able to resist successfully the opposition of *Philip I.* of France, whom he had excommunicated at Clermont on account of

his adulterous connection with Bertrada. Tidings of the *conquest of Jerusalem* (1099) reached the Pope on his death-bed. He was succeeded by PASCHAL II. (1099–1118), who also had been trained at Clugny. This pontiff completely humbled Henry IV. by supporting the cause of his rebellious son. But no sooner had *Henry V.* (1106–1125) attained the object of his ambition, than the dispute about investiture commenced anew. The Pope, choosing to see the Church poor rather than in bondage, was obliged to conclude a treaty by which the right of investiture was conceded to the Church, on condition that all ecclesiastical fiefs obtained since the time of Charlemagne should be restored to the State (1110). The bishops and abbots, however, resisted this agreement, and rendered its fulfilment impossible. Henry took the Pope prisoner, and obliged him to make a new treaty, by which the investiture of bishops with ring and staff (the symbols of priestly authority) *before consecration* was formally acknowledged as a right belonging to the Emperor. But at a *synod held at Rome* (1112) the party of Hildebrand called the Pope to account. His concessions were declared invalid, and the Emperor excommunicated. The dispute now broke out afresh. Henry took Rome, and the Pope died in exile. At last the controversy terminated, so far as Germany was concerned, by mutual concessions under the pontificate of *Calixtus II.* (1119–1124). THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS (1122) settled that all elections of bishops were to be freely conducted according to the laws of the Church, but under the supervision of the Emperor; and that the right of spiritual investiture by ring and staff belonged to the Pope, while that of secular infiefment with the sceptre was conceded to the Emperor. This agreement was confirmed by the FIRST GENERAL LATERAN COUNCIL in 1123 (called in the West the Ninth Œcumenical Council).—In *England* the same controversy had been earlier brought to a close. Even *William the Conqueror* (1066–1087) had been guilty of gross simony. The abuse reached its highest point under the reign of his son *William Rufus*. *Ralph Flambard*, Archbishop of Canterbury, acted as the trusty adviser of the king in this nefarious traffic. During a severe illness William promised amendment, deposed Ralph (1093), and in his place appointed a well-known ecclesiastic, *Anselm*, Abbot of Bec (§ 102, 1, 3). But the good resolutions of the king vanished with his illness; he even ventured to insist upon payment of a large sum from Anselm in consideration of his promotion. As this was resisted by the new archbishop, the king confiscated the estates of the archiepiscopal see, and continued to oppress Anselm till he fled to Rome (1097). *Henry Beauclerc*, the son of William, who usurped the throne in violation of the claims of Robert, his elder brother, required the support of the clergy to maintain his position, and hence recalled the primate (1099), promising to abstain from every form of simony. During his stay in Rome, Anselm had attended and voted at a synod against lay investiture. Accordingly, he now refused to take even the

oath of fealty; and as the king insisted upon this, left England a second time (1103), and lived for several years in exile at Lyons. *Pope Paschal II.* took up his cause, and threatened to launch an interdict. Ultimately, however, the king and archbishop, with consent of the Pope, agreed, at a meeting held in the monastery of Bec, wholly to dispense with the ceremony of investiture by ring and staff, and to go through the formality of taking the oath of fealty (1106).

6. *To the time of Innocent III.* (1123–1198.) — (Cf. *Fr. v. Raumer*, Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen, 4. A. 6 Bde. Lpz. 1871 etc. — *W. Zimmerman*, die Hohenst. oder d. Kampf d. Monarchie gegen d. Papst u. d. republ. Freiheit. 2 Bde. Stuttg. 1838. — *H. Reuter*, Alex. III u. d. K. sr. Zeit. Berl. 1860, —— *Ring*, Friedr. I im Kampf gegen Alex. III. Stuttg. 1838. — *H. Franke*, Arn. v. Brescia u. sr. Zeit. Zurich 1825. — *F. J. Buss*, d. h. Thomas v. Cantb. Mainz 1856). — A division among the cardinals led to a double election to the Papacy in 1130. Innocent II. (1130–1143) was for eight years kept out of Rome by his antagonist *Anaclete II.*; but the two oracles of that period, *Peter of Clugny* and *Bernard of Clairvaux*, declared in his favour, nor did they rest satisfied till the authority of Innocent had been recognized in the Eternal City. Meantime a dangerous opponent to the system of Hildebrand had unexpectedly arisen in the person of *Arnold of Brescia*, a young and enthusiastic priest. To him a complete surrender of all worldly possessions and authority appeared necessary for the regeneration of the Church; at the same time the ancient republic of Rome was to be restored, and to take the place of the Papal Government. Arnold was formally condemned by the *Second General Lateran Council* (1139). But his appeals to the people had found an echo in many breasts. In 1143 the Romans renounced the secular rule of the Pope. This feeling continued till the time of Eugene III. (1145–1153), the third Pope after Innocent, who again entered Rome, supported both by the influence of *Bernard of Clairvaux*, his teacher and friend, and by the newly awakened zeal for a *Second Crusade* (§ 94, 2). With Hadrian IV. (1154–1159) commenced the contest between the Papacy and the *Hohenstaufen* family, which lasted during a whole century, and ended in the extermination of that dynasty, when the Papacy reached the summit of its power and authority. *Frederic I. Barbarossa* (1152–1190) ascended the throne with the full determination of carrying into execution the ecclesiastical scheme of Charlemagne (whom he afterwards had canonized by his Pope, Paschal III.). In 1154 Arnold of Brescia fell into his hands. Frederic surrendered him to the Pope; the reformer was hanged, his body burned, and his ashes cast into the Tiber (1155). Still the Pope sought an occasion of dispute. At last Frederic consented even to hold the stirrup to the Pontiff, while he rejected with merited scorn the offer of the Romans, to receive from their hand the crown, and with it the government of the world. He was crowned by the Pope in 1155. Fresh dissensions with the Pope

and the hostile attitude of the Lombards obliged the Emperor to pass a second time into Italy. There he held in 1158 a diet, at which the rights of the Emperor were expounded for the benefit of the Lombards and of the Pope. The indignation of the Pontiff was about to find vent in an anathema, when death overtook him. He was succeeded by ALEXANDER III. (1159–1181). Three imperial anti-popes died within a short period; and when the Emperor himself was defeated by the Lombard confederates at *Legnano* (1176), he was obliged to recognize Alexander as pontiff. — Shortly before, the Papacy had achieved in England a victory even more complete than this. *Henry II.* (1154–1189) was bent on recovering the former supremacy over the clergy, who now refused to acknowledge any other authority than that of the Curia. Among his councillors none seemed better fitted to aid him in carrying out this plan than *Thomas a Becket*, his chancellor, who accordingly was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. The king convoked an assembly of the estates of the realm at *Clarendon* (1164); and Becket was prevailed upon to take an oath to the anti-papal statutes there promulgated. But the Primate of the English Church soon altered his conduct; he did public penance for his thoughtless oath, from which Alexander III. solemnly absolved him. Becket had to flee, and in his exile in France continued to oppose his monarch. In 1170 a reconciliation took place. Thomas a Becket returned, to pronounce the ban upon all bishops who should submit to the statutes of Clarendon. Four knights took up an unguarded expression of the king, extorted from him in a moment of anger, and murdered the archbishop at the altar of his chapel. The Pope canonized the martyr of the Romish system, and the king was compelled to expiate his offence by submitting on the grave of his sainted enemy to a humiliating penance (1174). At the *Third Lateran Council* (the Eleventh Œcumenical) in 1179, it was decreed that in future a majority of two-thirds of the votes of cardinals should be required to render a papal election valid.—*Frederic I.* died far from his country (§ 94, 3). His son, *Henry VI.* (1190–1197), obtained the crown of Sicily by marrying Constance, the heiress to that country. He continued the measures which his father had taken to secure the supremacy of the Emperor. His opponent, *Pope Cœlestine III.* (1191–1198), a man ninety years of age, was too weak to resist the monarch. Soon afterwards Henry died, leaving an infant son, Frederic, only three years of age (1197).

7. *Innocent III.* (1198–1216). — (Cr. *Fr. Hurter*, P. Innoc. III. u. s. Zeitgen. 3. A. 4 Bde. Hamb. 1845. — *O. Abel*, König Philipp d. Hohenst. Berl. 1852. — *C. Höfler* (Catholic), Kaiser Friedr. II. Ein Beitr. z. Berichtig. ü. d. Sturz d. Hohenst. Münch. 1844.) — For a time, during the pontificate of Cœlestine, it seemed doubtful whether the results achieved by the policy of Hildebrand would prove lasting. But in 1198 INNOCENT III., the greatest Pope whom Rome has ever seen, ascended the chair of Peter. With him the Papacy rose to the

highest conceivable stage of influence and authority. In strength of mind and purpose Innocent was nowise inferior to Gregory; in learning, acuteness, and general ability, he was his superior; while his piety, moral purity, enthusiasm, and devotedness to the interests of the Church, were at least as great, and indeed more deep and ardent than in the case of his great predecessor. He came forward as the avenger of every species of wrong; towards widows and orphans he acted like a father; he proved a peacemaker both to peoples and princes; and although himself living in poverty and simplicity, he succeeded in accumulating such immense treasures as enabled him to adopt measures for protecting the interests of the Papacy. Indeed his history was that of the period, inasmuch as his influence extended to all countries and courts, not excepting that of Constantinople. Even where his theocratic authority as vicar of Christ was not at first recognized, he succeeded by his power and energy, by his prudence and wisdom, in extorting the homage claimed. It was the great aim of his life to achieve the *political independence* of the Papal See by strengthening the States of the Church, ridding Italy from foreign domination, and emancipating Sicily and Naples from the rule of Germany. But even this was only means to the higher end of securing the power of exercising *unlimited spiritual supremacy* over all Christian states, princes, and peoples. — The most important of his conflicts were those with Germany and England. On her death-bed, *Constance*, the widow of Henry VI., had committed to him the tutelage of her son Frederic, who had been recognized as Emperor even in his third year. The Pope justified her confidence by giving his pupil the most ample and liberal education. But the circumstances of Germany required without delay a strong ruler. The choice of the German nobles was divided; the Guelph party elected *Otho IV.*, the Ghibellines *Philip of Swabia*. In virtue of his theocratic authority, Innocent gave his sanction to the choice of the Guelphs. Scarcely, however, had Otho, after the murder of his rival, obtained the imperial crown, than he renewed the old claims upon Italy. The Pope anathamatized him (1210), and elevated *Frederic II.* (1215–1250) to the imperial throne, after that prince had ceded Sicily in favour of Henry, his son. — In England, Innocent displayed his authority in a manner even more decisive. In consequence of a divided election there were two claimants to the See of Canterbury (1207). Innocent rejected both, and appointed *Stephen Langton* to the office. The resistance of King John was punished with excommunication and an interdict (1209). John, equally tyrannical and weak, hated by the nobles, despised by the people, and deposed by the Pope (1212), did penance, and received back his kingdom as a papal fief (1213). But soon afterwards the estates obliged the king to grant the Magna Charta (1215); the protest of the Pope, his threats of excommunication, and promise that their grievances should be otherwise redressed, were equally vain.—In *France*, Innocent obliged *Philip*

Augustus to take back Ingeburgis, his wife, whom he had repudiated (1201). *Arragon* and *Portugal* submitted to a yearly tribute. He frequently interposed in the affairs of *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Dalmatia*, and *Norway*. Lastly, he gave a king to *Bulgaria* and *Wallachia*. At the close of his life, and looking back upon the work he had achieved, he assembled, in 1215, the representatives of the Church at the FOURTH LATERAN SYNOD (the Twelfth Œcumenical), where the Eastern patriarchs were also represented. The chief topics discussed in that assembly were, a new *crusade*, the condemnation of the Albigenses, the doctrine of transubstantiation (which was formally approved), and the coronation of Frederic II.

8. *To Boniface VIII.* (1216–1294). — (CF. *Th. Lau*, d. Unterg. d. Hohenst. Hamb. 1856.) — After the death of Innocent, *Frederic II.* entirely changed his conduct. Pope HONORIUS III. (1216–1227) absolved him from the obligation of separating Sicily from Germany. In return, the Emperor guaranteed to the Church the property left to it by the Countess Matilda, and promised to undertake a new crusade. The latter he delayed under various pretexts, till GREGORY IX. (1227–1241) carried into execution the threat of anathematizing him. Upon this Frederic commenced the *Fifth Crusade* (1228), without, however, even requesting the removal of the papal ban. On his return, an apparent reconciliation took place (1230). But the energetic measures which the Emperor took to establish his supreme rule in Italy, soon brought upon him another anathema (1239) — this time on the charge of infidelity and blasphemy. It was said the Emperor had declared the miraculous birth of the Saviour a fable, and pronounced Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed the three greatest impostors, etc. These charges do not seem to have been wholly ungrounded, although the tractate "De tribus impostoribus" was certainly not written by the Emperor, being a later production, erroneously imputed to Frederic on the ground of those very charges made by the Pope. Frederic conquered the States of the Church, penetrated to the gates of Rome, and prevented the Meeting of the General Council which had been summoned against him. Gregory died in 1241, and his successor, *Cœlestine V.*, after a pontificate of only seventeen days. Two years the Papal See remained vacant. At length, INNOCENT IV. (1243–1254), formerly the friend of Frederic, but as pope his mortal enemy, was elected. Innocent fled to Lyons; and at the *First Council of Lyons* in 1245 (the Thirteenth Œcumenical) excommunicated and deposed the Emperor, as guilty of blasphemy and sacrilege. Neither Emperor nor Pope would yield. Each insisted on absolute submission, and the contest with pen and sword continued. Frederic died in 1250; Innocent four years later. URBAN IV. (1261–64) called in the aid of *Charles of Anjou*, the brother of Louis IX. of France, for the purpose of conquering Sicily. Treason had prepared the way. *Manfred*, the son of Frederic, fell in the battle of Beneventto (1266), and *Conradin*, the grandson of Frederic, and the

last of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, died on the scaffold, after the battle of Tagliacozzo (1268). — The Papacy had, indeed, obtained the victory; but its triumph was only apparent. The divisions in Germany and the partition of Italy only increased the power of France, and enabled that country effectually to subjugate the Papacy. The former enthusiasm for crusades was extinct, and with it a powerful bulwark of the Papacy had fallen. By a *pragmatic sanction* (1269) Louis secured, indeed, the French Church against simony, but at the same time, also, against the interferences and extortions of the popes, — thereby laying the foundation of the liberties afterwards claimed by the Gallican Church.—Some ultramontane writers have unsuccessfully attempted to prove that this document is a forgery, dating from the fifteenth century. Compare, for example, *Rösen*, die pragm. Sanct., Münst. 1855; and against this ultramontane production, *Soldan* in his "hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1856, III. — The successors of Innocent IV. could no longer control the supremacy of the French in Sicily; they hated their arrogant liberators, and countenanced the conspiracy which issued in the bloody *Sicilian Vespers* (1282). French influence was even exerted in elections to the Papacy. After the Papal See had remained vacant for three years, Gregory X. (1271–1276) decreed in 1274, at the *Second Synod of Lyons* (the Fourteenth Œcumenical), that in future the election of cardinals should be conducted *in conclave;* and that, in order to accelerate a harmonious vote, their allowance of food should be daily decreased. Still the evil continued. After another vacancy of the Papal See which lasted two years, the antagonistic parties agreed in the choice of a pious but simple-minded hermit—Cœlestine V. (1294), who the same year consented to abdicate at the suggestion of the cunning and ambitious Cardinal Cajetan (§ 112, 6). Cajetan himself now ascended the papal throne, by the name of Boniface VIII.[17]

§ 97. THE CLERGY.

After the tenth century, canonical life (§ 84, 4) gradually degenerated and decayed. The attempts made to reform these abuses, led to a distinction between "Canonici seculares" and "regulares." The latter contended for the ancient discipline and order; but in course of time also shared in the general corruption. The most distinguished among the advocates of a stricter discipline were, *Geroch*, Provost of Reichersberg in Bavaria (*ob.* 1169), and *Norbert*, a canon, the founder of the Order of Præmonstrants (§ 98, 3). The *cathedral chapters* were in the habit of themselves filling up vacancies in their number; since the restoration of the old canonical mode of election, they also chose their bishops generally from among themselves, and with-

out consulting the people. From the large incomes attaching to cathedral stalls, these posts were commonly filled by members of the aristocracy — an abuse against which the popes in vain protested. In the course of time the canons became more and more independent of episcopal control; they generally lived outside their chapters, and employed vicars to discharge their duties. The *bishops* exercised jurisdiction over all the clergy in their dioceses, and punished offenders by deposition or by imprisonment in a monastery. All causes connected with marriage, testamentary dispositions, oaths, etc., were also pleaded before their tribunals. The peculiarly German institution of *Sends* gave place to the *Roman* form of judicial administration. The *archdeacons* threw off the authority of their bishops, and used their power in so arbitrary a manner that, in the twelfth century, the office had to be abrogated. Their duties were henceforth discharged by episcopal *officials* and *vicars*. The office of *chorepiscopi* had ceased in the tenth century. During the Crusades a number of Catholic sees had, however, been founded in the East, the occupants of which retained their titles even after their expulsion, and found employment as assistants of Western prelates (suffragan bishops). This gave rise to the institution of *Episcopi in partibus* (sc. infidelium), which has continued ever since, in testimony of the inalienable rights of the Church. — The wealth of churches was greatly augmented, partly by tithes, legacies, donations (especially during the Crusades), and royal fiefs, partly from the increasing value of landed property. Of course the poor shared in the benefits of this growing prosperity. Ecclesiastical property was subjected to taxation only in time of public calamity. The celibacy of the clergy preserved the Church from inevitable impoverishment, if its property had been allowed to descend to the children of the clergy, as at one time seemed likely to be the case. — Strict moralists, such as *Ratherius* (Bishop of Verona, *ob.* 974), and especially *Petrus Damiani*, Bishop of Ostia (*ob.* 1072)—the friend and admirer of Gregory VII., whose "liber gomorrhianus" contains a fearful picture of the dissoluteness of the clergy—and such monitors as *St. Hildegard* and the Abbot *Joachim* (§ 108, 4), made fruitless attempts to arrest the moral degeneracy of the clergy. Gregory had, indeed, succeeded by his decrees in enforcing clerical celibacy, but not in putting an end to concubinage, and even to worse offences. The labours of *St. Dunstan*, Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 988), were greatly

blessed to the moral elevation of the English clergy — It must not, however, be forgotten, that, despite this corruption, a large number of the clergy were excellent and conscientious men ; and that, even with a degenerate clergy, the clerical *office*, which the people could distinguish from its occupants, proved the salt of the age. Like other professions, the ecclesiastical reflected the features of a period, big not only with gross abuses, but with exalted virtues, deep thoughts, and great forces. The ignorance of the clergy, especially in respect to religious knowledge, proved even a greater hindrance than their immorality to the progress and prosperity of the Church. The Word of God was locked up from the people in a dead language, and only a very small proportion of the clergy were sufficiently educated or fitted to declare and expound its blessed truths.

1. The *Political Influence* acquired by the *higher Clergy* during this period was very great, especially in *Germany*. On more than one occasion did the sagacious, firm, and consistent measures advocated by the German clergy — forming as they did, under the leadership of the primates of Mayence, a united and compact body—preserve the empire from imminent ruin, or from division, through the folly of ambitious princes and lords. The influence of these prelates was not only derived from their sway over the consciences, but also from their having standing in the Diet, and from the circumstance that they were territorial lords. The possibility of a war frequently depended on the consent or refusal of the spiritual princes to furnish contingents to the imperial army. The clergy desired to see Germany united and strong ; the neighbouring countries were to be connected with the German Church, and to form part of the empire, but not, as the emperors wished, in the shape of personal domains, but as incorporated with the State. The German clergy always opposed those expeditions of the emperors to Rome, which alienated the rulers from the distinctive interests of Germany, and ruined the country. They desired to see the chair of Peter free and independent — a European, not a German institution—and the Emperor its protector, not its oppressor ; but they also resisted every assumption and interference on the part of the popes. Such a type of the good old German prelates was *Willigis of Mayence*, to whom Germany owed one of its wisest and happiest administrations under the sway of *Henry II.*, whose elevation to the throne he had procured. Under *Henry IV.* the German clergy were divided into three parties. The Papalists were headed by *Gebhard of Salzburg*, and numbered almost all the Saxon bishops ; the Imperialists were led by *Adalbert* of *Bremen*, who intended founding a northern Patriarchate,— probably a northern papacy ; while the purely German party was guided by *Anno* of *Cologne*, the last genuine representative of the ancient episco-

pal policy of the country. (Comp. *C. Grünhagen*, Adalb. v. Hamb. u. d. Idee eines nord. Patriarchates. Leips. 1854.) *Henry V.* and the first Hohenstaufens were vigorously supported by the German clergy. But want of proper respect on the part of *Frederic II.*, and his oppression of the bishops, entirely alienated the clergy from the crown.— During the time of Otho I. those *high imperial offices* originated, to whom, under the reign of *Otho IV.*, the exclusive right of nominating successors to the empire was entrusted. Thus the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne were elevated to the rank of *Spiritual Princes, Electors,* as holding the office of arch-chaplains or arch-chancellors. These privileges and offices were confirmed and settled by the *Golden Bull* of Charles IV. (1356).

2. *The Pataria of Milan.* — Among the Lombard clergy, more than any other, simony, concubinage, and the marriage of priests, were common. Accordingly, the changes introduced by Hildebrand met with most strenuous resistance in that country. The oppostion was headed by *Wido* (Guido), Archbishop of Milan, whom Henry III. had in 1046 appointed to that diocese. Indeed, this prelate renewed the former claims of his see to spiritual independence, and even renounced his allegiance to Rome (§ 83, 1). Wido was supported by the nobility and clergy. But two deacons, *Ariald* and *Landulf Cotta*, organized a conspiracy among the common people, which their opponents, by way of derision, designated Pataria, Paterini (*i.e.*, blackguards). The papal party adopted this name, and began a warfare against married priests, which for thirty years led to continual scenes of violence and bloodshed.

§ 98. THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Comp. § 2, 2. c. and *Fr. Hurter*, Innoc. III. u. s. Zeitgen. Bd. III, IV.

Despite growing corruptions, *Monasticism* reached at this period its highest stage, and more than ever, before or after it, earned the title of "Knighthood of Asceticism." A number of new monastic orders were founded as an offset to the degeneracy of older orders, partly in the form of branches (or so-called *congregations*) of the Benedictines, partly as independent institutions under a separate and distinct rule. Almost every day new monasteries rose — frequently also in cities. The reformed Benedictine monasteries organized themselves into a general society, under the management of the parent monastery, and styled themselves *congregations.* The oldest of these congregations, and for two centuries the most influential, was that of *Clugny.* Its glowing zeal for high-church reforms, made it one of the main instruments in elevating the Church and the Papacy

from their decay during the tenth century. A smaller order, that of the *Camaldulites*, was also helpful in that direction. The monastery of *Clairvaux* disputed with that of *Clugny* the veneration of Christendom. The *non*-reformed monasteries of the Benedictines, on the contrary, persisted in their self-satisfied isolation and their luxurious life. To distinguish them from the Cistercians, who wore a *white* dress, they, and those of Clugny, were called *Black Monks*. To prevent too great a subdivision of the monastic orders, Innocent III., at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, prohibited the formation of any new society. But the Pope himself assisted in founding two new orders, which, in importance and influence, soon surpassed all others—we mean the two celebrated *mendicant fraternities*. The monks acted as the standing army of the Papacy, and to them Gregory was chiefly indebted for the success of his policy. The popes readily exempted monasteries from the supervision of their diocesans; princes conferred dignities and offices on abbots; while the people, who looked upon monasteries as representing the popular element in the Church, regarded these institutions with the greatest veneration. Legacies, donations, fiefs, and purchases swelled the wealth and increased the landed property attaching to monasteries. — From the tenth century monks were regarded as constituting a special *ecclesiastical* order (ordo religiosorum); the secular business of monasteries was entrusted to *lay brethren* (conversi). These were addressed as *fratres*, whilst the others, who had received clerical orders, were called *patres*. The monastic orders were distinguished from each other by different garbs. Frequently disputes arose between these ecclesiastics and the secular clergy, as the monks too often and improperly interfered with the duties and emoluments of the regular priests. —Besides these monastic orders, who were bound by a perpetual vow and a fixed rule, voluntary associations of men and women— the *Beghards* and *Beguins* — were formed. The members of these communities were not under any monastic constraint, but voluntarily agreed to retire from the world, and to devote themselves to their own spiritual advancement and to labours of Christian love.—In consequence of the enthusiasm evoked by the Crusades, the profession of monasticism was combined with knighthood. Thus the *knightly orders* originated, of which the members, under their grand-masters and commanders, were arranged into knights, priests, and serving brothers.—(Cf. § 112.)

1. Soon after the reformation introduced by Benedict of Aniane (§ 85, 2), the Benedictine monasteries again degenerated in discipline and morality. Accordingly, *William*, Duke of Aquitaine, entrusted to *Berno*, a Burgundian count (*ob.* 927), who had already restored order in two Burgundian cloisters of which he was the abbot, the duty of founding a new monastery. Thus arose the celebrated Abbacy of *Clugny* (Cluniacum) in Burgundy, which its founder placed under the immediate supervision of the Pope (910). Under *Odo*, the successor of Berno (*ob.* 942), a courtier, who had renounced the world during a dangerous illness, this monastery became the centre of a separate "CONGREGATION" — that of CLUGNY — which formed an offshoot from the Benedictine Order. The strict asceticism of these monks, the great splendour displayed in the celebration of all the rites of religion, their zeal for science and literature, their efforts for the education of youth, and lastly a succession of distinguished abbots—among them, especially *Odilo* (*ob.* 1048), the friend of Hildebrand, and *Peter the Venerable* (*ob.* 1156). — (Cf. *C. A. Wilkens*, Petrus d. Ehrw., &c., Lpz. 1857) — procured for the "congregation" an influence almost unexampled upon their cotemporaries. In the twelfth century it numbered no fewer than 2000 monasteries in France. At the head of this powerful order was the Abbot of Clugny; *he* appointed the *priors* of the subordinate monasteries. Under the rule of *Pontius*, a dissolute man, who was deposed in 1122, the order decayed, but again rose when Peter the Venerable became its head. — (*C. Pelargus*, Gesch. d. Abtei Clugny. Tüb. 1858.) — In Italy, the *Camaldolite Order* occupied a position analogous to that of Clugny in France. It was founded in 1018 by *Romuald*, a scion of the ducal family of Ravenna, who built a monastery in Camaldoli (campus Maldoli), a desolate part in the Apennines. Nunneries were also erected in connection with these monasteries. Like the Order of Clugny, that of Camaldoli espoused the High Church cause, and acquired considerable influence upon their cotemporaries, although not to the same extent as their French brethren. — Twenty years later, *Johannes Gualbertus*, a Florentine, founded the *Vallambrosian Order*, after the model of that of Camaldoli, in a shady vale (Vallis Umbrosa) of the Apennines. It was the first to receive *lay brethren* for the purpose of attending to temporal matters, that so the monks might observe their vows of silence and of strict confinement to the walls of their cloister. — The *Congregation of the Scotch Benedictine Monastery, in Germany*, owed its origin to the unabated love of travel which animated Irish and Scotch monks, and which was excited anew, in the tenth century, by the invasions of the Danes and Normans (§ 93, 1). The first convent in Germany, designed exclusively for the reception of Irish monks, was St. Martin's at Cologne (tenth century). But the Benedictine monastery of St. James at Regensburg was more important. It was founded by the Scot, *Marianus*, and two companions, in 1067. From it sprang eleven others in southern Germany, which Innocent III., at the Lateran

Council of 1215, confirmed as separate congregations. At first they distinguished themselves by their zealous asceticism, strict discipline, and literary labours; but later they became notorious for immorality and gluttony (§ 112). — (Cf. *Wattenbach*, d. Congreg. d. Schottenkl. in Deutschl. In Quast' u. Otte's Ztschr. f. christl. Archæol. Bd. I. Lpz. 1856.)

2. From the year 1098, the *Congregation of Cistercians*, founded at *Citeaux* (Cistercium), near Dijon, by Robert, proved a rival to the popularity of the Order of Clugny, from which it differed by voluntarily submitting to episcopal supervision, and by avoiding all splendour in their churches and monasteries. Instead of the black cowl of the Benedictines, the Cistercians wore the white; otherwise, their constitution was similar to the rule of the Order of Clugny. The order enjoyed comparatively small influence, till the fame of Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux—a monastery dependent on the institution at Citeaux—elevated it to the highest place in public esteem. In honour of him, the order assumed the name of Bernardines. (On St. Bernard, comp. below, § 103, 1.) In the thirteenth century the order numbered no fewer than 2000 monasteries and 6000 nunneries. The jealousy subsisting at one time between the monks of Clugny and those of Citeaux gave place to more proper feelings, chiefly through the intimacy of St. Bernard with Peter the Venerable.

3. The following were the most important among the numerous other monastic orders at the time of Innocent III.: — 1. The *Order of Grammont*, in France, founded by *Stephen of Tigerno* (1073). It professed no other rule than the Gospel. Its members led a quiet, unpretending life. But the arrogance of their lay brethren led to its decay in the twelfth century. 2. The *Order of Fontevraux*, founded in 1006 by *Robert of Arbrissel*, at Fontevraux (Fons Ebraldi), in Poitou. The founder travelled through the country, summoning all to repentance, and reared nunneries for maidens, widows, and fallen females. The abbess, who was regarded as the representative of the Blessed Virgin, the patroness of the order, had the supervision even of the priests employed by the nuns. 3. The *Order of Guilbertines*, a parallel with the last-named, founded by *Guilbert*, an English priest, of noble descent. In it, also, women constituted the chief element, holding all the property of the order; the men merely managed it. Its monasteries were mostly double (for men and women). It was confined to England, where the Order had twenty-one large convents, provided with houses for paupers, invalids, and orphans. 4. The *Carthusians*, founded by *Bruno of Cologne*, Principal of the Cathedral School at Rheims (1084). From disgust at the dissolute life of Manasse, his archbishop, he retired with some like-minded friends into a solitary valley, near Grenoble, called *Chartreuse*. He imposed on his monks the obligations of the most rigid asceticism, of strict silence, study,

prayer, and contemplation. 5. The *Order of Præmonstrants.* Its founder, *Norbert* (1121), had been a rich and worldly canon at Xanthen, in the diocese of Cologne. His conversion was completed during a furious tempest, when the lightning struck close by him. He now changed not only his own conduct, but attempted to introduce a reformation among his colleagues. Baffled in this, he retired with a few friends into the desolate valley of Prémontré (Præmonstratum), near Laon. His rule imposed on his followers the ordinary duties of the cure of souls, while at the same time it bound them to a life of rigid monasticism. When on a visit to Spires, where, at the time, the Emperor, papal legates, and deputies from the clergy of Magdeburg, were met, he was chosen Archbishop of Magdeburg, and was received with great pomp in his diocese, still wearing the habit of his community. The order numbered many monasteries and nunneries. 6. The *Order of the Carmelites* was founded (1156) by *Berthold* of Calabria, a crusader, who, along with some companions, settled in the cave of Elijah, on Mount Carmel. The Patriarch of Jerusalem drew up a very rigid rule for them. When expelled by the Saracens, the order settled in Europe (1238), and became a mendicant fraternity. The Carmelites traced their origin to no less a personage than Elijah himself, and stoutly denied that their order had been founded by Berthold. They also maintained that the Blessed Virgin in person had handed to *Simon Stock*, the general of the order, the holy Scapulary, as its distinctive badge, with the promise, that whoever died wearing it, was sure of eternal bliss. Every Saturday the Virgin descended into purgatory to fetch thence the souls of those who had worn the Scapulary. 7. The *Order of Trinitarians* (called also "ordo sanctæ Trinitatis de redemptione captivorum") was founded by Innocent III., for the redemption of Christian captives. 8. The *Humiliati*, in the eleventh century, — an association of pious trades-people at Milan, of which the members wrought at their crafts — had their possessions in common, and engaged in spiritual exercises. The fraternity declined in the sixteenth century.

4. *The Mendicant Orders.* — (Cf. *E. Vogt*, d. h. Franz. v. Assisi. Tübg. 1840. — *K. Hase*, Franc. v. Assisi, &c. Lpz. 1856. — *Demore*, Leben d. h. Clara v. Assisi; transl. from the French by Lochner. Regensb. 1857. — *Lacordaire*, Vie de St. Dominique. Par. 1841. — *E. Caro*, d. h. Dominicus u. d. Dominicaner, übers. v. E. W. Regensburg. 1854.)—These Orders originated in the desire of literally carrying out the vow of poverty. The idea was first conceived by St. Francis, the son of a rich merchant at *Assisi* (born 1182). He seems to have been greatly struck by the injunction of the Saviour (Matt. x. 8–10) to His disciples, to go forth carrying neither gold nor silver, staff nor scrip. Accordingly, he gave away all his property, and henceforth depended on charity for the necessaries of life. Cursed by his father, sometimes derided by the populace as mad, at others worshipped as a saint, he

travelled through the East and West, everywhere calling to repentance (from 1208). His complete renunciation of the world and of self, the simplicity of his faith, the ardour of his love towards God and man, and the deep treasures of his poverty, made St. Francis appear like a heavenly stranger in the midst of a selfish world. His sympathy with nature was truly marvellous. In childlike simplicity, he would hold converse with the birds of the air and the beasts of the field as with brothers and sisters, calling upon them to praise their Maker; in fact, the saint seemed again to restore the original position of man towards the lower creation. When attempting to address the Pope and his cardinals in a set oration, he utterly broke down; but when he addressed them in language unprepared, and coming directly from the fulness of his heart, his speech was like a mighty stream sweeping away all resistance. Innocent III., "overcome by his simplicity and humility, allowed the strange saint to go on." (According to an old legend, he had first ordered him to take up his abode with swine,—an injunction which the saint literally obeyed.) *Honorius III.*, the successor of Innocent, gave in 1223 his formal sanction to the association which had gathered around Francis, and bestowed on the order of the *Fratres minores* (Minors or Franciscans) the right of preaching and exercising the cure of souls in any district or country. But according to the idea of the founder, the order was to preach by deeds of complete self-abnegation rather than by words. Its peculiar garb consisted of a brown habit with a hood; a rope round the waist served as girdle. This contempt of the world, combined with unfeigned humility, and ardent, self-denying love, made a deep impression on their cotemporaries, and procured for the order the designation of *seraphic*. A female branch of the order (the Sisterhood of St. Clare) was founded in 1212 by *Clara*, a noble virgin of Assisi. St. Francis drew up a rule for this sisterhood. The fraternity of Tertiaries (*Tertius* ordo de pœnitentia) consisted of persons who were allowed to continue in the world, but were bound by a semi-monastic rule, drawn up by St. Francis. The church of *Portiuncula*, at Assisi, became the great centre of the Franciscan Order, and successive popes enriched this sanctuary with the most plenary indulgences. St. Francis died in 1226, stretched on the pavement of this church, and literally naked as he had entered the world. A legend declares that during the last two years of his life the saint had borne the marks of the crucifixion of the Saviour (stigmata), which, during a trance, a seraph had impressed on his body. The story, though strenuously attested by many witnesses, does not bear the test of impartial criticism (comp. *Hase*, u. s.). *Gregory IX.* canonized him in 1228. In the fourteenth century the General Chapter of the Franciscans at Assisi gave its sanction to a book, entitled "Liber Conformitatum," by one Bartholomew of Pisa, which enumerated forty points of similarity between Christ and St. Francis. At the time of the Reformation a new edition of it appeared, with a pre-

face by Luther, bearing the title, "Der Barfüssermönche Eulenspiege und Alkoran."

Even while St. Francis was alive, *Elijah of Cortona*, who during the absence of the saint in the East had been intrusted with the superintendence of the order, had attempted to soften its rigid discipline. St. Francis resisted the innovation; but when, after his death, Elijah was nominated general of the order, he carried out his project. The more rigid party joined *St. Anthony* of Padua, who lived and acted in the spirit of St. Francis, and even preached to fishes when men refused to give audience. Violent discussions arose within the order, and Elijah was twice deposed. He afterwards supported the cause of *Frederic II.*, and was excommunicated along with him, but again reconciled to the Church before his death (1253). The fanaticism of the rigid party increased in proportion as their more lax opponents grew in number. The popes supported the majority. At length the disputants separated. The milder party (fratres de communitate) strove to reconcile the principles of their founder respecting poverty with their actual tenure of property by distinguishing between absolute possession and usufruct, and by the formality of making over their possessions to the Romish Church. The stricter party (spirituales, zelatores, *Fratricelli*) gradually became avowed opponents of the Church and of its rulers, who had disowned them, and even denounced the Pope as Antichrist (comp. § 108, 4).—The Franciscans were, also, the first *barefoot monks*. Their example in this respect was followed, subsequently, by many other orders (as by the Augustines), but not by the Dominicans. Beyond Italy, in colder climates, however, even the Franciscans were exempted from this peculiarity; at least they might wear sandals.

The *Order of Dominicans* was founded by Dominicus Guzman (born in 1170), the scion of a noble Castilian family. Dominic was a priest at Osma, and a man of considerable prudence and learning. From zeal for the salvation of souls, he, along with some associates, went to the south of France (1208), there to labour for the conversion of the Albigenses. In 1215, he made a pilgrimage to Rome. Innocent III. gave to this order a rule, which was afterwards enlarged by Honorius III. The *Dominicans*, or *Order of Preachers* (ordo fratrum prædicatorum), were empowered everywhere to preach and to hear confession, for the special object of restoring heretics to the bosom of the Church by their sermons and teaching. At a later period (1220), Dominic and his order adopted the rule of St. Francis, and became a mendicant fraternity. He died in 1221, pronouncing an anathema on any one who should contaminate his order by bestowing upon it worldly possessions Dominic was canonized by Gregory IX. A female branch of the order was formed by some of the Albigensian converts. Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans had male and female Tertiaries (fratres et sorores de militia Christi).

Various circumstances combined to give these two orders an extraordinary popularity. Not only did they specially meet the wants of the time, but the fact that they required no endowment, and obtained considerable privileges from the popes, enabled them to spread rapidly throughout Western Europe. Each of these orders was under the supreme rule of a *general*, who resided at Rome; *provincials* superintended the monasteries of particular countries; while every monastery had its own *guardian* (among the Franciscans) or *prior* (among the Dominicans). From the first the Dominicans gave themselves to literary pursuits; their primary object — the conversion of heretics — rendering such studies necessary. Afterwards, they also displayed considerable zeal in missionary labours; but their influence proved greatest in the academic chair. Thus incited, the Franciscans also began to cultivate these departments of labour, and sought to obtain a standing in the universities. The veneration shown them by the common people, who preferred confessing their secrets to such migratory mendicants, excited the envy of the secular clergy, as their increasing influence in the universities, that of the learned. The opposition to their growing interference was chiefly carried on by the University of Paris. *William of St. Amour*, a doctor of that college, in 1156, characterized them, in his controversial tractate, "De periculis novissimorum temporum," as the forerunners of Antichrist. To this attack learned members of the order (such as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura) replied, and they were supported both by papal authority and royal power. But no sooner was this contest ended, than the former jealousy and rivalry subsisting between the two orders reappeared. The feeling of hostility increased as on scholastic questions they took opposite sides. —(Comp. § 104, 1, and § 112, 2.)

Only two other mendicant orders of later origin attained great influence, viz.: the *Augustines*, whom Pope *Alexander IV.* drew from the members of monastic orders which had been scattered (1256); and the *Servites* (Servi b. Mariæ Virg.), instituted by seven pious Florentines for the service of the Virgin Mary, in 1233 — an order very popular, both in Italy and Germany.

5. The *Beguins and Beghards.* — (Comp. *Mosheim*, de Beghardis et Beguinabus. Lps. 1790.—*E. Hallmann*, Gesch. d. Ursp. d. belgischen Beghiden (Hist. of the Orig. of the Beg. in Belg.). Berl. 1843.) — Female associations of Beguins existed undoubtedly prior to those of the Beghards. But the exact period when they arose, and even the origin of the name, are matter of controversy. Older historians were wont to trace the Beguins to *St. Begga*, a daughter of Pepin of Landen, in the seventh century; but on no other ground than the similarity of name. Mosheim derived the name from the word *beggen*, to pray; latterly, however, *Hallmann* has shown, on grounds which to us seem convincing, that both the name and the association were derived from *Lambert le Beghe*, a celebrated preacher at Liege, during the twelfth

century. The *Beguins* took the three monastic vows, but only for the period during which they remained members of the society. They were free to leave the society at any time, to marry, or to undertake other duties. They placed themselves under the superintendence of a lady-superior and a priest, and lived in what was called a *Beginagium*, or curtis Beguinarum, which generally consisted of a number of small houses within a common enclosure. Each of the Beguins kept house for herself. On entering the society, they entrusted their property to the community, and received it back on leaving. The Beguins employed themselves in manual labour — such as sewing, washing, or taking charge of the sick. They were also engaged in teaching young females, or attending to the spiritual wants of their own sex. Any profit derived from these employments was applied in works of charity. Each association wore a distinctive habit. They soon spread over Belgium, Germany, and France. By and by male associations of the same kind, and for the same purposes (the *Beghards*), were founded. Those supported themselves also by manual labour, especially by weaving. But in the course of the thirteenth century such associations became greatly demoralized. Brothers and sisters of the Free Spirit (114, 3), Fratricelli, and other heretics, sought refuge among them from the persecutions of the Church, and infected them with their errors. Accordingly, the Inquisition (§ 109) directed its inquiries to their doings, and many of their members were executed, especially in the south of France. At the Fifteenth General *Council of Vienne*, in 1311, eight heretical tenets, supposed to be held by them, were condemned. A number of their houses were closed; others only allowed to continue on condition of their inmates joining the Franciscan or Dominican Tertiaries. Pope *John XXIII.* (1410–1415) again extended protection to them, when the community of Beguins once more increased. But their growing dissoluteness, and concubinage with Beghards and secular priests, obliged the secular and spiritual authorities to interfere. At the time of the Reformation these houses were secularized; in Belgium alone, some of their communities still exist.

6. *Knightly Orders.*—(Cf. *Biedenfeld*, Gesch. u. Verfass. aller geistl. u. weltl. Ritterorden. 2 Bde. Weim. 1841. — *W. F. Wilcke*, Gesch. d. Tempelherrnord. 2 Bde. Lpz. 1826.—*F. Münter*, Statutenbuch d. Ord. d. Templ. Berl. 1794. — (*Niethammer*) Gesch. d. Malteserord. nach Verst. Jena. 2 Bde. Dresd. 1833.—*J. Voight*, Gesch. Pressens bis zum Unterg. d. Herrsch. d. deutsch. Ord. 4 Bde. Kgsb. 1827, &c.—*J. Voight*, Gesch. d. deutsc. R.-Ord. in s. 12 Balleien. Berl. 1857, Bd. I. — *J. M. Watterich*, d. Gründung d. deutsch. Ordenstaates in Preussen. Lpz. 1827.—*C. Hennig*, Statutt. d. deutsch. Ord. Kgsb. 1806. — *A. v. Winterfeld*, Gesch. d. ritterl. Ordens St. Johannis. Berl. 1859.—The *Orders of Knights* took, besides the three monastic vows (of poverty, chastity, and obedience), that of continual contest with the infidels. Among these orders we reck[illegible]: — 1. The *Order of the Templars*, founded by

Hugh de Payens (1118), for the protection of pilgrims in the Holy Land. They wore a white cloak, with a red cross on the breast. St. Bernard warmly interested himself in favour of this order, and accordingly, procured a large accession to its membership. When St. Jean d'Acre fell (in 1291), the Templars retired to Cyprus; but soon afterwards returned to the West, when Paris became the head-quarters of the order. The name of the order was derived from the circumstance, that the palace which King *Baldwin* of Jerusalem assigned for their use, was built on the site of the temple of Solomon (cf. § 112, 2). 2. Originally the *Knights of St. John*, or *Hospitallers*, were ordinary inmates of a monastery, whose special duty it was to take charge of sick pilgrims, to relieve their wants, and to extend hospitality to them (middle of 11th century). With these duties *Raymond du Puy*, the second general of the order, combined, in 1118, the obligation of fighting against the infidel. They wore a black dress, with a white cross on the breast, and had a red cross on their banners. When expelled by the Saracens, they settled first in *Rhodes* (1310), and lastly in Malta, in 1530. 3. The *Order of the Teutonic Knights* consisted also, at first, of the inmates of an hospital, or inn, founded during the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, in 1190, by some citizens of Bremen and Lubeck. The knights wore a white cloak, with a black cross on the breast. At a later period the order settled in *Prussia*, where in 1237 it amalgamated with that of the *Livonian Brethren of the Sword.* — During the contest with the Moors several knightly orders were founded in *Spain*. The most important of these was the *Order of Calatrava*, founded by *Velasquez*, a Cistercian monk, for the purpose of defending the town of Calatrava. In 1164 it obtained the formal sanction of Pope Alexander III. At present, like the Order of Malta, it is only an honorary distinction.

§ 99. ECCLESIASTICAL JURISPRUDENCE.

The forged Decretals of Isidore (§ 87, 2) were not the only collection of ecclesiastical laws made. But with the increase of such works, contradictions only multiplied, and no attempt was made to remove them. Among these compilations, that by *Burchard, Bishop of Worms*, about 1020, that by *Anselm, Bishop of Lucca* (*ob.* 1086), and that by *Ivo, Bishop of Chartres* (*ob.* 1025), were the best known. In the twelfth century, *Gratian*, a Camaldulite monk, at Bologna, undertook the difficult task of making a complete collection of these laws, and of solving the contradictions with which they abounded, by means of certain scholastic deductions. The work, which appeared about the year 1150, under the title "Concordantia discordantium canonum," commonly bears the name of *Decretum Gratiani.* This

work gave a fresh impulse to the study of ecclesiastical law, especially in the universities of Paris and Bologna. While the so-called *Legists* lectured on Roman law, the *Decretists* taught canonical law, wrote commentaries on the work of Gratian, and made compilations similar to his. To put a stop to the confusion which threatened to ensue, *Gregory IX.* commissioned, in 1234, *Raymundus de Pennaforti*, a Dominican, to make a new compilation (Decretum Gregorii, consisting of five books), which, besides the older decretals, contained his own and those of his immediate predecessors. This work served as text-book for the lectures delivered at Paris and Bologna. To this collection Boniface VIII. added a sixth book, containing his own decretals; and lastly, *Clement V.*, those issued under his pontificate, with the special title of *Clementina*. To this compilation the most important decretals of later popes were added, in the year 1500, under the title of *Extravagantes*, which completed the *Corpus juris canonici*.

III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND CONTROVERSIES.

Comp. *H. Ritter*, Gesch. d. christl. Philos. Vols. III. IV. By the same author, Uebersicht über d. Gesch. d. scholast. Philos., in *Raumer's* hist. Taschenb. III, 7, p. 269 etc. Lpz. 1856. — *B. Haurêau*, la philos. scolast. 2 Voll. Par. 1850. — *H. Schmid*, d. Mystic. d. M. A. in s. Entstehungsper. (Mystic. of the M. A. dur. the Per. of its Orig.). Jena 1824. — *A Helfferich*, d. christl. Mystik in ihrer Entw. u. ihr. Denkm. (Chr. Myst., its Develop. and Monum.). Gotha 1842. 2 Vols. — *J Görres*, d. chr. Myst. Regensb. 1836. 3 Vols. — *Vaughan*, Hours with the Mystics.

§ 100. GENERAL VIEW OF SCHOLASTICISM.

Notwithstanding the intellectual decay of the Middle Ages, that period witnessed the growth of one of the most remarkable productions of the human mind, which can only be likened to those cathedrals reared in the Gothic style. Scholasticism, which derived its name from the cathedral and monastic *schools* where it originated, has aptly been designated as "the knighthood of theology." In liberality and enthusiasm, loyalty and

perseverance, courage and ardour, the schoolmen emulated the knights properly so called; only that their weapons were not the sword and lance, but speculation and dialectics; and their ideal not knightly honour, but ecclesiastical orthodoxy. It was the great object of scholasticism to analyze Christian dogmas by means of dialectics, to develop them by speculation, and to show their inherent truth and necessity. Generally speaking, scholasticism adopted, expounded, and defended the ecclesiastical views already in vogue (*dogmatism*); sometimes, however, a *sceptical* tendency also appeared — at least for a time. In the latter case, certain philosophical principles were laid down, and it was attempted by means of these to harmonize reason with ecclesiastical dogmas. Along with scholasticism, sometimes in combination, at others in antagonism with it, another tendency appeared. If scholasticism sought rationally to elucidate and develop theology, it was the object of MYSTICISM to apprehend the salvation offered by the Church not by means of the intellect, but by the feelings, and to develop it not by dialectics, but by inward contemplation. These intellectual strivings, which continued throughout the Middle Ages, may historically be arranged into four periods, each of which almost comprised a century. 1. The first traces of the new science occur during the tenth century — a period in other respects intellectually barren, and aptly called the "Seculum obscurum." The distinctive features of scholasticism, however, did not yet appear. 2. These tendencies became more manifest during the eleventh century, at first in the form of dialectics, which again took either a sceptical or dogmatical turn, and led to a contest betwixt these two directions. 3. During the twelfth century, mysticism appeared as a distinct tendency by the side of the dialectics of the schoolmen. The conflict which now ensued between mysticism and sceptical dialectics ultimately ended in an alliance with dogmatic dialectics, which proved mutually useful. 4. During the thirteenth century, dialectic scholasticism, or dogmatism, attained its highest stage. Generally speaking, the former alliance with mysticism was continued, although some of the schoolmen again tended towards scepticism.

1. *Nurseries of Scholasticism.* — At the close of the eleventh century, UNIVERSITIES were planted for the same purposes as the cathedral and monastic schools, only with a wider range of subjects in view. These seminaries originated independently both of State and Church, of

Emperor and Pope. Celebrated teachers appeared in the larger cities; pupils from all countries gathered around them; by and by other lecturers joined those who had first taught in these cities; and then teachers and scholars constituted themselves by mutual agreement into an independent corporation, and thus the University was founded. But this designation did not imply anything like a "universitas literarum," in which all the sciences should be cultivated. — Separate faculties for different sciences did not as yet exist; and where the number of teachers and students rendered some division necessary, it was made according to nations, not sciences. The name University was only intended to designate the "universitas magistrorum et scholarium" as an organised society. The studies carried on in these seminaries were called "studium generale" or "universale," because every person had free access to the lectures. At first *one* special science was particularly — sometimes even exclusively — cultivated in different universities. Thus theology was studied at *Paris*, at *Oxford*, and at a later period at *Cologne;* jurisprudence at *Bologna;* and medicine at *Salerno*. The first university expressly founded for the cultivation of all sciences was that which *Frederic II.* instituted at *Naples* in 1224. Our present arrangement into faculties originated from the circumstance, that the mendicant orders in Paris, being proscribed by the other teachers in the University (§ 98, 4), constituted themselves into a separate theological faculty (1259). The number of students in the universities — among them many persons advanced in life — was very large, amounting in the most celebrated seats of learning occasionally to from 10,000 to 20,000. All the members of the congregation of Clugny had to pass through a curriculum of ten years (two years being devoted to Logicalia, three years to Literæ Naturales et Philosophicæ, and five years to Theology). The Council of Tours enjoined, in 1236, that every priest should go through a preparatory course of five years' study. (Comp. *C. E. Bulœus*, Hist. univ. Paris. et aliarum univers. Par. 1665. 6 Voll. f. — *A. Wood*, Hist. et ant. univ. Oxon. Oxon. 1674. 2 Voll. f.—*Dubarle*, H. de l'Univ. Par. 1829.—*Crevier*, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris. Par. 1761. 7 Tom. 12. — *Chr. Meiners*, Gesch. d. hohen Schulen. [Hist. of Univ.]. Göttg. 1802. — *V. A. Huber*, d. engl. Univ. Cassel 1839. 2 Vols. — *F. C. v. Savigny*, Gesch. d. röm. Rechtes in M. A. Bd. III, 2. A. Heidelb. 1834.).

2. The writings of *Aristotle* were introduced among the learned of the West by the Moors of Spain, who since the eleventh century had successfully prosecuted these studies. The PHILOSOPHY OF SCHOLASTICISM was derived from the dialectics of Aristotle, whose works were translated into Latin, either from the Arabic (with the Commentaries of *Avicenna, ob.* 1036, of *Ghazali, ob.* 1111, and of *Averrhoës, ob.* 1217), or else directly from the Greek. Hitherto the philosophy of Aristotle had only been known at second hand, chiefly from the writings of Boethius. But now, when scholars had the opportunity of perusing

the works of the "master" himself, their study was prosecuted with great enthusiasm. At the commencement of the thirteenth century this philosophy was for a short time in disrepute, and the study of Aristotle prohibited by ecclesiastical ordinance—the origin of the pantheistic sect of the Holy Spirit (§ 108, 2) being traced to the teaching of the Stagyrite. But when by the extinction of the sect this danger was at an end, *Gregory IX.* again authorized the favourite study (1231); and such was the esteem in which Aristotle was held, that he was ranked with John the Baptist as the precursor of Christ, and that on all scientific questions his writings enjoyed the same authority in the Church as that of the Bible and tradition in matters of faith. At the same time, there was also in the Middle Ages a school attached to the philosophy of Plato. The study of the writings of Augustine and of the Areopagite pointed towards Platonism, while the school of speculative mystics was always opposed to the exclusive claims set up on behalf of Aristotle.—*Scholasticism started* with a speculative inquiry about the *relation subsisting between thinking and being*, or between the *idea* of a thing and its *essence*. In answer to this question, the NOMINALISTS, following up the views of the Stoics, maintained that those *general conceptions or generic ideas* (universalia) which constitute the common essence of a genus, were merely *intellectual abstractions* (nomina) derived from the common properties of individual objects, and possessing no real existence beyond the human intellect (universalia POST *res*). The REALISTS, on the other hand, insisted on the reality of these general conceptions, and believed in their objective existence prior to and beyond the mere thinking of man. The Realists were divided into two sections: the one, adopting the *Platonic* view of ideas, held that these general conceptions existed *prior* to the actual origin of individual objects, being their *archetypes* in the Divine reason; and that hence they also existed in the intellect of man, even *before* he came to the contemplation of things as outwardly presented to him (universalia ANTE *res*). The other school of Realists, following in the wake of *Aristotle*, held that these general conceptions were inherent *in* the objects themselves, and thence passed by experience into the intellect of man (universalia IN *rebus*). Hence the former school of Realists expected to reach the essence of things (or truth) by pure thinking, through the ideas innate in the intellect of man, while the second school expected to attain that result by a contemplation of things through *experience and thinking*.

3. *Object and Method of Scholastic Theology.*—The theological studies carried on during the rule of the Carolingians had been directed exclusively to practical objects, and fostered or prosecuted by practical men (such as princes, bishops, and abbots) with the view of meeting present ecclesiastical wants. But from the eleventh century this was no longer the case. Gradually practical objects, and the immediate requirements of the Church, gave place to purely scientific pursuits. Theological

studies and writings now breathe a spirit of speculation; the ancient dogmas of the Church are explained and defended in a philosophical manner; and the great aim is to convert what had been an object of faith into logical truths, and to arrange Christian doctrines into a compact system. For this purpose the schoolmen employed *dialectics*, in order by means of it to resolve and analyze the dogmas of the Church into their constituent ideas, to explain and to demonstrate them, to marshal and to combat all possible objections raised by scepticism, with the view of thus establishing and proving the rationality of the dogmas of the Church. Withal, no attempt was, however, made to place these doctrines on an exegetical basis, or to prove their truth from Scripture; philosophic proof was the only object sought, and dogmatics and ethics the only departments of scholastic theology. If exegesis was at all cultivated, writers either adopted the old allegorical method or composed *catenæ*, while historical theology was entirely neglected. The mystics among the schoolmen, on the other hand, sought more than merely to understand, to vindicate, and to compose a system of dogmatics. They recommended the practice of contemplation, by which thinking and feeling would descend directly into the depths of Divine truth, there to behold, to experience, and to enjoy what was Divine. The necessary condition for this was purity of heart, deep love to God, and complete abnegation of self. What had thus been perceived in contemplation, discovered by means of speculation, or experienced in immediate contact with the Divine, was afterwards to be presented in a scientific and systematic form.

§ 101. THE SECULUM OBSCURUM (TENTH CENTURY).

Comp. *A. Vogel*, Ratherius von Verona u. d. 10 Jahrh. Jen. 1854. 2 Vols. — *M. Büdinger*, über Gerbert's wissenschaftl. u. pol. Stellung. (On the Scientif. and Pol. Place of Gerbert). 1 Sect. Kass. 1851. — *Fr. Hock*, Gerbert u. s. Jahrh. Vienna 1837. — *Gu. Giesebrecht*, de litterarum studiis apud Italos primis medii ævi sæculis. Berol. 1845.

The darkness and ignorance of the tenth century, which also witnessed the deepest decay of the Papacy, contrasts most unfavourably not only with the culture and the science which at the time flourished in the portion of Spain subject to the Moors, more especially at the celebrated school of Cordova, but with the learning and activity of the Church during the preceding (ninth) century. And yet, during this very period of the Church's deepest decay, and of the complete secularization of the clergy, old classical heathenism and its literature were enthusiastically cultivated in Italy. But all this stood in avowed opposition to Christian theology and the Church, and proclaimed

the praises of the most ungodly frivolity and the most unblushing sensuality. A grammarian, *Wilgard*, taught publicly in Ravenna, that Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, were incomparably better and nobler than Paul, Peter, or John. True, the Church still had sufficient power to condemn him to death, as a heretic; but men of his spirit abounded in the cities of Italy, including clergymen no less than others. This spirit was not wholly banished, until the influence of the monks of Clugny, the efforts of Romuald, and St. Nilus, combined with the elevation of the Church through the Saxon Emperors, for its suppression.—The efforts of *Alfred* the Great, and their results, ceased with the life of that monarch (*ob.* 901). But in 959 the reformatory labours of *Dunstan* (§ 97) were crowned with success, and with them both the interest and the zeal for theological and national culture again revived; while the connection between the family of the Emperor Otho and Byzance proved the means of awakening, also outside of Italy, a desire for the revival of classical lore. The imperial chapel, founded by *Bruno* (Archb. of Cologne) the brother of Otho I, became the nursery of the higher German clergy, who were there trained, as thoroughly as the age allowed, in politics, classics and theology. — Towards the close of the century, the literary activity of the Moors attracted the attention of Western Christendom, and incited to imitation. Thus the seeds of learning were once more scattered over Europe.

1. The writings of Roswitha, a learned nun in the convent of Grandersheim (Helen of Rossow, *ob.* 984), who made religious subjects the text of comedies composed after the model of Terence, may serve as index of the classical learning of that period. She also wrote a "Carmen de gestis Ottonis I," and a "Carmen de primordiis cœnobii Gandersheim" Cf. Fr. *Löher*, Hrotswitha u. ihre Zeit. In d. Münch. wissench. Vortr. Braunschu. 1858; p. 465 etc. — *Dunstan* was ably supported in his labours by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, a prelate who with his followers zealously prosecuted the study of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The most celebrated of his pupils was Aelfric of Malmesbury, a monk, who preached in the Anglo-Saxon, and commenced a translation of the Bible into that language. — Notker Labeo, Abbot of St Gall, *ob.* 1022, translated the Book of Psalms, the Organon of Aristotle, the Moralia of Gregory the Great, and a number of the tractates of Boethius into the old German. Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, and afterwards of Lieges (from both which seats he was repeatedly expelled, *ob.* 974), a rigid reformer and reprover of clerical dissoluteness, equally insisted

on the duty of studying the Bible, and censured the bare heathenism of the learned Italians, as well as work righteousness, superstition, and every kind of ecclesiastical abuse. On this account, and from his attachment to the interests of Germany, he frequently suffered persecution. Ratherius was certainly the ablest divine of the tenth century. Along with him we mention Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, distinguished as an exegetical writer, a preacher, and a strenuous advocate of the Church against the oppression of the secular power (de pressuris ecclesiæ); *ob.* 960. Odo of Clugny composed hymns and homilies; — his Collationum Ll. III. contains a philippic against the corrupt morals of his time. Lastly, at the close of the century, we have Gerbert—*ob.* 1003—a man versed in classical and Arabic lore, highly celebrated as a theologian, mathematician, astronomer, and natural philosopher, but regarded by the people as a magician. His presence shed for the last time a passing lustre on the school of Rheims. — Among historians of the tenth century, Luitprand, secretary to Otho I., and afterwards Bishop of Cremona, *ob.* 972 (Antapodosis, Hist. of Otho I.); *Flodoard* of Rheims, *ob.* 966 (Hist. eccl. Rhemensis); Richer, a monk and pupil of Gerbert (author of a history of his own time, 883–998); and *Widukind*, from 940, a monk at New Corbey (author of a Saxon hist. in 3 vols.) — deserve special notice.

§ 102. DIVISION AMONG THE DIALECTICIANS (ELEVENTH CENT.).

When in the eleventh century the Church rose from its late decay, the ardour for scientific literary pursuits also revived. The anxiety so generally felt to put an end to former abuses and stagnation manifested itself also in every department of theological study. At first this new zeal appeared chiefly among the Cistercian monks and their brethren of Clugny; but towards the close of the century it extended to the various universities. The dialectic method was now almost exclusively employed in the discussion of theological questions; and dogmatism gained its first triumphs over scepticism in the Eucharistic controversy between *Lanfranc* and *Berengar*, in that concerning the existence of God between *Anselm* of Canterbury and *Gaunilo*, and in the discussion between that prelate and *Roscellinus* about the Trinity.

1. The series of schoolmen opens with Fulbert, a pupil of Gerbert, and from 1007 Bishop of Chartres. Even before his elevation to the episcopate he founded at Chartres a theological school. His fame spread throughout Western Christendom, and students from all

countries attended his seminary. — One of his pupils was BERENGAR *of Tours*, a canon and teacher in the cathedral school of his own city, and afterwards Archdeacon of Angers. His fame shed great lustre upon the school of Angers. For further prrticulars see below. — LANFRANC, the antagonist of Berengar, was first a monk, then Abbot of Bec in Normandy. In 1070 he was elevated to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Under his superintendence the school of Bec attained its highest eminence. — PETRUS DAMIANI, *ob.* 1072, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, a friend of Hildebrand, and a zealous supporter of his views on the subject of simony, of clerical purity, monastic austerity, and priestly celibacy. His tractrate, "Liber Gomorrhianus," contains an unsparing exposure of the vices of the clergy. His own indulgences consisted in retiring into his cell, there to scourge himself till the blood flowed from his shoulders. (*A. Vogel*, Petr. Damiani, Ein Vortrag. Jena 1856.) — ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, born at Aosta in Italy, educated in the monastery of Bec, of which he was afterwards abbot, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury, *ob.* 1109, comp. § 96, 5. It will be remembered that his courageous defence of the independence of the Church, at least in the sense of Hildebrand, cost that prelate three years of exile. Anselm has been compared to St. Augustine, whose theology he adopted and developed. By a rare combination, he united acuteness with philosophic depth and ardent Christian feeling — the practical tendency with dialecticism, and even mysticism. Like his great model, he regarded faith as the necessary condition of all true knowledge, while, on the other hand, he aimed at elevating belief into knowledge ("credo ut intelligam"). His most celebrated tractate was that on the Incarnation of God ("Cur Deus homo?"), in which he defended, on philosophical grounds, and developed the doctrine of the vicarious atonement. Best ed. of his writings by *G. Gerberon*, Par. 1675 f. Comp. *G. F. Frank*, Anselm von Canterb. Tübg. 1842.—*F. R. Hasse*, Ans. v. C. Leips. 1843, 1852. 2 Vols. *C. de. Remusat*, Ans. de Cant. transl. into German by Würzbach.—ANSELMUS OF LAON (Laudunensis), surnamed Scholasticus, a pupil of his namesake of Canterbury. From 1076 he lectured with great success at Paris, where indeed he may be said to have originated the University. Afterwards he returned to Laon, became archdeacon and scholasticus, and founded a theological school; *ob.* 1117. His theological views were the same as those of his teacher. His "Glossa interlinearis" (being the Vulgate with brief interlineal exposition) and Walafrid's Gl. ordinaria (§ 90, 6) were favourite exegetical manuals of the Middle Ages. — WILLIAM OF CHAMPEAUX (De Campellis), the real founder of the University of Paris. He had for some time lectured with great success in that city on rhetoric and dialectics, when the fame of Anselm brought him to Laon. He returned to Paris in 1108, delivered theological lectures, and became archdeacon. Every year the number of his students increased. Among them was Abelard, whose arrogance and continual disputations,

in which the celebrated teacher ultimately had to own himself worsted, so embittered his existence, that he retired from the chair.[18] He died in 1113 as Bishop of Chalons. — Among the chroniclers of this century we mention the names of DITMAR, Bishop of Merseburg, *ob.* 1018; HERMANN *the Lame* (Contractus), a monk at Reichenau, *ob.* 1054; MARIANUS *Scotus*, a monk at Mayence, *ob.* 1086; LAMBERT, a monk at Hersfeld, *ob.* 1100 (Chronicon historicum apud Germanos);—as Church historians *Adam of Bremen* (Gesta Hammen-burgens. eccles. Pontificum, from 788–1072); as Danish historians *Saxo* Gramm., ob. 1204 (Hist. Danica to 1186). *Amatus* of Salerno wrote a history of the Normans in Italy.

2. *Eucharistic Controversy of Berengar* (1050–1079). — Berengar of Tours had adopted views concerning the Eucharist in direct opposition to the prevailing theory of Radbertus on the subject. He taught that the elements were indeed *changed*, and that the body of Christ was really *present* in the Eucharist; but he denied that this change was one *of substance*, or the presence *one of essence* (essentialiter). The presence of the body of Christ consisted in that of His *power* in these elements, and the change of the bread in the real manifestation of this power under the form of the bread. But in order to secure the presence of this power, *consecration alone* was *not* sufficient; it also needed *faith on the part of him who partook of it*, without which the bread remained an empty and powerless sign. These views he disseminated among his numerous pupils at Tours and Angers, without for some time meeting with opposition. But when he expressed them in an epistle addressed to *Lanfranc*, that divine entered the lists against him. At a *synod held in Rome* (1050), he was condemned unheard; at another synod held the same year at *Vercelli*, before which Berengar would have appeared, if in the meantime he had not been imprisoned in France, the tractate of Ratramnus on the Eucharist (which was erroneously ascribed to Erigena) was, in an excess of zeal, torn to pieces and consigned to the flames, and the views of Berengar were again condemned. Meantime Berengar had, by the intercession of influential friends, been restored to liberty, and made the acquaintance of Hildebrand, at that period legate of the Pope. While Hildebrand believed the simple doctrine of the scriptures, that the bread and wine in the sacrament were really the body and blood of Christ, he probably took a middle view, equally avoiding the gross literalism of Radbertus and the opinions of Berengar. The legate disapproved of the fanaticism displayed by the opponents of Berengar, and at a *synod held in Tours* (1054) declared himself satisfied with a statement upon oath, that so far from denying the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he regarded the consecrated elements as the body and blood of Christ. But even this formal acquittal did not satisfy the opponents of Berengar, who accordingly in 1059 undertook a journey to Rome, in the hope of securing, through the influence of Hildebrand, the protection of the

Papal See. His expectations were doomed to disappointment, and he found himself confronted by a powerful party, under the leadership of Cardinal *Humbert*. At a synod held in Rome (1059) the unprincipled man was obliged to consign his writings to the flames, and to subscribe a formula which in its gross literalism went far beyond even the expressions used by Radbertus. On his return to France he retracted his subscription, and once more defended, against Lanfranc and others, his former views. This step excited a fresh storm. Hildebrand, who in the meantime had been elevated to the Papacy (in 1073), vainly endeavoured to allay the dispute by getting Berengar to subscribe a formula which, in temperate language, asserted the real presence in the Eucharist. The opposite party even ventured to attaint the orthodoxy of the Pope himself; and Hildebrand was obliged, at a *second synod held in Rome* (1079), to insist upon a full and unambiguous declaration of belief in the conversion of the substance of the elements. Berengar was bold enough to appeal to his private interviews with the Pope,—when Hildebrand ordered him immediately to fall down and abjure his errors. Berengar tremblingly obeyed, and was dismissed with testimonials of orthodoxy, and the injunction to abstain from further discussions. Bent under the weight of years and sorrows, he retired to the island of St. Come, near Tours, where he lived in solitude and penitence, a rigid ascetic, and died, in 1088, at a very advanced age, reconciled to the Church. — The principal treatise of Berengar, "de Coena s. adv. Lafranc," was discovered by *Lessing* in the library of Wolfenbüttel, and has been edited by *Vischer*, Berol. 1834. — (Comp. *Lessing*, Ber. Turon. od. Ankünd. e. wicht. Werkes dess. (or Notice of an import. Tract. of his). Bruns. 1770. 4; *H. Sudendorf*, Ber. Tur. od. e. Sammlung ihn betr. Br. (or a Collect. of Letters concern. him). Hamb. 1850.)

3. *Controversies of Anselm.*—I. Following up his philosophical views as a Realist, Anselm of Canterbury deduced an ontological and *à priori* argument for the being of a God, and maintained that the idea of an entirely perfect Being was inherent in reason, real existence forming one of the necessary attributes of this Being. This argumentation he embodied in two treatises, the *Monologium* and the *Proslogium*. The unsatisfactory character of this ratiocination, however, was ably exposed by GAUNILO of Marmontiers, an Aristotelian Realist, who, in answer to *Anselm*, wrote the "Liber pro insipiente" (as Anselm had asserted that only an "insipiens" would deny that the existence of God could be demonstrated). Anselm replied in a tractate entitled "Apologeticus c. Gaunilonem," and the discussion terminated without leading to any definite result. — II. Of greater importance was the controversy between Anselm and ROSCELLINUS, a canon of Compiegne. The latter, a Nominalist, asserted that our generic conception of the Deity was only an intellectual abstraction, and that the three Persons of the Godhead could not be spoken of as *Una* Res (οὐσία), as otherwise they

must all have become incarnate in Christ. In a tractate, entitled "De fide trinitatis et de incarnatione verbi contra blasphemias Rucelini," Anselm showed the fallacy of this argumentation. A synod held at Soissons in 1092 condemned Roscellinus as a Tritheist.

§ 103. SEPARATION AND REUNION OF DIALECTICS AND MYSTICISM.

In the writings of Anselm dialectics and mysticism had still been united; soon afterwards, however, their champions were marshalled in opposite camps. The great representative of dialectic scepticism was *Abelard*, a man of singular boldness and acuteness, who had already come victorious out of many a contest. But he was obliged to succumb before his great opponent, *St. Bernard.* Of less importance was the discussion between Bernard and *Gilbertus Porretanus.* — After the defeat of Abelard, the tendency which he represented was for a considerable time in the minority, nor indeed did it ever again assert itself in the same daring and reckless manner. In fact, dialectics was now chiefly employed in the support and explanation of the dogmas of the Church. Thus mysticism and dialectics were once more reconciled and combined for a common purpose. This union was accomplished by *Petrus Lombardus*, so far as dialectics, and by *Hugo* of St. Victor, so far as mysticism was concerned. The combination proved mutually helpful; dialectics gained in depth and ardour, mysticism acquired scientific distinctness and precision. — But even at that time men were not wanting who perceived and exposed the defects and dangers of scholasticism, however much it was in repute at the period. Such divines chiefly inveighed against the neglect of Scripture in the study of theology, against the barrenness of scholastic speculations so far as the Christian life was concerned, and the vain wrangling and pedantry of the schoolmen.

1. *The Separation.*—PETRUS ABELARD was born in 1079 at Palais in Brittany. In acuteness, learning, dialectic readiness, and boldness of speculation, as well as in arrogance and disputatiousness, he far surpassed all his contemporaries. In Paris he attended the lectures of *William of Champeaux*, the most celebrated dialectician of his age. But soon the pupil silenced his teacher in public discussion. Abelard settled in *Melun* near Paris, where thousands of students attended his prelections. Soon afterwards he transported his school to Corbeil in order to be nearer Paris, and thence to the walls of that capital. Nor

did he cease to provoke and to humble William, till the latter had to give place to him. In the hope of attaining yet greater distinction, Abelard now commenced the study of theology, under the tuition of *Anselm of Laon*. Very soon, however, the arrogant student deemed himself superior to this teacher also.[19] He returned to Paris, where once more a crowd of enthusiastic students gathered around him. A canon, *Fulbert*, engaged him to instruct his niece *Heloise* — a woman equally distinguished for beauty, talent, and learning. Abelard gained her affections; but refusing to bear the name of his wife, in order to enable her lover to attain the highest dignities in the Church, she was clandestinely married to him. As Heloise persisted in denying this marriage, and on that account was harshly used by her relatives, Abelard carried her off to the nunnery of Argenteuil. The revenge of Fulbert was fearful; Abelard was surprised during the night, and mutilated. In shame and despair he fled to the monastery of St. Denis; Heloise took the veil at Argenteuil. But his former pupils followed him to St. Denis; and, yielding to their entreaties, he resumed his lectures. The supercilious and sarcastic manner in which he discussed the doctrines of the Church, excited powerful opposition; and at the *Synod of Soissons*, in 1121, Abelard was obliged to consign his text-book on theology (Introductio in theologiam) to the flames, and was condemned to imprisonment in a monastery. By the intercession of friends, he was again restored to liberty, and allowed to return to St. Denis. But when he published the discovery that Dionysius of Paris had been a different person from the Areopagite, he was exposed to such violent persecution on the part of the monks, as to render it necessary for him to flee into a wood near Troyes. Thither also his pupils followed, and prevailed upon him again to resume his lectures. His hermitage became transformed into the large Abbacy of "the *Paraclete*." Renewed persecutions induced him to transfer this cloister to Heloise, who in the meantime had become Abbess of Argenteuil, in which capacity she had met with opposition from her nuns. Abelard himself became abbot of a monastery in Brittany. After having for eight years vainly endeavoured to restore its monastic discipline, he once more appeared as teacher at St. Genevieve, near Paris. He wrote a work on ethics, entitled "Scito te ipsum;" re-edited his former manual, under the title "Theologiæ Christianæ Ll. V.;" and, by way of exposing the follies of traditionalism, composed a tractate, "Sic et non," which presented in juxtaposition a number of contradictory passages from the Fathers. His prelections excited great sensations. *St. Bernard* was now induced to oppose views which were deemed so dangerous. At *a synod held in Sens* (1140), Abelard was declared a heretic. Pope *Innocent II.* condemned the writings impeached to the flames, and their author to imprisonment in a monastery. His last years were spent in retirement at Clugny, where, by intercourse with *Peter the Venerable*, his spirit mellowed. Ultimately a reconciliation

was also effected between him and St. Bernard. He died in 1142.—Reversing the statements of Augustine and of Anselm, that faith must precede knowledge, Abelard maintained that only what was known could be believed. Though professedly aiming to employ dialectics in defence of the teaching of the Church, yet, as he commenced by calling everything in question, he transformed each dogma into a problem which required to be proved before it could be received. Thus faith became merely an intellectual act, while at the same time the objects of faith were frequently narrowed to bring them in accordance with the requirements of supposed rationality. This remark applies especially to the views of Abelard about the Trinity, which little differed from the ancient heresy of Sabellian Modalism.—(Comp. *F. C. Schlosser*, Abälard u. Dulcin, Leben e. Schwärmers u. e. Philosophen. Goth. 1807.—*A. Wilkens*, Pet. Abäl. Brem. 1855.—*M. Carriere*, Ab. u. Heloise. Giessen. 1844.—*J. L. Jacobi*, Ab. u. Hel. Berl. 1850.

Gilbert de la Porree (Porretanus)—teacher of theology at Paris, and from 1142 Bishop of Poictiers, *ob.* 1154—soon afterwards excited a fresh controversy. A rigid Realist, he was led to ascribe such real existence to the *universale* God, that in his hands the doctrine of the Trinity became almost transformed into one of Quaternity. His views were opposed by St. Bernard, and condemned by the *Synod of Rheims* in 1148; but Gilbert himself was not further molested.

History has recorded the names of few personages who exercised a greater influence on their cotemporaries, than Bernard of Clairvaux (§ 98, 2); *ob.* 1153. Regarded in popular esteem as able to work miracles, and endowed with a gift of rare eloquence, he was both the support and the reprover of the vicars of Christ, and, while restoring peace among princes, ever stood forward an avenger of wrongs. His deep humility induced him to refuse ecclesiastical promotion; his attachment to the hierarchy did not hinder his exposing its many abuses and scandals; the power of his eloquence kindled throughout Europe the enthusiasm requisite for a second crusade, and restored many heretics and fanatics to the bosom of the Church. While himself seeking heavenly things, and leading a life of contemplation, prayer, and study, he seemed almost to rule upon earth, and, by his advice, admonition, and reproof, influenced all departments and relationships. In him sincere attachment to the doctrines of the Church was combined with ardent mysticism of a practical and contemplative character. Like Abelard, he controverted the great theological axiom of Anselm—only from a different point of view. The theology which he loved was not one whose great object it was to elevate faith into knowledge by means of speculation, but rather to make the light of faith more clear and bright by sanctification of the heart and life. Not that Bernard was opposed to scientific researches; but the dialectic wrangling of an Abelard, which recklessly undermined the eternal foundations of saving truth, in order to rear them again in a manner

conformable to his ideas and for purposes of self-exaltation, appeared to him equally destructive of all true theology and of the sanctifying influences of faith. In his view only a theology of the heart, based on inward piety, and fostered by prayer, contemplation, inward enlightenment, and sanctification, constituted true divinity. (Tantum Deus cognoscitur, quantum diligitur.—Orando facilius quam disputando et dignius Deus quæritur et invenitur.) During his discussion with Abelard he wrote the "Tractatus de Erroribus Petri Abælardi." Among his other works the most important is that "de Consideratione Ll. V.," in which, with the affection of a friend, the earnestness of a teacher, and the boldness of a prophet, he set before Pope *Eugene III.* both the duties and the dangers of his position. All the depth and ardour of his devout mysticism found utterance in his commentary on the Book of Canticles. Bernard was canonized by Alexander III. in 1173, and in 1830 Pope Pius VIII. solemnly received him into the number of the great Latin Fathers (Doctores ecclesiæ: Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great).—(Comp. *Neander*, The Life and Times of St. Bernard; transl. by *Matilda Wrench*. Lond. 1843. — *C. Ellendorf*, Bernh. v. Clairvaux u. s. Zeitalt. Essen 1837. — *Th. Ratisbonne*, Hist. de S. Bernarde. 2 Vols. Par.)

2. *Reconciliation.* — Among the seats of learning in which it was attempted to combine scholasticism with mysticism, the most distinguished was that "a Sancto Victore," a monastery at Paris, which *William of Champeaux* founded after he had given way before Abelard. But this new school may be said to have originated with Hugo a St. Victore, the scion of a noble German family, a friend of St. Bernard, and the real successor of Anselm. His cotemporaries were wont to designate him as "alter Augustinus," or "lingua Augustini." Tantum Deus cognoscitur, quantum diligitur. Tantum de veritate quisque potest videre, quantum ipse est.) Hugo was one of the profoundest thinkers of the Middle Ages, a man of great learning, enthusiastically devoted to study, and at the same time of warm and deep affections. Though carried off in the prime of life, he exercised a beneficial influence upon his age, on which he left the impress of his mind (*ob.* 1141). His principal work is entitled: De sacramentis fidei christianæ Ll. II. (Comp. *A. Liebner*, Hugo v. St. Victor u. d. theol. Richtungen sr. Zeit. Leips. 1832.)—The exposure of Abelard's errors and his condemnation, made professed students of dialectics more careful; they adhered more closely to the dogmas of the Church, which they endeavoured to explain and support, and, after the precedent of Augustine and Anselm, introduced certain mystical elements into their favourite science. Among the representatives of this school, Petrus Lombardus, teacher, and from 1159 Bishop of Paris (*ob.* 1164), was the most celebrated. Like Hugo, whom he surpassed in dialectic talent, but not in depth of intellect or of heart, he was a friend of St. Bernard. His celebrated manual of dogmatics (Sententiarum Ll. IV,), which procured for him the title

"magister sententiarum," consists of a collection of doctrinal statements from the Fathers, strung together and connected by the author according to the favourite dialectic method. Himself was wont to compare his work to the widow's mite cast into the treasury of the Church; but it became the great standard of orthodoxy during the Middle Ages, was frequently edited with commentaries, and finally obtained the solemn sanction of the Church at the Lateran Council in 1215. Besides Lombardus, ALANUS AB INSULIS deserves special mention. He was born at Lille or Ryssel (Lat. Insulæ), educated under Bernard of Clairvaux, and afterwards became Rector of the University of Paris and Bishop of Auxerre. Alanus died in 1203 at Clairvaux, whither he had retired in 1167. A peculiarity in that writer was his strictly mathematical method of demonstration (almost like that of the school of Wolf in the eighteenth century). Among other tractates, he wrote "de fide catholica contra Waldenses, Albigenses, Judæos et Paganos s. Mohametanos."

3. *Renewed Controversies.* — After the death of Hugo the school of St. Victor gradually gave up its former interest in dialectics. Even the successor of Hugo, RICHARD A ST. VICTORE (*ob.* 1173), characterized the method of Lombardus as too dry and barren (comp. *Engelhardt*, Rich. of St. Vict. and John Ruysbroek. Erl. 1838). — The following abbot, WALTER OF ST. VICTOR, published, in 1180, a virulent tractate, "Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciæ s. contra manifestas hæreses, quas Abælardus, Lombardus, Petrus Pictaviensis et Gilbertus Porretanus libris sententiarum suarum acuunt, limant, roborant Ll. IV." He accused Lombardus of *Nihilism*, because he had maintained that since the human nature of Christ was impersonal, He was in that respect not an aliquid, *i. e.*, an individual.—More moderate in the tone of his opposition was JOHN OF SALISBURY, the faithful friend of St. Becket, and afterwards Bishop of Chartres (*ob.* 1182). In his "Polycraticus s. de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum Ll. VIII." he predicted that, in its anxiety for scientific form, scholasticism would by and by lose all divine substance. (Comp. *H. Reuter*, John of Sal. Berl. 1843.) — PETRUS CANTOR, teacher of theology at Paris, and afterwards Bishop of Tournay (*ob.* 1197), showed, in his "Summa Theologiæ," that all the doctrines necessary for salvation might and should be deduced directly from the Scriptures. The Commentaries on Isaiah and on the Epistles of Paul, which HERVEUS of Bourgdieu, a Benedictine, published about 1130, contained a most accurate and clear exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith. — More earnestly than any other divine in the Middle Ages, RUPERT, ABBOT OF DEUTZ, at the beginning of this century, insisted on the necessity of studying the Word of God. To him the Bible appeared the great text-book for all ages and peoples, and the field where the precious pearl of salvation lay concealed, which every person, whose vision faith had enlightened, might there discover. But with all his veneration for the Scriptures,

he saw not the absolute necessity of eliciting, in the first place, the literal meaning of the text, and rather endeavoured by means of allegorical interpretaions to bring out the dogmatic and mystic import of the Word, although he seems to have consulted the Hebrew and Greek text. Rupert wrote commentaries on most of the Biblical books, an explanation of the Liturgy (de Divinis officiis), a "Dialogus inter Christianum et Judæum," etc. On the subject of the Eucharist, he adopted the view known as that of consubstantiation (since it was not the way of the Holy Spirit, "destruere vel corrumpere substantiam, quam in usus suos assumit, sed substantiæ, permanenti quod erat, invisibiliter adjicere, quod non erat"). Rupert died in 1135.

4. The most celebrated among the *Historians* of this century were: *Sigbertus Gemblacensis*, monk at Gemblours, *ob.* 1113; *Otho, Bishop of Freisingen*, *ob.* 1158, the author of a Chronicon in eight books; *Martinus Gallus*, c. 1113, (Chron. Polonorum); *Cosmas Pragensis*, *ob.* 1125, (Chron. Bremor.); *Helmold*, c. 1170, (Chron. Slavorum); an English Benedictine, *Odericus Vitalis*, of Normandy, who wrote a hist. ecclest. in thirteen books, and Hist. Normannorum Ll. 13; *William of Malmesbury*, *ob.* 1143, (de reb. gest. Anglorum; de reb. gest. Pontiff. Anglor., etc.).

§ 104. HIGHEST STAGE OF SCHOLASTICISM (13TH CENT.).

Mediæval Theology attained its highest stage in the thirteenth century. After the defeat of William of St. Amour (§ 98, 4), the direction of theological studies was almost wholly left to the Dominican and Franciscan monks. Scholasticism, which had now got rid of all sceptical tendencies, was chiefly cultivated in the University of Paris. The introduction of the writings of Aristotle, which had lately been imported from the seats of Moorish literature in Spain (§ 100, 2), gave a considerable impulse to the labours of the schoolmen. The variety and richness of form characteristic of that philosophy became now for the first time fully known. These logical forms were adopted and employed in the construction of systems of dogmatics, and afforded opportunity for all the acuteness and ingenuity of the schoolmen. Scholasticism addressed itself exclusively to the elucidation of ecclesiastical dogmas by means of the philosophy of Aristotle. To Scripture these divines appealed not; yet, withal, it was not wholly forgotten that the Bible alone was the source and ultimate ground of all belief; and even in the thirteenth century, those were not wanting who insisted on bringing back theology to this its great standard of authority. — (Cf. § 116, &c.).[30]

1. The most *celebrated scholastics* of this century were: —

(1.) Alexander Halesius, educated at *Hales* in England, surnamed "Doctor irrefragabilis," the first Franciscan professor at Paris; *ob.* 1245. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle, and on the sentences of Lombardus (Summa theologiæ universæ, in four books). He was the first to assign to the philosophy of Aristotle its peculiar authority, so far as form was concerned; on which ground he has been called the first scholastic (in the narrower sense). This method of discussing theological subjects became now prevailing; and his successors were called *Summists*, as those of Lombardus had been called *Sententiaries*.

(2.) Albertus Magnus, born Count of Bollstadt in Swabia, a Dominican, and teacher of theology at Paris and Cologne, afterwards Bishop of Regensburg; *ob.* 1280, at a very advanced age. He surpassed all other scholastics in learning, being equally conversant with philosophy, theology, natural sciences, and even cabalistic lore. This mass of knowledge he had acquired with much labour; but as he had never repaired to the great fountains of Scripture and nature, his learning was of little real value. The people, however, regarded him as a magician. So far as individuality and native talent are concerned, he was much below the average of the great men of his age. The edition of his works published at Leyden, in 1651, consists of twenty-one folio vols.; among them, five volumes of commentaries on Aristotle, three vols. on Lombardus, a Summa Theol. in 2 vols., and a number of works on natural science. — (Cf. *J. Sighart*, Alb. M., s. Leben u. s. Wsch. Regensb. 1857).

(3.) The great ornament of the Franciscans, Johannes Fidanza, better known by the name of Bonaventura, commenced his lectures on theology in Paris the same day on which Thomas Aquinas occupied for the first time the chair among the Dominicans (1253). These two divines successfully resisted the opposition of William of St. Amour. In gratitude for the service, Bonaventura was chosen general of his order (1256), and in 1273 Gregory X. appointed him Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia. By desire of the Pope, he attended the Council of Lyons in 1274 (§ 67, 4), and took an active part in its deliberations, but died before its close (1274). A few years later he was canonized, and in 1587 Sixtus V. added his name to those of the Church-teachers. When still a youth, his instructor designated him a "verus Israelita, in quo Adam non peccasse videtur;" while his cotemporaries, in their admiration of his "angelic purity," styled him "Doctor seraphicus." His writings have chiefly a practical bearing, and in his case dialectics were always combined with a deep mystic tendency. His works (Rom. 1588) are comprised in eight folio vols.

(4.) By far the ablest of the schoolmen was Thomas Aquinas (Doctor angelicus). He was the son of a Count of Aquino in Calabria; became Dominican and a pupil of Albertus Magnus, and afterwards teacher in Cologne, Paris, and Rome, whence he retired into a Domini

can monastery at Naples. Gregory X. requested him to attend the Council of Lyons; but he died suddenly soon after leaving Naples, perhaps from the effects of poison administered to him by order of his sovereign, Charles of Sicily (1274). He was canonized, and ranked among the Fathers. Aquinas was undoubtedly the most profound and acute thinker of his age, exceedingly popular as a preacher, and equally enthusiastic in his attachment to the doctrines of the Church and in the prosecution of philosophical investigations. An admirer and disciple of Augustine, he inclined towards mysticism, and was distinguished for genuine and deep piety. His principal work, the "Summa Theologiæ," is in many respects a model for dogmatic compositions. He also wrote a commentary on Lombardus, a valuable controversial tractate directed against the Jews and Mohammedans (Summa fidei catholicæ contra Gentiles), commentaries on Aristotle, and a "Catena aurea" on the Gospels. (Comp. *Hoertel*, Thomas Aqu. u. s. Z. Augsb. 1846. — *D. Mettenleiter*, Gesch. d. h. Th. v. Aq. Regensb. 1856. — *K. Werner*, d. h. Thom. v. Aq. Regensb. 1859. — *J. N. P. Oischinger*, d. specul. Theol. d. h. Th. v. Aq. Landsh. 1859).

(5.) The fame of St. Thomas, which shed fresh lustre upon the Order of the Dominicans, excited the jealousy of the Franciscans. At length one of their own number appeared to rival the honours of Aquinas. John Duns Scotus, called "Doctor subtilis," was inferior to Aquinas in acuteness and moral depth, though not in dialectic talent. His subtilty in analyzing and developing ideas was specially vaunted; but his ecclesiastical orthodoxy was not free from suspicion, while occasionally he laid himself open to the charge of propounding rationalistic views. He was teacher at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, where he died in 1308.

The views held by these two teachers were afterwards adopted by their respective orders, and rigidly adhered to and defended. Accordingly the Dominicans were called Thomists, and the Franciscans Scotists. In philosophy both orders were Realists—only that the Dominicans were Aristotelians, the Franciscans Platonists. More important were their differences in theology. The Thomists adhered strictly to the tenets of the Church, while the Scotists were rationalistic in some of their views. On the doctrines of human depravity and of grace, the Thomists held moderate Augustinian, the Scotists semi-Pelagian opinions. The Dominicans adopted the views of Anselm on the atonement — the merits of Christ as the God-man were of infinite value (satisfactio superabundans), and hence *in themselves* a sufficient equivalent for our redemption. The Scotists, on the other hand, maintained that the merits of Christ were an equivalent for our redemption, not in themselves, but only in consequence of the declaration of God that He accepted them as such (acceptatio gratuita). Lastly, the Franciscans were strenuous advocates of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (§ 105, 2)—a view easily accounted for from their leaning towards Pelagianism, while the Dominicans rejected this dogma.

2. *Raimundus Lullus* may be designated "the reformer of the scholastic *method*." His zeal for missionary work (§ 93, 5) made him anxious to devise some method more suitable for demonstrating the truths of the Gospel. After considerable labour, he succeeded in inventing a process by which—at least in his opinion—the highest truths might be made patent to the weakest capacity, by using certain letters and figures to represent ideas and their connections. This method he called "ars magna" or "generalis," and largely employed it in his discussions with the Saracens. He also translated into Arabic the work in which he explained his new method.

3. Among the divines who were OPPOSED to scholasticism, and in its stead insisted on the necessity of STUDYING THE BIBLE, we mention:

(1.) ROBERT GROSSHEAD, teacher at Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln (*ob.* 1253), — a prelate equally eminent for personal worth, and for his reform of many abuses in his diocese.

(2.) ROGER BACON (Doctor mirabilis), a pupil of Grosshead and a teacher at Oxford (*ob.* 1294). He was undoubtedly the most learned man in the Middle Ages; thoroughly versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, and conversant with mathematics, the natural sciences, astronomy, and even medicine. With equal clearness and openness, he pointed out the defects and dangers of scholasticism, and at the same time insisted on the necessity of studying the Scriptures in the original. In return for these bold assertions he was charged with heresy and magic, and had to spend great part of his life within prison-walls. The only one of his cotemporaries who seems to have understood and admired the genius of Bacon, was *Pope Clement IV.*, who as legate had made his acquaintance in England, and afterwards restored him to liberty.

(3.) ROBERT OF SORBONNE in Champagne, a teacher and canon at Paris, and the founder of the *Sorbonne* (originally a seminary for poor young secular priests, but which soon acquired such fame that it became the theological faculty of the University). Robert earnestly recommended his hearers to prosecute zealously the study of the Bible.

(4.) HUGO A ST. CARO (de St. Chers, a suburb of Vienne), a Dominican and cardinal (*ob.* 1260). This divine likewise insisted on the necessity of having continual recourse to the Scriptures, and endeavoured to promote their study by publishing a "Postilla (Commentary) in universa Biblia," and a "Concordantia Bibliorum." To his labours we also owe our present division of the Bible into chapters.

(5.) RAYMUND MARTINI, a Dominican of Barcelona (*ob.* after 1286), was untiring in his labours for the conversion of Jews and Mohammedans, spoke Hebrew and Arabic as fluently as Latin, and wrote: Pugio fidei contra Mauros et Judæos.

4. As a precursor of *German Mysticism*, which was in its full bloom in the fourteenth century (§ 117), we must name DAVID OF AUGSBURG, teacher of theology, and master of novitiates, in the Franciscan mon

astery at Augsburg (*ob.* 1271). His writings, partly in Latin, partly in German, are introductions and treatises upon contemplative, mystic asceticism, equally distinguished by depth and fervour, as by pious earnestness and meek humility. The German portions especially (in *Pfeiffer's* deutsch. Mystikern d. 14. Jahrh. Bd. I. Lpz. 1845) combine, with excellence of matter, the attractions of beautiful and flowing language, and belong to the choicest productions of any age.

5. Among the distinguished *Historians* of that century are: *Arnold of Lübek*, *ob.* 1212 (Chron. Slavorum), *Alberich*, a monk of Drübek or Tres-fontes, at Liege (Chron. to 1241), *Matthew Paris*, a monk of St. Alban's, England, *ob.* 1259 (Hist. Major), and *Martin Polonus*, who died as designated Bishop of Gnesen, 1278 (Chron.); *William de Nangis*, a monk of St. Denis, *ob.* 1302 (Chron.).

IV. THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

§ 105. PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE FINE ARTS.

In the services of the Church, PREACHING occupied a subordinate place, chiefly owing to the ignorance of the priesthood. On the other hand, the externalism in religion prevalent among the people rendered this want comparatively less felt. Popes and synods, however, insisted on the necessity of employing priests capable of teaching; and the sermons of the Franciscans and Dominicans were eagerly listened to by multitudes. Except in Spain, the *Romish* LITURGY was now everywhere introduced. At a synod held in Toledo (1088), an attempt was made to set aside the old *Mozarabic* Ritual (§ 89, 1). But the people were violently opposed to such a change; and the decisions of a trial by single combat and of the ordeal by fire were equally in favour of the established order. After that, both liturgies were used. The old Slavonic Ritual had been abolished in Moravia and Bohemia so early as the tenth century. The Latin was and continued the ecclesiastical language of all countries. — The worship of saints, of relics and of images, came more and more into vogue, and at last formed the principal part of the devotions.

1. New zeal for PREACHING kindled with the revival of monasticism from the tenth century, especially among the Cluniacensians and Cistercians; but these Orders, from the thirteenth century allowed their reputation, in this respect also, to pass over to the Franciscans and

Dominicans. Nearly all the heroes of monasticism and scholasticism acquired renown, likewise, as preachers. In ordinary public worship the sermon, when one was delivered, was preached in Latin. But where the design was to work upon the people (sermons calling to repentance, advocating crusades), the vernacular was, of course, employed. Then such crowds pressed to hear, that few churches could hold them. St. Bernard is expressly said to have preached in French. But of all mediæval preachers, none equalled in depth, fervour, simplicity, power, impressiveness, and popular style, BERTHOLD OF REGENSBURG, the pupil and friend of David of Augsburg (§ 104, 4); he used the German, went from town to town, and often had 100,000 hearers. His themes were: the grace of God in Christ, the abuse of indulgences, false confidence in saints, the madness of trusting in pilgrimages, etc. (*ob.* 1272). A complete edition of his sermons has been prepared by *Pfeiffer*. Vien. 1862. In regard to their language, also, they are invaluable treasure, and a glorious evidence of the power, depth, pleasantness, and euphony of the German of that age.—As yet, the views of divines on the subject of the *Sacraments* were far from settled. *Petrus Damiani* computed their number at twelve;[21] *Lombardus* reduced them to seven, and his influence prevailed in this respect also (the seven Sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Marriage, and Ordination). At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the *doctrine of transubstantiation* was formally sanctioned. Apprehension lest some of the blood of the Lord might be spilt, led in the twelfth century to the withdrawal of the *cup* from the laity, which henceforth was given only to priests. This alteration was vindicated on the ground of what was called "concomitantia," or the doctrine that communicants necessarily received with the body the blood also. The practice of using *wafers* (the host), instead of breaking bread, arose from a similar anxiety for precaution. At the Fourth Lateran Council it was enjoined, on pain of excommunication, that every one of the faithful should go to confession and to the communion at least once a year, at Easter; and *auricular confession* was declared to be necessary before receiving absolution. As *marriage* was regarded a sacrament in the proper sense of the term, *divorce* was of course absolutely prohibited, even in case of adultery. *Innocent III.*, who enacted this law, diminished, however (1215), the former excessive restrictions, by limiting the prohibition of marriage to the fourth, instead of the seventh, degree of consanguinity.

2. *New Festivals.*—In honour of the Virgin (§ 57, 2) a new feast was instituted, under the name of the *Festival of the Nativity of Mary*, which was celebrated on the 8th September. Another ceremonial in connection with the growing reverence paid to the Virgin, was the feast of the *Immaculate Conception*, on the 8th December, which was introduced in the twelfth century. It will be remembered that *Radbertus Paschasius* taught that both the parturition of the Virgin and

her own conception had been exempted from the taint and consequences of original sin (§ 91, 3). In the twelfth century the canons of Lyons followed up this idea, and in honour of it instituted a festival. But St. Bernard protested equally against this doctrine and festival, and Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas were also opposed to it. From the time of Duns Scotus, the Franciscans, however, again contended for this doctrine, which only induced the Dominicans to oppose it all the more energetically. Still the festival, at least, was pretty generally observed during the thirteenth century; and in 1389 Clement VII. sanctioned it as one of the regular feasts of the Church. In 998 the congregation of Clugny introduced the *Feast of All Souls* (on 2d November), which immediately followed upon the *Feast of All Saints* (on 1st November). Its object was to procure, by the prayers of the faithful, the deliverance of souls from purgatory. During the twelfth century, *Trinity Day*, being the Sunday after Pentecost, was observed. The doctrine of transubstantiation gave rise to the institution of Corpus Christi Day, on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday. It originated in a vision vouchsafed during prayer to *Juliana*, a pious nun of Liege. According to her statement, she discerned the full moon with a small speck in it, which, as was revealed, implied that among the festivals of the Church one was awanting in honour of the ever-recurring miracle of the Eucharist (1261). Urban IV. gave his sanction to its observance; but it was not generally celebrated till 1311, when Clement V. enjoined it as a regular ecclesiastical festival. From that time the Church displayed all its pomp and splendour in the celebration of this feast.

3. *Pilgrimages* to Rome and Palestine continued in the tenth century, in spite of Roman misrule (§ 96, 1) and the tyranny of the Seljiks. On the contrary, the expectation that the end of the world was at hand (§ 106, 1), served to increase the fanaticism of the people in this respect; the crusades even assumed the form of conquering armies.—The ancient opposition of the Frankish clergy to the *worship of images* seems to have entirely ceased in the eleventh century (§ 92, 1). The veneration now paid to images, so far from conflicting with the SERVICE OF RELICS, rather increased the former ardour for this species of devotion. On their return to Europe, the Crusaders brought with them a large quantity of new relics, some of them sufficiently strange in character. Despite their almost endless number, these articles continually increased in value. Castles and domains were occasionally not considered an exorbitant price to give for the relics of some celebrated saint, which not unfrequently were stolen by devotees at the risk of their lives. No story, related by traffickers in relics, was too extravagant to be believed. Frequent canonizations—which, since the twelfth century, were considered the exclusive right of the popes—furnished ever new objects for the WORSHIP OF SAINTS. *Jacobus a Voragine*, a Dominican (*ob.* 1298), may be considered the last writer of legends of

the saints. His "Legenda aurea" consists of a collection of the most extraordinary stories. Yet a French theologian, who had ventured to style the work "Legenda ferrea," was obliged publicly to retract from the pulpit this insult. In the HOMAGE PAID TO THE VIRGIN, the angelic salutation (Luke i. 28) formed a principal part of the devotions. To assist the memory in the frequent repetition of this formula during the prayers, the Dominicans devised the *rosary* (the fundamental idea being that a *garland* of spiritual *roses* was to be formed from the different prayers). The idea must, however, ultimately be traced to *Macarius*, a monk in the fourth century, who took three hundred little stones into his lap, throwing away one of them after each prayer — a practice which afterwards was frequently imitated. In the monasteries *Saturday* was generally set apart in honour of the blessed Virgin, and a special "Officium s. Mariæ" celebrated.

4. *Hymnology.* — About the time when scholasticism attained its highest stage, great progress was also made in the hymnology of the Church. The most celebrated among the many religious poets of that age were, *Odo* of Clugny, *Robert*, King of France ("Veni sancte Spiritus et emitte"), *Petrus Damiani*, *Abelard*, *St. Bernard*, *Adam of St. Victor*, *Bonaventura*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and the two Franciscans, *Thomas of Celano*, *ob.* 1260 ("Dies iræ"), and *Jacobus de Benedictus* or Jacoponus, *Giacopone da Todi*, *ob.* 1306 ("Stabat mater"). The last-mentioned author was an eccentric enthusiast, and frequently inveighed against the clergy and Papacy, especially against the ambition of Boniface VIII. When imprisoned by order of that pope, he replied to his taunt, "When will you get out?" by, "When you shall get in" — a prediction which soon afterwards was accomplished. — A number of hymns were also composed in the vernacular, although they were not employed in the public services of the Church (§ 89, 2). The oldest German Easter hymn dates from the twelfth century: "Christus ist erstanden Von der Marter Banden." Some of the poems of the "Minne-singers" in the thirteenth century had also a religious bearing, being specially devoted to the celebration of the Virgin, and forming a kind of spiritual "Minne-Songs." Occasionally religious poetry was composed for the use of different classes — such as pilgrims, boatmen, etc. — or to be sung in battle. The best of the relics of German popular hymns, of the thirteenth century, is that for Pentecost: "Nu bitten wir. den heil'gen Geist." But the twofold merit of introducing into the public service the German religious poetry already existing, and of greatly adding to this kind of literature and promoting its spread among the people, belongs to the heretical sects of that period rather than to the Church. — *St. Francis* wrote a number of hymns in *Italian*. One of these compositions, written in honour of "brother Sun" (de lo frate Sole), with characteristic boldness of figure introduces brother Sun, sister Moon, brother Wind, sister Water, mother Earth, and lastly brother Death, as praising the Creator. The religious

poetry of some of the disciples of St. Francis, however, was greatly superior to that of the founder of their order. Among them we mention the names of *Fra Pacifico* (formerly a troubadour, whom Frederic II. had crowned poet laureate), *Bonaventura*, *Giacomo da Verona*, *Thomas da Celano*, and *Giacopone da Todi*. The latter (and not St. Francis) indited that hymn "In foco amor mi mise," which breathes such ardent love to the crucified Saviour. (Comp. *Hoffmann v. Fallersleben*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Kirchenliedes bis auf Luther (Hist. of Germ. Ch. Poetry to the Time of Luther). Han. 1854. — *A. F. Ozanam*, les Poètes Franciscans en Italie; transl. into Germ., with add., by *Julius*).

5. *Ecclesiastical Music.* — The Gregorian, or cantus firmus, soon fell into decay. This result was chiefly owing to the scarcity and expensiveness of the Antiphonaria, as also to the frequent mistakes occurring in them, to the difficulty of their system of notation, and to the paucity of regularly trained singers. Errors committed in copying, and even alterations or embellishments introduced to suit the taste of some of the professional singers, multiplied. Thus the cantus firmus became by and by a *discantus*, or *cantus figuratus* (figuræ = embellishments), and, instead of singing in unison, duets were introduced. Gradually, definite rules of harmony, of chords and intervals, were framed. The merit of these improvements belongs chiefly to *Hucbald*, a monk of Rheims (about the year 900); to *Reginus*, a German monk (about the year 920); and to *Odo*, Abbot of Clugny. *Guido* of Arezzo (1000–1050) invented, in room of the curious Gregorian mode of notation, our present notes, which rendered it possible, along with the cantus, to mark also the discantus (hence the term counterpoint, *i. e.*, punctum contra punctum). The measurement of the tones was invented by *Franco* of Cologne, about 1200. The *organ* was almost universally in use; and Germany was celebrated as possessing the best builders of, and the ablest performers upon, this instrument.

6. *Ecclesiastical Architecture.* — (Comp. *H. Otte*, Handb. d. kirchl. Kunstarchäol. d. deutsch. M. A. Leips. 1854. — *J. Kreuser*, d. chr. Kirchenbau (chr. Eccl. Archit.). 2 Vols. Bonn 1851. — *A. H. Springer*, d. Bauk. d. chr. M. A. Bonn 1854. — *Quatremère de Quincy*, Hist. de la Vie et des Ouvrages des Architectes du XI. S. jusqu'à la fin du XVIII. 2 T. Par. 1832). — The general decay prevailing during the tenth century, and the common expectation of the approaching end of the world at the close of the first 1000 years, operated unfavourably on the progress of the fine arts, especially so far as architecture was concerned. But these hindrances were only of a temporary character. The Romanesque style of architecture, which prevailed chiefly in the twelfth century, originated in the desire to give a distinctively German mould to the older forms of ecclesiastical structures. But during the entire period of its prevalence we mark a continual progress; hence,

while retaining its fundamental character as a transition style, it appeared in forms more varied than any other. In Romanesque architecture the ancient Christian basilica still continued the type; the chief innovation consisted in introducing the vaulted roof (especially in the shape of a cross) instead of the flat wooden roof, whereby the interior became more lofty, and gained in perspective effect. In other respects also, marked progress was made. To this period belong the general introduction of the rounded arch, and that increase of architectural ornaments, which afforded scope for various symbolical devices and for the vagaries of fancy. Its materials were derived from the peculiar German view of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, from legend or from local tradition. Finally, ecclesiastical structures were completed by the addition of towers (as it were finger-posts pointing upwards), which it was now attempted to connect with the body of the church (sometimes by rearing them above the entrance to the central nave, or over both ends of the aisles, or where the central and the cross nave intersected, or on opposite sides of the choir). Frequently, however, only a cupola rose over the central nave. The finest specimens of this style are the cathedrals of Spires, of Mayence, and of Worms. — But already the GOTHIC (or, more correctly, the Germanic) STYLE of architecture was introduced, which attained highest perfection during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This claims to be an independent branch of the Romanesque style, in which the native genius of Germany cast off its traditional adherence to ancient forms, and displayed all its richness and boldness of imagination, and all its depth and fulness of conception. So far as the vault was concerned, the Romanesque style may be regarded as preparatory to the Gothic—the ancient Christian basilica still continuing the fundamental type. But while the Romanesque cross vault and the rounded arch rendered it impossible to rear a very lofty building, and required heavy walls to support the superincumbent weight, the pointed arch, by which any breadth could be spanned and any height reached, removed the appearance of heaviness even from the most massive structures. Admitting that the first knowledge of the pointed arch was derived from the Saracens in Spain, in Sicily, or in the East, its application in Gothic structures was distinctively German; for whilst among the Saracens it was used merely for decoration, it was in Germany mainly applied for construction, especially for the support of the vault. The stiff wall was transformed into supporting pillars, and formed a grand architectural skeleton, admitting of tasteful and varied designs for windows. On the fundamental type of a cross, the Gothic cathedral rose like a primeval architectural forest, exhibiting rich variety, and far surpassing in beauty every structure for secular purposes. Light and graceful the most massive buildings rose; the tall supporting pillars symbolized the spirit tending heavenwards. Long rows of such columns sprung, as it were from the earth, up towards the lofty vault. Every-

thing seemed to live, to bud, and to bear. The pillars and the walls were covered with leaves and blossoms, exhibited fantastic emblems, or set forth holy persons. An immense rose (or round window) above the entrance — the symbol of silence — proclaimed the fact that everything worldly was excluded from these walls. Those large arched windows, with their gorgeous paintings, threw a strange mellow light into the sanctuary. Everything about the structure seemed to tend upward, even to the towers in which the stone, dug out of the dark depths below, appeared to become light and almost transparent. High upwards they reached, till they were almost lost to view in the blue sky. The victory also over the kingdom of darkness was represented in that brood of dragons and demoniac forms which lay crushed beneath pillars and door-posts, or were otherwise made subservient to the convenience of the building. Nay, occasionally, by a bold stroke, bishops and popes even were represented in such situations, just as Dante placed some of the popes in hell. The most splendid specimens of this style are the cathedral of Cologne and the Munster of Strasburg. The former was founded in 1248 by Archbishop *Conrad* of Hochsteden, the plan having been designed by *Henry Sunere*, an architect of Cologne; but the choir alone was finished and consecrated in 1322. The building of the Strasburg Munster was commenced by *Erwin of Steinback* in 1275.

7. *The Plastic Art*, which had been neglected by the ancient Church, was much cultivated during the reign of the Hohenstaufen. Its first great master in Italy was *Nicholas* of Pisa (Nicolo Pisano, *ob.* 1274). Even before that period a school of sculptors had sprung up in Germany, whose works (in the churches of Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Freiberg, etc.) have descended to posterity, though their names are lost to fame. Similarly, the art of the goldsmith and the coppersmith was largely employed in the service of the Church. — Byzantine artists became the teachers of the Italians in PAINTING, from whom, in turn, the Germans learned the art. A school of painters was formed at Pisa and Sienna early in the thirteenth century, which, in honour of its patron saint, was called the *School of St. Luke*. It was the aim of these painters to impart life and warmth to the stiff pictures of the Greeks. *Guido* of Sienna, *Giunta* of Pisa, and *Cimabue*, a Florentine, *ob.* 1300, were the great masters of this school. Mosaic painting, principally on a ground of gold, was much in vogue in Italy. The art of *glass painting* originated in Germany, early in the eleventh century, and was first employed in the monastery of Tegernsee, Bavaria, whence it spread through the West. — (Cf. *W. Wackernagel*, d. deutsche Glasmalerei. Lpz. 1855).

§ 106. POPULAR LIFE AND NATIONAL LITERATURE.

This was a period full of strangest contradictions, and presenting most remarkable transitions in popular life. Everything,

however, gave indication of unabated vigour, and still on the unhewn block did the Church lay the fashioning chisel. If, on the one hand, rude violence prevailed throughout Europe, on the other, men, willingly or unwillingly, owned the higher and invisible power of thought. The grossest sensuality was found alongside the most entire renunciation of the world; the most unmitigated selfishness side by side with the rarest self-denial and the deepest love; keen and frivolous sarcasm, which made parody even of what was most holy, occurred along with the most thorough earnestness and tender anxiety for the salvation of souls. If boundless superstition prevailed, so did the boldest liberalism, and in the midst of general ignorance and barbarism, lofty ideas, broad views, and singular individuality of mind, were found to exist. Above all, there was one characteristic distinguishing this from every other age—we mean the capacity and susceptibility for enthusiasm of every kind.

1. *Popular Life.* — The consciousness of deep religious and moral decline, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, manifested itself in the confident expectation of the approaching *end of the world*, which in turn led to fresh acts of devotion in the shape of pilgrimages, pious donations, and foundations. If the secular power was too weak to check the *practice of private revenge*, the Church exercised a beneficial influence by enjoining the so-called TRUCE of GOD (treuga Dei), which ordained that during Advent and till eight days after Epiphany, during Lent and till eight days after Pentecost, and during every week from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, all such quarrels should be suspended. This ordinance, which originated in 1032 in France, after several years of famine, gradually spread into all other countries. (Cf. A. Kluckhohn, Gesch. d. Gottesfr. Lpz. 1857; *E. Semichon*, la paix et la trève de Dieu. Par. 1857) — Despite its barbarism, there was a religious cast about KNIGHTHOOD, which was greatly fostered in Spain by the contest with the Saracens, and throughout all Europe in connection with the Crusades. All the tendencies and mental peculiarities of the people found their appropriate expression in the various orders of *monasticism*. Nor must we forget the important effects achieved by the CRUSADES. Not only was the religious sense of the people roused, but their narrow horizon was enlarged, and the ardent longing of the age became deepened. But, on the other hand, superstition and moral laxity also increased; and along with expanding commerce, the wants or demands of the people also grew. In the fervent homage paid to saints, the people forgot the worship due to Christ and to the Father. Every business and calling, every age and station, had its patron saint; and under every mischance or disease, there was some special saint to whom to apply for relief. The religion of the people was little

other than a kind of magic; salvation was obtained by indulgences and good works. A large amount of superstition had been imported from heathenism. Belief in witchcraft, amulets, dreams, good and bad omens, fairies, brownies, etc., merged with the dogmas of the Church about saints, angels, and demons, and gave rise to a kind of Christian mythology. The poetic spirit of the people found utterance in *legends*, *traditions*, and *fables*, mostly rich in meaning, and having some religious bearing. Almost in them all the *devil* plays the chief part; but he is ever represented as a poor stupid being, who at last is only cheated for his pains. Nay, the light-mindedness of the people turned even holy subjects into extravagant follies. At the FEAST OF FOOLS, which was celebrated in France about New Year's time, popes, bishops, and abbots arrayed as fools mimicked in the church, with grotesque jokes, the sacred functions of these ecclesiastics. A similar comedy was enacted at Christmas by boys (the so-called *festum innocentum*). At the FEAST OF THE ASS, which was also celebrated at Christmas, in honour of the animal on which Christ had made His entry into Jerusalem, an ass, adorned with a surplice, was brought into the church, and his praises sounded in a comic liturgy composed for the purpose. Bishops and popes inveighed against these substitutes for the ancient heathen festivities of December. But the lower clergy and the people enjoyed the sport. At Easter, instead of preaching of Him who had burst the bonds of death, the priests — to make some amends for the previous long fast — amused their audiences with stories and jokes, to which the people, as in duty bound, responded by the so-called EASTER-LAUGHTER (Risus paschalis). When councils and bishops at last succeeded in banishing these follies from the churches, the people took compensation in the *amusements of the Carnival*, which preceded Easter quadragesima.—In imitation of the trade guilds which originated in the twelfth century, a kind of *spiritual guilds* were instituted, which enjoyed the countenance and fostering care of the secular clergy, in the hope of their proving a counterpoise to the influence which the mendicant orders had acquired among the people through their Tertiaries. In many parts of Germany and France associations of priests and laymen were formed, which undertook to say a certain number of prayers and masses for the members and for their relatives, whether living or dead. Such unions were called *Calends*, from the circumstance that their meetings took place on the calends (or first) of every month. By voluntary contributions and legacies, these unions obtained ample means for founding special "calend-houses." But their original pious object was soon forgotten, and these meetings became by and by only occasions for feasting and revelry. At the time of the Reformation the calends were abolished, and their possessions applied to useful purposes.

2. *Popular Culture.*— The learned *schoolmen* cared little or nothing for the instruction of the common people. But some of the earnest

preachers of repentance addressed themselves to those who were otherwise neglected, generally with remarkable success, especially in the case of notorious or obstinate sinners. Unfortunately, those who were thus converted retired into monasteries, instead of proving the salt of the earth. No attempt was made to instruct the people; and although the Hohenstaufen endeavoured to establish *elementary schools* in Italy —making attendance on them even obligatory—these institutions did not succeed. From the eleventh century, associations were formed in the south of France for the study of the Bible; but their members by and by generally took up a position hostile to the Church. The spread of the Cathari and Waldenses (§ 108) was mainly due to the fact that, by preaching, reading the Bible, singing and prayer in the vernacular, they met the felt religious wants of the people. St. Dominic proposed to counteract their influence by employing a similar agency. In 1229, *the Council of Toulouse* prohibited laymen from possessing the Old or the New Testament, and even from reading the Psalter or the Breviary, in the vernacular. In lieu of the Bible thus withheld, and of the martyrologies, which, being written in Latin, were inaccessible to the masses, the Church introduced, in the thirteenth century, *legends in rhyme*, composed in the vernacular. The oldest work of this kind in German, by an unknown author, consists of three books comprising about 100,000 lines. Book I. treats of Christ and of Mary; Book II. of the Apostles and the other personages mentioned in the Gospels; while Book III. gives a sketch of the lives of the saints, according to their order in the Calendar. The first two books (edited by *K. A. Hahn*, d. alte Passional. Frkf. 1845) contain a number of apocryphal stories, couched in the genuine mediæval style. As few of the people were able to read, wandering minstrels were wont to relate these stories to the people. Another and more effectual mode of conveying religious instruction was by means of *religious theatricals*, which were introduced in the eleventh century, probably in France. *F. J. Mone* has lately edited a number of these dramas in German (Schauspiele d. M. A. 2 Vols. Karlsr. 1846). They originated in those antiphonal chants in which it was the custom to celebrate the hero of a festival during the worship in his honour. By and by these poems were enlarged into dramas; and in course of time a cycle of such pieces existed for all the saints' feasts, which were acted by the clergy in the churches, at first with Latin words, but afterwards in the vernacular (of course with the exception of the prayers introduced in them). Besides these historical dramas, which were called *mysteries*, and the material of which was derived from the Bible, or the legends of saints, allegorical moral plays were prepared; these were called *moralities*. They represented general moral truths, or personified Biblical parables. Such dramatic representations flourished most during the succeeding period (§ 114, 4). Cf. *H. Alt*, Theater u. Kirche. Berl. 1846; *K. Hase*, d. geistl. Schauspiel. Lpz. 1858) —The *images*,

mosaics, and reliefs, which covered the doors and walls of the churches, were also a means of recalling to mind Biblical events and legends of saints.

3. *National Literature.*—(Cf. *K. Barthel*, d. class. Periode d. deutsch. Nat.-Literat. im M. A. Braunschu, 1857). — The tenth and eleventh centuries produced scarcely any works either in science or poetry. But during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Church rose from its former decay, German national literature developed rapidly, and in a manner most surprising. The writings of that period occasionally breathe a spirit hostile to the clerical rule — a remark which specially applies to the compositions of Wolfram of Esehenbach. Even the legend of *Reinecke* and *Isegrimm* are really, though not intentionally, a cutting satire on the rapacity of the monks, the hypocrisy of the clergy, the avarice of the popes, and the abuse of indulgences. In the mind of the German troubadours, "those nightingales of the Middle Ages, the whole fair sex appeared as the Holy Virgin." Thus, while *Walter von der Vogelweide* sang in happiest strain of earthly love, he at the same time sounded the praises of the Lord, of the Holy Virgin, and of the Church. The Lay of the Nibelungen was essentially heathen in its conception, and its last editor, in the twelfth century, imparted to it only a slight Christian gloss. But *Wolfram of Eschenbach*, a Christian poet in the highest sense of the term, completely recast in his Parcival the ancient heathen legend of St. Grâl, and the Knights of the Round Table. The Parcival contains continuous reference to the Christian life, as a contest for salvation through the blood of the Son of God. A strain vastly different was that from the lyre of *Gottfried of Strassburg*, whose "Tristan and Isolt" celebrates the pleasures of earthly love in language of the most fervent and sensuous character, while he completely ignores both the Church and its sacrament of marriage. But Tristan remained incomplete, the poet having died, not a corporeal death, but that spiritual death, by which he died to the lust of the world and the flesh, that he might live in Christ. For Tristan he now substituted a poem which glowed with the tenderest piety, the holiest inspiration, and the most ardent longing after heaven, and another upon voluntary poverty, which is pervaded by the Spirit of St. Franciscus, with his fanatical fervor for poverty. The most recent investigations appear (J. M. *Watterich*, Gottfr. v. Str., ein Sänger d. Gottesminne. Lpz. 1858) to have clearly shown that *Master* Gottfried and St. Franciscus must have personally met each other, and that St. F. conferred upon Gottfried both the garb and spirit of his order. In the south of France, the merry strains of the *Troubadours* were interspersed with poems in honour of the Church and of its saints; while occasionally their compositions became the vehicle for heretics, giving expression to their indignation against the Romish Babylon. *Gonzalo of Berceo*, the first

celebrated Spanish poet (in the thirteenth century), sung of the Virgin, of St. Dominic, and the Last Judgment. On the poets of Italy comp. § 105, 4.

§ 107. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE AND INDULGENCES.

Those terrible engines, *excommunication*, which was directed against individuals guilty of open sin, and the *interdict*, which rested on a whole district, rarely missed their aim. Till the interdict was removed, the church-bells were silent, worship was celebrated with closed doors, and only priests, beggars, and children under two years of age, received at burial the rites of the Church. Thus a whole district was made responsible for the sin committed or tolerated in it, and seldom did the people long brook this painful state of matters. Yet all this while ecclesiastical discipline, which Petrus Lombardus had described as "contritio cordis, confessio oris, and satisfactio operis," continually declined in moral earnestness. The expiation demanded by the Church consisted of *outward works* (alms, fasts, pilgrimages, etc.); and even these might be compensated for by fines, in the shape of contributions for ecclesiastical purposes. This moral aberration increased during the Crusades, when all who took the cross received plenary indulgence for ecclesiastical punishments incurred from any cause; and even those who gave of their means to the promotion of these undertakings, thereby purchased a similar dispensation. The popes bestowed also on individual churches the right of granting more or less extensive indulgences to those who visited them. Sincere repentance and amendment was indeed expressly mentioned, or tacitly understood to be the condition of such indulgences; but this important point was too frequently lost to view in mere external observances. — In opposition to this lax mode of discipline, many priests — especially the members of monastic orders—earnestly contended for more serious measures. Some, indeed, fell into opposite extravagance, and seemed to take a pride in excelling each other in their flagellations (administered while reciting the Psalter). A formal account was kept of the number of stripes thus inflicted. Three thousand lashes were the number requisite for one year of penance, etc. Self-inflicted scourging was regarded as a voluntary and meritorious imitation of Christ and of the martyrs. This species of superstition was carried to frightful excess amid the calamities of the thirteenth and fourteenth

centuries (the wars, pestilence, famine, and earthquakes of that period). Compare § 114, 1.

1. The ingenuity of the schoolmen supplied theological arguments and a dogmatic vindication in favour of *Indulgences*. *Lombardus* applied for this purpose the doctrine of *purgatory* (which had received ecclesiastical sanction at the time of *Gregory the Great*), or of the intermediate state in which the souls of believers underwent punishment for those venial sins which they had committed *after baptism*. But according to Lombardus, the Church, in virtue of the merits of Christ, possessed the power of changing these purifying torments of purgatory into earthly punishments, from which, in turn, it might grant dispensation in consideration of certain advantages accruing to the Church as a whole. *Albertus Magnus* and *Thomas Aquinas** went even farther than this, and propounded the view that the Church was the depositary and absolute dispenser of an inexhaustible treasure, consisting of the superfluous merits of Christ and of the saints (thesaurus supererogationis perfectorum), since the latter also had, although in the strength of Christ, done more good than was requisite for the discharge of their own transgressions. — Still these divines continued to lay great stress on the fact, that such indulgences were not in themselves equivalent to the forgiveness of sins, but that they merely implied the remission of *ecclesiastical punishments* and exemption from the torments of purgatory, and even these only in the case of such who combined with them genuine repentance. But the generality of preachers of indulgences intentionally concealed or avoided these explanations.

V. OPPOSITION TO THE PREVAILING SYSTEM OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

§ 108. ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO PREVAILING ECCLESIASTICISM.

Jomp. *J. C. Füsslin*, unparth. K. u. Ketzerhist. d. mittle. Zeit. (Impart. Hist. of the Ch. and of Heret. Part. during the M. A.). Leips. 1770. 3 Vols. — *L. Flathe*, Gesch. d. Vorl. d. Reform. (Hist. of the Precursors of the Ref.). Leips. 1835. 2 Vols. — *Ulr. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Ketzer im M. A. Stuttg. 1845. 3 Vols.

With the varied and catholic doctrines of Christianity which had been established during the course of the ancient history of the Church, a number of spurious elements concerning government, doctrine, discipline, and worship, had been introduced

* And *Alexander of Hales*.

Thus, along with the truth, abuses had been imported into the German Church. These seeds of error sprung up and spread during the Middle Ages, fostered by the barbarism of that period, the sensuous disposition of the people, the ignorance of the clergy, and the selfishness of the hierarchy. They manifested themselves chiefly as boundless superstition of every kind, lax and demoralizing discipline, spurious asceticism, work-righteousness, secularism in the Church, ignorance and looseness among the clergy, and the abuse of hierarchical power. These evils, however, were not only felt during the Middle Ages, but frequent attempts were made to remove them. Throughout that period we can discern a reformatory tendency, which by various agencies—properly or improperly—sought to make way for itself. Sometimes it manifested itself in combination with attachment to the Church, when the attempt was made to introduce an internal reformation, and thereby to bring back the Church to apostolic purity; in other cases, a sense of the hopelessness of such a task led to separation from the Church, and to determined opposition to prevailing ecclesiasticism. Such movements, however, rarely continued within the bounds of evangelical moderation; more commonly, along with error, part of the truth was also rejected, fanaticism and heresy ensued, all social relationships were undermined, and the existence of the State as well as of the Church endangered. Among the numberless sects of that period, the most influential and revolutionary were those who held *Manichean* views, and to whom the general name of *Cathari* has been given. But in other directions also, parties hostile to the Church sprung up. Thus the enthusiasm of the Montanists reappeared in different *prophetic and apocalyptical* communities; while the *Sect of the Holy Spirit* entertained *pantheistic views*, and even the errors of the Ebionites were again mooted by the *Passagiere*. Another kind of sects owed their origin to the efforts of individuals, whose eyes had, by a perusal of the Scriptures, been opened to the defects in the Church, but who, failing to perceive at the same time the blessed truths of the Gospel, only aimed at a *complete subversion* of the Church, and, along with error, rejected also the truth. Among all these different parties, the *community of the Waldenses* alone continued within the bounds of evangelical moderation.

1. The *Cathari*.—(Comp. *Dr. Maitland*, Facts and Documents illustr of the Hist., etc., of the Albig. and Waldens., Lond. 1832; and that writer's *Eight* Essays, Lond. 1852. — *C. Schmidt*, Hist. et doctrines des Cathares ou Albigeois. Par. 1849. 2 Voll. — *E. Kunitz*, ein katharisches Rituale. Jen. 1852.) — From the eleventh century a disposition unfavourable to the hierarchy and the prevailing ecclesiastical system began to manifest itself in many places, chiefly in Italy and in France. This led to the formation of sects, which rapidly spread. It is not difficult to account for the existence of this estrangement; it originated in felt religious wants, which the Church failed to satisfy. Such aspirations became deeper and stronger in proportion as spiritual and intellectual life, in all its departments, was quickened during the period succeeding the lethargy of the tenth century. Accordingly, a strong desire sprung up to procure for oneself what the Church could not or would not give. But this desire must, to some extent at least, have been quickened and fostered from without. As in the East (§ 71), so in the West, Gnostic speculations had in all probability continued to exist, though by secret tradition. In point of fact, we know that the Vandals had transported shiploads of Manicheans to the shores of Italy, while the Priscilianists openly avowed their tenets in Spain, so late as the seventh century. Probably, however, the movement issued again from the East, in all likelihood from *Bulgaria*, where, since the time the Paulicians had settled in that district, Gnostic and Manichean views were widely entertained and zealously propagated. Even the names of these sects prove the correctness of this assertion. The most general designation was that of *Cathari* (καθαροί); but they were also called *Bulgari* (whence, in popular parlance, the opprobrious name Bougre) or *Gazari*, perhaps after the inhabitants of the Crimea (the Chazars), or else a different mode of pronouncing the word καθαροί, and *Publicani*, probably a transposition by which the foreign term of Paulicians was converted into a well-known term of reproach. They were also designated *Patareni* or Paterini; either in the original sense of that term (§ 97, 2), or because, since the contest between the Pataria at Milan and the clergy, the term implied in general a spirit of hostility to the priesthood. The name of *Tisserands* originated from the circumstance that many of their adherents were weavers by trade. The common characteristic of all these sects was opposition to the clergy and the hierarchy. They differed in the extent to which, and the grounds on which, they opposed the prevailing ecclesiasticism, or attempted to set up a church of their own. Several of the charges preferred against them may probably have arisen from misunderstanding or calumny. The Paulician or Bogomile opinions which they had embraced — while of a practical rather than of a speculative character, and variously modified or kept in check — affected all their tenets and practices Thus they held Dualistic views, though, in many cases, only in the way of carrying the scriptural doctrine of the devil and of original sin

to an extreme (in opposition to the Pelagianism of the Church); they rejected the Old Testament; marriage they regarded as a hindrance to Christian perfection; they contemned baptism, the eucharist, and clerical ordination; prohibited the worship of saints and relics; objected to the use of images and crucifixes; insisted on a literal observance of all the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount; and, despite their spiritualism, laid great stress on fasting, genuflexions, and the frequent repetition of certain prayers, especially the Lord's Prayer. Along with prayer, preaching occupied the most prominent place in their public services. Their adherents were divided into *Crezentz* (credentes = catechumeni) and *bos homes* or bos Crestias (boni homines, boni Christiani = perfecti, electi). The so-called "auditores" formed a lower class of catechumens, who were received among the credentes after a term of instruction and probation (astenenzia = abstinentia). The admission of credentes was marked by a formal delivery of the holy prayer (or Lord's Prayer) and of the New Testament to the catechumens, by exhortations and other ceremonies, such as washing of hands, etc. The credentes were received into the number of perfecti by the *baptism of the Spirit* (or the *Consolamentum*), without which it was impossible to have a part in eternal life. The ordinance was administered by the elder (*Ancia*) laying a copy of the Gospels, and the other bos Crestias their hands, on the head of the candidate. Those who were thus set apart were required to abstain from marriage, from the use of animal food, and from all polluting intercourse with those who were not members of the sect, on which account they commonly delayed till death receiving the Consolamentum. Generally they took, on their admission among the credentes, a vow (Convenensa) of joining the bos Crestias (or Ordo) at a future period; while some, after having received the Consolamentum, underwent the *Endura*, *i. e.*, henceforth abstained from all food and drink. At the time of their greatest prosperity they had a regular hierarchy, with a pope, who resided in Bulgaria, twelve magistri, and seventy-two bishops, each of whom had a filius major and minor as their assistants. — Even their opponents admitted their deep and moral earnestness; but the doctrine of justification by faith had no place in their system. Prayer, abstinence, and the so-called baptism of the Spirit, were regarded as the sole means of obtaining salvation. It may be true that occasionally some went to the opposite extreme of antinomian excesses; but more frequently such charges originated in calumny. Generally they went to the stake with the heroism and joyfulness of martyrs. — Sects of this kind were, since the eleventh century, discovered in several places; first in Aquitaine in 1010; then in 1022 at Orleans, where thirteen of them were bound to the stake; in 1025 at Cambrai and Arras; in 1030 in the diocese of Turin; in 1052 at Goslar, where their adherents were executed by order of the Emperor; and in other places. During the twelfth century they rapidly increased in membership, and spread into different

countries. Kindness and rigorous measures were equally unavailing to reclaim them. His deep love to erring sinners made *St. Bernard* more successful than any other among them. At a later period learned Dominicans tried the efficacy of preaching and discussions. The principal centres of the Cathari were in Lombardy and in the south of France; but numerous communities also existed in Germany, Belgium, and Spain. Indeed, such was their influence in France, that they ventured to summon a general *Council at Toulouse in* 1167, which was numerously attended.

The contest between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs afforded them an opportunity of manifesting their enmity to the papal hierarchy, and *Frederic II.* openly protected them. They continued so late as the fourteenth century, despite the fearful persecution raised against them (§ 109). *Reinerius Sachoni* (*ob.* 1259), a Dominican from Lombardy, who at one time had himself been a "heresiarch" (Summa de Catharis et Leonistis et Pauperibus de Lugd.), was the most distinguished controversialist against the sect. The liturgy lately discovered by *Kunitz* dates from the close of the thirteenth century, and gives a more favourable view of them than had formerly been entertained.

The small sect of the Passagieri in Lombardy (during the twelfth century) went to an opposite extreme from the Manichæan rejection of the Old Testament by the Cathari. With the exception of sacrifices, they insisted on the obligation of the whole Mosaic law, including circumcision (along with baptism); they also entertained Arian views about the person of Christ. Their name (from pasagium = passage) seems to point to the practice of pilgrimages or crusades to the Holy Land. Indeed, they may have originated in this manner.

2. Towards the close of the twelfth century a *pantheistic* movement commenced in France, and found expression in the so-called Sect of the Holy Spirit. The party originated with *Amalric of Bena*, a teacher at Paris. The first germs of this pantheistic mysticism were probably derived from the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius and of Erigena. The University of Paris and Innocent III. obliged Amalric to recant his apparently Christian, but according to his own interpretation of it, really pantheistic statement, that none could be saved who believed not that he was a member of the body of Christ. Chagrin at this humiliation may have hastened his death, which took place soon afterwards (1204). In the hands of his pupil, *David of Dinanto*, the pantheism of Amalric received a more Aristotelian and dialectic cast. Besides these two, *Simon of Tournay*, a celebrated dialectician at Paris, entertained similar views. While professing to teach the doctrines of the Church, he took care to indicate sufficiently that it was much easier to refute than to demonstrate them. The opinions of these men found way among the laity. Soon afterwards a goldsmith proclaimed the advent of the age of the *Holy Spirit*, when all positive religion and every form of outward worship should cease, and God be

all in all. As formerly in Christ, so now in every believer, did God become incarnate; and on this ground the Christian was God in the same sense in which Christ had been. The Pope was Antichrist. These views were condemned at a *Synod held at Paris in* 1209, the writings of *Erigena* were reprobated, and several members of the sect consigned to the stake. The bones of Amalric shared the same fate.—(Comp. *Engelhardt*, Am. v. Bena, in his "kirchengesch. Abh.;" and *J. H. Krönlein* in the "theol. Studien u. Kritt." for 1847. II.)

3. *Revolutionary Reformers.*—(Comp. *H. Francke*, Arn. v. Bresc. u seine Zeit. Zur. 1825.—*Mosheim*, Gesch. d. Apostelord., in his "Vers. e. unparth. u. gründl. Ketzergesch." Helmst. 1748.—*J. Krone*, Frà Dolcino u. die Patarener. Leips. 1844.—*Schlosser*, l. c., § 103, 1.—*Mariotti*, Frà Dolcino and his Times. Lond. 1853.)—Among them we reckon:

(1.) The PETROBRUSIANS, founded by *Peter of Bruys*, a priest in the south of France, about 1104. He rejected the outward or visible Church, and only acknowledged the true (invisible) Church in the hearts of believers. In his opinion all churches and sanctuaries should be destroyed, since God might be worshipped in a stable or tavern. He used crucifixes for cooking purposes; inveighed against celibacy, the mass, and infant baptism; and after twenty years of continual disturbances, ended his days at the stake by the hands of an infuriated mob (1124). He was succeeded by one of his associates, *Henry of Lausanne*, formerly a monk of the order of Clugny. Under him the sect of the Petrobrusians greatly increased in numbers. St. Bernard succeeded in converting many of them from their errors. Henry was seized and condemned to imprisonment for life. He died in 1149.

(2.) Among these revolutionaries we must also include ARNOLD OF BRESCIA (*ob.* 1155, comp. § 96, 6), a pupil of *Abelard*. His fervent oratory was chiefly directed against the secular power of the Church, and its possession of property,—views which probably were based on a more spiritual conception of what the Church really was. Otherwise his doctrinal opinions seem to have been in accordance with those commonly entertained. Long after his death, a party of so-called *Arnoldists* cherished the political and ecclesiastical dreams of their founder.

(3.) During the thirteenth century the "APOSTOLIC BRETHREN," or "Apostolicals," caused considerable excitement, especially in Italy. In opposition to the luxuriousness of a wealthy clergy, they formed religious societies which were to be entirely destitute of earthly possessions. As the popes prohibited their associations, they took up an attitude of hostility to the clergy and the Church, and retired from persecution to caves and woods. *Anton Segarelli*, their leader, was seized, and died at the stake in Parma in 1300. His successor, *Dolcino*, excited these sectaries to utmost fanaticism by his denunciations of the new Babylon, and by his apocalyptic predictions. With 2000 fol-

lowers he retired to a mountain, where he entrenched himself, and for two years defied the army of crusaders summoned for the suppression of the sect. Ultimately he had to succumb to superior forces and to famine, and died at the stake in 1307.

4. *Prophetic and Apocalyptic Opposition.*—(Comp. *Engelhardt*, d. Abt Joachim u. d. ewige Evangel., in his "kirchenhist. Abhandl." Erlg. 1832.—*Ulrich Hahn*, d. apokal. Lehren d. Joach. v. Floris, in the "theol. Studien u. Kritt." for 1849. H. 2.)—The opposition to prevailing abuses which appeared in all directions, found also vent in *prophetic denunciations*.

(1.) St. Hildegardis, the founder and abbess of a nunnery near Bingen, where she died in 1197 at the advanced age of ninety-nine years, had visions and revelations, and was considered an oracle by persons of all ranks. Even St. Bernard and Pope Eugenius III. regarded her as divinely commissioned. Her prophetic denunciations were specially directed against the looseness of the clergy and the assumptions of the hierarchy, to both of which she traced the decay of the Church. She announced impending terrible judgments for the purification of the Church.

(2.) St. Elizabeth, *Abbess* of the nunnery of *Schönau* (*ob.* 1165), an elder cotemporary of Hildegard, also claimed to be a prophetess, and in that capacity inveighed against the luxuriousness of the clergy. Her predictions were translated and published by *Ecbert*, her brother. The well-known legend about *St. Ursula*, a British princess, who, along with her 11,000 virgins, had been martyred in the neighbourhood of Cologne while on a pilgrimage, rests on the authority of her visions.

(3.) The prophetic visions of Joachim of Floris, an abbot in Calabria (*ob.* 1202), deserve fuller notice. These apocalyptic predictions breathe a spirit of deep sorrow on account of the corruptions in the Church, and of ardent longing for better times. According to Joachim, scholasticism had paralyzed the energies of theology, while the deification of man in the Papacy, the avarice and abuses of the clergy, and the practices of indulgences, had converted the Church into a harlot. Hence fearful judgments were impending. These were to be executed by the German Empire, in which Antichrist should become manifest. The only source of spiritual restoration still extant was to be found in the monastic orders. Work-righteousness and pilgrimages were devices of the enemy, but asceticism and contemplation delivered from destruction. The history of revelation was comprised within three periods—that of the Father in the Old Covenant, that of the Son in the New Testament, and the approaching period of the Holy Spirit. Peter was the representative of the first, Paul of the second, and John of the third of these periods. During the third era, which was to commence about 1260, but to last only a short time, the glory of Christianity would be fully manifested.—Joachim was held in high esteem by all

ranks, and their protection proved his safeguard against the enmity of the hierarchy.

(4.) The views broached by Joachim were eagerly adopted, especially by the Franciscan sectaries or FRATRICELLI (§ 98, 4), and the Beghards who had joined them (§ 98, 5). In their hands the tenets of Joachim became what was called the doctrine of the "Everlasting Gospel," or the message concerning the age of the Holy Spirit. These views were expressed in the "Introductorius in Evangelium æternum," —a treatise composed either by *John of Parma* (formerly General of the Franciscans, but deposed and succeeded by Bonaventura), or by *Gerhard*, a monk whose tenets were impeached about the same time. At the request of the University of Paris, the book was condemned by *Alexander IV.* in 1254. At length *Nicholas III.* decided in 1279 the controversy so long raging among the Franciscans as to the lawfulness of holding property. The Pontiff ruled that the disciples of St. Francis were only prohibited the possession, but not the usufruct of property. This decision gave great offence to the extreme party, and their leader, *Johannes Petrus Oliva* (*ob.* 1297), fulminated apocalyptic visions and prophetic denunciations against the Romish Antichrist. Such visions and outbursts of fanaticism rose almost to the pitch of madness in the case of TANCHELM, a Dutchman, who designated himself God in virtue of his having received the Holy Ghost, celebrated his affiancing to the Virgin Mary, and was killed by a priest in 1124. A similar remark applies to another fanatic, a native of Gascoigne, EON, or *Eudo de Stella*, who, applying to his own name the ecclesiastical formula "Per EUM, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos," claimed to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and died in prison in 1148.

5. *The Waldenses.*—(Comp. *Jean Leger*, hist. générale des églises evang. de Piemont ou Vaudoises. Leyde 1666. Transl. into German by *de Schweinitz*. Bresl. 1750. 2 Vols.—*A. Monastier*, Hist. des egl. Vaud. Gen. 1847. 2 T.—*A. Muston*, l'Israel des Alpes. Par. 1851. 4 T. (repeatedly transl. into Engl.).—*F. Bender*, Gesch. d. Wald. Ulm. 1850. —*A. W. Dieckhoff*, d. Wald. im M. A. Gött. 1851.—*J. J. Herzog*, d. roman. Wald. Halle 1853.—*Maitland*, u. s. Note 1.)—*Waldus* (Valdez, or, as later authorities also call him, *Petrus* Waldus) was originally a rich citizen of Lyons. For his personal instruction he got the New Testament and a selection of pregnant passages from the Fathers translated into the Romaunt by some clerical friends. By such studies his mind became imbued with Gospel truth, when the sudden death of a friend aroused and decided him to change his former mode of life (about 1170). In pursuance of this resolution, he distributed all his goods among the poor, and founded "an apostolic association" for preaching the Gospel to the country people. In literal obedience to the directions of Scripture, these missionaries were to go forth by two and two, without staff or scrip, their feet shod with wooden sandals (sabates, sabots), they were to devote themselves to preaching and

teaching, and in every respect to imitate apostolic poverty and simplicity. They were called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, *Leonistæ*, or *Sabatati*. It certainly formed no part of the original plan of Waldus that his adherents should take up a position of hostility to the Church; but when the Archbishop of Lyons prohibited their preaching, when Pope *Alexander III.* sullenly refused his sanction to their associations, and when, soon afterwards, a papal *Council at Verona*, under *Lucius III.* (1183), excommunicated them, the Catholic Church, by driving them from its bosom, swept away those barriers which had hitherto restrained them in their search after truth. Waldus himself was obliged to flee from France. He laboured for some time in Italy and in other countries; lastly in Bohemia, where he died in 1197. Even at that early period his adherents had already spread throughout the West. They were most numerous in the south of France, in the east of Spain, and in the north of Italy; but many of their converts were also found in Germany, in Switzerland, and in Bohemia. The so-called "Winkeler" (or conventiclers), who were discovered and persecuted in the districts along the Rhine in 1212, were probably also Waldenses.—*Innocent III.*, with his wonted sagacity, perceived the injustice and impolicy of his predecessors, whose blind zeal had deprived the Catholic Church of what might have proved valuable auxiliaries. Accordingly, he attempted (1210) to transform the community of Pauperes de Lugduno into a monkish association of Pauperes Catholici, to whom, under the superintendence of the bishops, he granted permission to preach, to expound the Scriptures, and to hold meetings for religious purposes. But the concession came too late; already the Waldenses had sufficiently advanced to know the unscriptural character of the papal Church, and they now refused to purchase immunity by a sinful compromise. The cruel persecutions to which they were exposed, and in which thousands were brought to the stake, proved even less efficacious than the advances of the Pope in restoring them to the bosom of the Church. They gradually retired from France, Spain, and Italy into the remote valleys of Piedmont and Savoy.

According to modern Waldensian tradition, which a number of Protestant writers (most zealously *U. Hahn*, *ut supra*) have followed, the name and origin of the Waldenses should be traced much beyond Waldus of Lyons. By their account, Waldensian or Vallensian congregations existed in *the valleys* of Piedmont from the time of Claudius of Turin (§ 92, 2), if not from apostolic times, and among them the doctrines of the Gospel had throughout been preserved in their purity. From them Petrus of Lyons had derived his religious knowledge and the surname of Waldus, *i. e.*, the Waldensian. In support of this tradition they refer to the ancient Waldensian literature. But the impartial and full investigations of *Dieckhoff* and *Herzog* have unfortunately shown that these statements are wholly ungrounded. The ancient Waldensian literature may be divided into two very different

classes. The writings of the first period, dating from the close of the twelfth and the commencement of the thirteenth century, bear evidence that at that time the community had not completely separated from the Church. Accordingly, while the corruptions of the Church are indeed deplored, the Catholic Church itself is not denounced; fasting and almsgiving are urgently recommended as meritorious works, auricular confession is approved, the service of the Virgin and of saints is still acknowledged, the priesthood of the Catholic Church recognized, monasticism extolled as the highest stage of evangelical perfection, and lastly the seven sacraments and the mass are owned. On all essential points these writings tally with the statements of the Catholic controversialists (*Reinerius*, l. c., Note 1; *Alanus* ad Insulis, § 103, 2; *Stephanus de Borbone*, and others). Above all, they make no allusion to the existence of Waldenses in Piedmont before the appearance of Waldus. It is otherwise with the writings which belong to the second period of their history. In them Rome is denounced as Babylon, the Pope as Antichrist, the worship of saints as idolatry, monasticism is reprobated, while the doctrine of indulgences and of purgatory, the mass and auricular confession, are rejected. If the writings of the former period show what the Waldenses were, and what they sought, before their separation from the Church, those of the second disclose what they became after their expulsion, and in consequence of the fearful persecutions to which they had been subjected. But from the very first there was this fundamental difference between them and the Romish Church, that they were deeply impressed with the right and duty of every Christian to study the Scriptures for himself; that they ardently desired to restore the pristine purity and simplicity of Christian life — an object they sought to accomplish by a literal observance of the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount; and lastly, that, like some of the later reformers, they believed that reverence and obedience were due only to pious priests. In imitation of monastic arrangements, their adherents were divided into the "perfecti" and the "credentes," the former alone being bound to celibacy and absolute poverty. After their expulsion from the Church, they were of course obliged to make ecclesiastical provision for themselves. The apostolic succession in their ordination was preserved by means of some bishops who had joined them. The presidents of particular congregations were called *Barbes* (uncles). Even their opponents were obliged to admit the purity of their morals and their separation from the world; they were struck chiefly, however, with the knowledge which they possessed of the Scriptures. A third era in their history, when their dogmatic views underwent a complete change, and they received the doctrine of justification by faith alone, commenced about the time of Huss, and was completed under the influence of the Reformers, specially of Zwingle and Calvin.

§ 109. REACTION IN THE CHURCH.

It will readily be understood that the rapid spread of heretics and sectaries during the eleventh and twelfth centuries excited considerable alarm in the Church. Indeed, its very existence seemed now endangered. So early as the eleventh century, leading ecclesiastics saw no other remedy than the stake (a kind of prelude to those torments which hereafter awaited heretics). Only *one* voice, that of Bishop *Wazo* of Liege (*ob.* 1048), was lifted against this iniquitous mode of conversion. Happily the opponents of this favourite and easy method of terminating controversy were more numerous in the twelfth century. *Petrus Venerabilis* (§ 98, 1), *St. Hildegard*, and *St. Bernard*, protested against attempts at conviction by fire and sword; while the latter, by his own example and success, proved that affectionate admonition and kindly teaching were likely to produce more satisfactory results than measures which only converted simple-minded men into enthusiastic martyrs. But executioners and stakes were more readily procured than men like St. Bernard, of whom, specially in the twelfth century, there was not a superabundance. At a later period, *St. Dominic* despatched his disciples to teach and convert heretics by preaching and discussions. So long as they confined themselves to these means, their labours were not unsuccessful. But by and by *they* also found it more easy and efficacious to employ the thumb-screw than syllogisms. The crusade against the Albigenses and the tribunals of the Inquisition finally arrested the spread of heresy. The scattered members of these sects sought safety in concealment. Through out, the Church made no distinction between different sectaries, and one and the same sentence was pronounced on Cathari and Waldenses, on Petrobrusians, Arnoldists, and Fratricelli (species quidem habentes diversas, wrote Innocent III., sed caudas ad invicem colligatas); and indeed, so far as their opposition to the Papacy and hierarchy was concerned, they were all at one.

1. *Crusade against the Albigenses* (1209–1229). — (Comp. *Sismonde di Sismondi*, les croisad. contre les Albig. Par. 1828. — *J. S. Barrau* et *A. B. Darragon*, Hist. des crois. c. les Alb. Par. 1843). — The great stronghold of the numberless sects which were designated as Cathari, Bulgarians, Manicheans, etc., was in the south of France, where they had secured the protection of *Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse*, and of other powerful vassals. *Innocent III.*, who stigmatized them as worse than the Saracens, commissioned the order of Cistercians to effect their

conversion, but their labours were unsuccessful. Upon this the Pope despatched, in 1203, *Peter of Castelnau* as his legate, with ample powers for their suppression. Peter was murdered in 1208, and suspicion fell on Raymund. By order of the Pontiff, *Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux*, now proclaimed a crusade against the sectaries. The army thus raised was commanded by *Simon, Count of Montfort*. The little town of *Albi*, in the district of Albigeois, was regarded as the great centre of the party; whence the name of ALBIGENSES, by which all these sects were designated, though in many respects they greatly differed. The murderous war which now ensued, and which in fanaticism and cruelty (on both sides) was unparalleled, lasted for no less than twenty years. Alike the guilty and the innocent, men and women, children and aged persons, fell its victims; the country was changed into a desert, and the Albigenses were almost exterminated.

2. *The Inquisition.*—So early as at *the Fourth Lateran Council* (1215), measures had been concerted against a revival of the Albigensian heresy. No sooner was the crusade finished than a *synod* met at *Toulouse* (1229) to carry out these precautions. Bishops were enjoined to employ persons, whose sole duty it should be to hunt out heretics, and to hand them over to the proper tribunals. Any secular or clerical official who spared a heretic was to lose his property and office, every house in which a heretic was sheltered should be levelled with the ground; the people were to take the sacrament three times a year; every two years they were again to make declaration of their adherence to the Romish Church; those suspected of heresy were to be refused every assistance, medical or otherwise, even in case of mortal illness, etc. But the bishops were slow in enforcing these iniquitous ordinances. On this account Gregory IX. instituted special TRIBUNALS OF INQUISITION (Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis), which were confided to the *Dominicans* (1232). Let loose against the heretics as "Domini canes" (a designation which they coveted as an honour), the inquisitors possessed unlimited power. Any party suspected or denounced could be imprisoned and tried without being confronted either with accuser or witnesses, and torture was freely employed to extract confession. Those who recanted were generally condemned to imprisonment for life; those who proved obstinate were (in accordance with the principle, ecclesia non sitit sanguinem) handed to the secular tribunal to be consumed at the stake.

The first Grand Inquisitor of Germany was a Dominican, *Conrad of Marburg*, known also for his unyielding harshness as confessor to *St. Elizabeth*, princess of Thuringia and Hesse. After having for two years carried on his dreadful occupation with implacable severity and cruelty, he was killed by some nobleman (1233). It was also due to Conrad that Gregory IX. ordered a crusade to be preached (1234) against the "*Stedingers*," a tribe inhabiting Oldenburg, who, in their indignation at the oppression of the nobility and clergy, refused socage and tithes, and on that ground were declared Albigensian heretics.

THIRD PERIOD

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

I. THE HIERARCHY, THE CLERGY, AND MONASTICISM.

§ 110. THE PAPACY.

At the accession of Boniface VIII. the see of St. Peter still possessed that power and influence with which Gregory and Innocent had invested it. The first breach was now to be made in the proud fortress. During the *seventy years of* (so-called) *Babylonish exile at Avignon* the Papacy became the tool of French intrigue, and fell into fearful decay. Nor was this all. When at length the Curia was again transported to Rome, a *papal schism* ensued. For forty years Europe had the spectacle of two, or even three, pretended representatives of God on earth, hurling against each other the most awful anathemas. At the *Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle,* an attempt was made to put an end to these abuses, and to introduce a thorough *reformation in head and members.* Yet so deep was the conviction still entertained of the necessity for some central government of the Church generally, such as the Papacy had hitherto represented, that even the most determined reformers, the Fathers of Constance and Basle, were the most strenuous advocates for its continuance. But the abuses and the degeneracy of the Papacy, the vileness and dissoluteness of most of its occupants at the time, and of those by whom they were surrounded, the continual demands for money made by the Curia under every kind of pre-

text, which led to almost incredible simony, obliged the divines of that age to fall back upon the old principle, that the infallibility of the Church rested not in any one individual, but in the representation of the Church universal in *General Councils*, and that these assemblies were superior to the popes. The general acknowledgment and establishment of this principle depended, however, on the union and combination of individual or *national churches* — which now more than ever felt that they were independent members of the great hierarchical body — in their opposition to the corrupt Papacy. Unfortunately the different churches were not prepared for such measures. Content to make separate treaties with the Papacy, in which even the most selfish demands of a particular church were scarcely met, they neglected the general good. Most successful, but also the most selfish, were the policy and measures of the Gallican Church. Thus papal cunning ultimately succeeded in disappointing and frustrating the hopes and labours of these councils. From this its severest conflict the Papacy issued once more triumphant; but only, as in the tenth, so now in the fifteenth century, again to descend to the lowest depth of moral degeneracy and vileness.—Luxuriousness and dissoluteness, pomp and worldliness, nepotism, and, since the return to Rome, incessant wars, had helplessly disordered the papal finances. The felt necessity of opening fresh sources of income led to the adoption of new devices. Among them we reckon the *Annatæ*, a full year's income being claimed at every vacancy by the pontiffs, as those who conferred benefices; the *Reservationes*, the popes claiming the right of appointing to rich benefices, and exacting large sums for the nomination; the *Exspectantiæ*, the popes nominating successors to rich benefices before the death of the incumbent, as that event did not always take place at the period when papal requirements rendered it desirable; the *Commendæ*, appointments being made, not definitely, but provisionally, "in commendam," on condition of paying an annual tax; the *Jus spoliorum*, the see of Peter declaring itself the sole rightful heir of all property acquired by dignitaries of the Church during their tenure of office; the *tithing* of the property of churches for urgent wants; the innumerable *indulgences, dispensations, appeals*, and many other rights, all of which swelled the treasury of the Church. — *Boniface VIII.* added to the papal *tiara* a *second* crown, in token of spiritual *and* secular rule; Urban V. surmounted it with a third, to indicate that its wearer was the representative of Christ. The doctrine of papal infallibility made no progress in this period.

1. *Boniface VIII.* (1294–1303).—(Comp. *W. Drumann*, Gesch. Bonif. VIII. Königsb. 1852. 2 Vols.) — In point of sagacity and energy, Boniface was no way inferior to any of his predecessors. Otherwise, however, he was more concerned about the gratification of his immoderate personal ambition than the welfare of the Church. He commenced his reign by expelling the influential Roman family of the Colonnas, who had declared the abdication of Cœlestine V. to be unlawful. But a more dangerous opponent to the Pontiff was *Philip the Fair* of France (1285–1314). The first collision between them arose during the war of Philip with Edward I. of England. In virtue of his hierarchical supremacy, the Pope claimed to be arbiter between the monarchs (1295). These pretensions were disdainfully rejected by the King of France, who also levied on the clergy a heavy contribution for the payment of the expenses of the war. Upon this, Boniface issued, in 1296, the bull "Clericis laicos," which pronounced excommunication against all laymen who exacted contributions from the clergy, and against those of the clergy who paid such taxes. Philip avenged himself by prohibiting the exportation of money from the country. The Pope soon felt the inconvenience of being deprived of his French revenues; he made overtures to the king, consented to certain concessions, and canonized Louis IX., the grandfather of Philip. The king on the other hand accepted his arbitration, but only in the character of a *personal* confidant, not as Pope. But when the sentence of the Pontiff proved adverse to Philip, the breach between them became irremediable. The legate of the Pope — a French bishop — was seized on a charge of treason; Boniface denounced Philip as a heretic, and the latter retorted by calling the Pope a fool. (The Pope wrote: Scire te volumus, quod in spiritualibus et temporalibus nobis subes. Aliud credentes, hæreticos reputamus. The king replied: Sciat maxima tua fatuitas, in temporibus nos alicui non subesse. Secus credentes fatuos et dementes reputamus.) The view that, in its own province, the secular power was perfectly independent of the spiritual, was branded as Manicheanism in the bull "Unam Sanctam" (1302). This measure was soon followed by excommunication and the interdict, by suspension of the clergy and absolution of the people from their oath of allegiance. The French Parliament now preferred some most serious charges against the orthodoxy and the life of the Pope, and appealed to a general council (1303). *William of Nogaret*, the French chancellor, and one of the expelled Colonnas, by force of arms seized the Pope, who received his executioners in the most dignified manner, sitting on his throne, and arrayed in all the gorgeousness of his robes. The people soon restored Boniface to liberty. He died the same year of an inflammatory disease. *Dante* has assigned him a place in hell.

2. *The Papacy in its Babylonish Exile* (1309–1377).—After the brief interregnum of an Italian pope, *Bertrand de Got*, Archbishop of Bordeaux and a favourite of Boniface, was unanimously elected as Cle-

MENT V. (1305–1314). But this prelate had previously made a secret compact with Philip, and bound himself to support French policy Clement preferred remaining on the other side of the Alps, and in 1309 formally transferred the papal Curia to Avignon, where it continued for nearly seventy years. Throughout this period the Papacy was almost entirely the tool of the French rulers, while at the same time it assumed the most arrogant tone towards other countries. If, on the other hand, the secular power in France supported these hierarchical pretensions, it also took precautions to secure the liberties of the Gallican Church. At Avignon the papal court became increasingly the centre of moral and religious frivolity and looseness. At the *Fifteenth General Council held in Vienne* (1312), Clement sacrificed to the rapacity of Philip the rich order of the Templars; in return, he had the satisfaction that the memory of Boniface VIII., whom Philip would have had condemned, was vindicated. Clement died in 1314. For two years the French and Italian parties among the cardinals contended for the succession; at last the former prevailed, and *John XXII.* was chosen Pontiff. He had promised the Italians upon oath, never to mount horse, except for the purpose of going to Rome — and took ship to Avignon. At the time, *Louis of Bavaria* (1314–1347) and *Frederic of Austria* contended for the crown of Germany. The Pope declared that the right of settling the question rested with him alone. But victory decided for Louis, who, in vindication of his title, appealed to the vote of the prince-electors, and referred the objections of the Pope to a future general council. The pontiff replied by pronouncing excommunication and the interdict (1324). But Louis went to Italy (1327), received in Rome the imperial crown, and appointed a pious Franciscan of the extreme party in that order (*Nicholas V.*) counter-pope. This rival, however, was not properly supported; and fresh anathemas issuing from Avignon, imperilled the position of the Emperor. John died in 1334. His successor, BENEDICT XII. (*ob.* 1342), was sincerely desirous of setting himself free from French domination and making his peace with the Emperor, but he was unable to carry out his intentions. It was at this time that the *princes electors* solemnly declared, at their first *meeting in Rhense* (1338), that the office of Roman king depended, not on the Pope, but only on the choice of the electors. *Clement VI.* (*ob.* 1352) again pronounced the ban upon Louis, and appointed as his successor Charles IV. of Bohemia (1346), who, after the death of Louis, was acknowledged by the electors. He had formally obligated himself to renounce all imperial prerogatives in the temporal management of the State of the Church, and at his coronation in Rome, performed by two cardinals (1355) by order of the absent pope, repeated this pledge, notwithstanding that the Romans urged him to maintain his imperial rights. In 1347, *Cola di Rienzi*, the new tribune of the people, restored the ancient Republic of Rome, in the full anticipation that it would again achieve the conquest of the world. These and

other disturbances in Italy rendered it increasingly necessary for the popes to return to their ancient capital. Accordingly, URBAN V. left Avignon in 1367; only a few of the cardinals, unwillingly, accompanied him; and so early as 1370 the Pope was obliged to go back to Avignon. But under the rule of his successor, GREGORY XI., in 1377, the papal court was again transported to Rome, where Gregory died the year following.

3. *The Papal Schism and the Reforming Councils* (1378–1443) Comp. *J. H. v. Wessenberg*, die grossen Kirchenversamml. d. 15. 16. Jahrh. (the Great Councils of the 15th and 16th Cent.) Const. 1840. 4 Vols. — After the death of Gregory, the Romans obliged the cardinals to choose an Italian pope (*Urban VI.*). After the election, the French party in the conclave fled, declared the election illegal, and appointed a Frenchman (*Clement VII.*), who took up his residence at Avignon. Thus commenced the PAPAL SCHISM (1378–1409), in consequence of which two popes, each surrounded by a college of cardinals, anathematized each other, and jointly contributed to the destruction of that fabric which Gregory VII. had reared. For thirty years Europe submitted to this state of matters,—not, however, without strenuous protestation against the scandal, especially on the part of the University of Paris (the chancellor *Pierre d'Ailly*, and the rector *Nicholas de Clemangis*). After much fruitless negotiation even the cardinals on both sides became tired of this state of matters, and summoned a General COUNCIL AT PISA (1409) to pronounce on the claims of the two popes (*Gregory XII.* in Rome, and *Benedict XIII.* in Avignon). This seasonable measure was chiefly due to the exertions of *John Charlier de Gerson* (§ 118), at the time Chancellor of the University of Paris. That divine, while admitting the necessity of a visible chief of the Church at Rome, insisted on the necessity of a reformation in head and members, and laid down the principle that a general council was superior to the Pope. The assembly at Pisa numbered among its members the most influential churchmen of the time. The two popes were summoned to its bar; they failed to appear, and were deposed. But instead of now addressing itself to the work of reformation, the Council hastened to elect another pontiff. *Alexander V.*, the new Pope, immediately adjourned the Council for three years, on pretext that the necessary preparations for the proposed reformation had not yet been made. Accordingly, the only result achieved was — that there were *three* instead of two popes anathematizing each other.

Alexander V. died in 1410 at Bologna, probably in consequence of poison administered to him by *Cossa*, the cardinal legate, a most depraved person, who in youth had been a pirate, and now exercised at Bologna the most despotic sway. Cossa ascended the papal throne as *John XXIII.* The new Pontiff was bold enough, in 1412, to summon the long-promised General Council to Rome. At the same time, he took care that all the passes leading into Italy should be occupied by

his friends the banditti. Hence only a few Italian bishops appeared and the Council came to nothing. But D'Ailly and Gerson continued their exertions. They were supported by the Emperor Sigismund (1410–1437), who insisted on a free and general council to initiate a thorough reformation. As John required the aid of the Emperor against Naples, he had reluctantly to yield, and accordingly the COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE (1414–1418) was summoned. This assembly was more numerously and influentially attended than any previous or subsequent council (by 18,000 clerics, and innumerable princes, counts, and knights). It attracted, moreover, about 50,000 strangers to the city, and among them many of the most disreputable character. From the first, the calculations and intrigues of John proved futile. D'Ailly and Gerson carried it, and the Council immediately declared itself supreme in every respect, and competent to depose all the three popes if it saw cause; also, that the reformation in head and members was taken in hand as the main business before them; and that the vote was taken, not according to persons, but according to nations, which previously met and deliberated in separate assemblies. When an accusation was now laid before the Council, charging the Pope with murder, immorality, and simony, John hastily fled in the disguise of a groom. It was with some difficulty that Gerson managed to keep the Council together. The Pontiff was deposed, and soon afterwards made prisoner. Of the other two popes, one abdicated, the other was deposed (1417) The Emperor and the Germans now insisted that the proposed reformation should precede a new election to the Papacy; but they were unsuccessful. Cardinal Colonna was chosen as MARTIN V., and all hopes of a reformation were again at an end. The intrigues of the new Pontiff proved only too efficacious; separate agreements were made with individual nations; and the Council, which had at any rate grown tired of its protracted labours, was dissolved after the forty-fifth general session. The Pope granted to all the members plenary indulgence to the hour of their death, and left the town in triumph.

It had been resolved at Constance that the next General Council should meet at *Pavia* in 1423. But before its members assembled, the Pope transferred the assembly to *Sienna*, and then dissolved it after a few sessions, on pretext that it did not command sufficient sympathy. The next council was to have been convened seven years later at Basle. Pope Martin V. died shortly after that term. His successor, EUGENIUS IV., sent Cardinal *Julianus Cesarini* as legate to the COUNCIL OF BASLE (1431–1443). The Council from the first took an independent position, and re-asserted the principle of the absolute authority of general synods. The Pope now proposed to transfer the Council to Bologna—a measure against which even Cesarini protested. After some fruitless negotiations, the Pontiff formally dissolved the Council (1433). But the assembled fathers continued their deliberations, and the Pope

was obliged from political reasons again to recognize their validity (1434). But as measures were now introduced for a reformation in head and members, Eugenius once more transferred the Council, after its twenty-fifth session, to *Ferrara* (1438), and thence to *Florence*. The solemn reconciliation of the Greeks to the Romish Church which there took place (§ 67, 6), gave it the appearance of work and success. Meantime the Council of Basle continued its sittings, although Cesarini had left it. Its new president, *Cardinal d'Allemand*, filled the places of the bishops who absented themselves with the relics of the churches at Basle. The Pope excommunicated the Council, which in turn deposed him (1439), and chose another Pontiff (*Felix V.*). Europe, however, was tired of these disputes. The authority of Felix was scarcely acknowledged by any, and the Council itself daily lost in numbers and influence. One by one the ablest members left its ranks; many even joined the party of Eugenius, among them, the astute *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, a native of Sienna, and the learned and worthy *Nicholas of Cusa* (§ 118, 2, 3). After its 45th session in 1443, the Council continued merely in name; its last representatives ultimately recognized, in 1449, the authority of Nicholas V., the successor of Eugenius.

4. *The Last Popes before the Reformation* (1443–1517). — From its contest with the reforming councils the Papacy had issued triumphant. It almost seemed, like a phœnix, to have sprung from its ashes. But the abuses prevalent in the Church—most notably those caused by the Papacy itself— were as deeply and generally felt as ever. The desire among all the more noble-minded, both princes and subjects, for a reformation in head and members, was not abated; and so long as it continued, the Papacy, as then constituted, was imperilled. The man who was now at the helm of the Church was nowise fitted for the emergency. Even under the successors of Eugenius, *Æneas Sylvius*, who had left the ranks of the Basle reformers to make his peace with the Holy See, really wielded the authority of the Papacy. Shortly afterwards he was elevated to the Chair of Peter as Pius II. (1458–1464). Æneas would fain have been a second Hildebrand, but times had changed; besides, the Pontiff was in every respect inferior to his great model. Hildebrand's accession took place after a period during which the Papacy had reached its lowest depth. In the case of Æneas it was exactly the reverse; a similar degradation followed his pontificate. In point of learning, astuteness, and energy, he was however equal to any of his predecessors, while in diplomatic skill he surpassed them. The French Church alone succeeded in concluding a *second pragmatic sanction* (1438), by which the principles asserted at Basle were secured, and maintained even against Pius II. The attempts of the German Church to obtain similar privileges proved fruitless. All the efforts of the Germans and their princes were frustrated by the

callousness of the Emperor Frederic III. (1439–1493), and by the manœuvres of Æneas. At a *General Council held in Mantua* in 1459, the principles laid down at the Council of Constance were condemned as heretical; and shortly before his death the Pope himself expressly retracted, in a bull addressed to the University of Cologne, his own former liberal principles and writings. — The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) seemed a loud call to take measures of precaution against the great enemy of Christianity. Like his two predecessors, Pious II. entered with spirit into this question. Even before this time Calixtus III. had despatched a fleet of his own against the Turks, after having in vain appealed to the secular princes on the subject. But the victories it achieved led to no lasting result. Calixtus had next demanded tithes from all churches for the purpose of carrying on the holy war; but the call was treated as merely a pretext for raising money. Pius II. again reverted to this plan; but his enthusiastic appeal at the Council of Mantua failed to evoke the spirit which fired the Council of Claremont. Like Hildebrand of old, he would fain have headed a crusade in person; but the most important element — an army — was wanting. He also addressed a letter to Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, in which he earnestly urged the claims of Christianity on his reception — it need scarcely be added, without effect. (Comp. *G. Voigt.* Enea Silvio Picc. als P Pius II. Bd. I. Berl. 1856).

Almost all the successors of Pius II, till the Reformation, were distinguished for their dissoluteness, vileness, or at least for want of piety Probably the best among them was Paul II. (*ob.* 1471), though he also was fond of pomp and extravagance. *Sixtus IV.* (*ob.* 1484) increased the revenues of his see by instituting brothels in Rome. Under his pontificate the nepotism of his predecessors reached the highest stage; nor did the Pope scruple to take part in the frightful conspiracy against the Medici at Florence. Innocent VIII. (*ob.* 1492), while summoning Christendom to a war against the Turks, was at the same time in receipt of regular pay from the Sultan for keeping his brother a captive. To his zeal it was due that criminal procedure against witches was introduced into Germany. His paternal care for his sixteen illegitimate children procured for him, in common parlance, the title of "father of his country" (Octo Nocens genuit pueros, totidemque puellas, — Hunc merito potuit dicere Roma patrem). Alexander VI. (*ob.* 1503) was not without political abilities, and proved an energetic although despotic ruler. He never scrupled at any measure to attain his own objects, and even entered into a league with the hereditary enemy of Christendom against the most Christian King (of France). In short, nepotism and immorality were at no time carried to a higher pitch than in the person and under the reign of Alexander. Among other enormities, he was greatly suspected of incest with his daughter *Lucrezia*. Under his pontificate, Savonarola, the Florentine

preacher, had to expiate his zeal and devotion at the stake (§ 119, 7) The Pontiff died in consequence of poison, which his son *Cæsar Borgia*, a monster of every vice, had destined for a wealthy cardinal. JULIUS II. (*ob.* 1513) was a great warrior. His main object was to liberate Italy from foreign domination, in order to aggrandize the States of the Church. He expelled the French from the Peninsula, on account of which a French *National Council assembled at Tours*, in 1510, renounced his allegiance. Germany also showed signs of rebellion; and the Emperor *Maximilian* (1493–1519) commissioned the learned and liberal *Wimpfeling* to draw up a list of many and serious grievances against the Papacy, and to make a draft of a pragmatic sanction for Germany. At last the French and German monarchs summoned a general *Council at Pisa* in 1511, when the resolutions of Basle were re-enacted, and the Pope was deposed. As Julius was at the time dangerously ill, Maximilian, who had just lost his wife, conceived the idea of assuming the Papacy himself. But Julius recovered, and with his Swiss mercenaries dispersed the Council of Pisa, which fled to Lyons. At the *Fifth General Lateran Council in* 1512, Louis XII. of France was excommunicated, and a concordat concluded with Maximilian, by which the most crying grievances of the Germans were removed. Upon this Louis had a medal struck, bearing the inscription, "Perdam Babylonis nomen," and marched against the Pope. But his army was beaten by the papal troops in the Milanese territory, and obliged to retire from Italy. Julius was succeeded by LEO X. (*ob.* 1521), one of the Medici — a man of the highest culture and the finest taste, but luxurious and lavish, light-minded and careless, and destitute of all genuine interest either in religion or in the Church. In 1517 the Pontiff celebrated, at a splendid *Lateran Council*, the triumph of the Papacy, when Francis I. of France, in return for other concessions, surrendered the pragmatic sanction. The Councils of Constance and Basle were also again condemned. In the same year, and only a few months later, the word of a poor German monk effected what the combined power of all the nations of the West had failed to achieve in these councils.

§ 111. THE CLERGY.

During this period *Provincial Synods* lost almost all their former importance. They were rarely held, and only under the presidency of a papal legate. At Constance and Basle the *bishops* attempted to break the yoke of papal despotism and pecuniary exactions; but the selfishness which marked the policy of the nations represented at these councils, prevented the success of such beneficial measures. Despite the proposals made at Basle, the *cathedral chapters* continued to furnish a provision for the younger and unportioned sons of the nobility, who in

worldliness and excesses yielded nothing to their brothers. The clergy no longer gave itself to the pursuit of study. In France the political influence of the hierarchy was small; and the liberties of the Gallican Church were protected, not by the prelates, but by the University and the Parliament. In England the bishops formed an important part of the estates with strictly defined rights. In Germany also they occupied an influential position, as holding temporal sovereignty, while the spiritual princes electors frequently swayed the destinies of the empire. The moral condition of the clergy was sufficiently sad. The bishops commonly lived in open concubinage. The lower secular clergy followed their example, and in many cases paid for this indulgence a yearly tax to the bishop. To this arrangement the people — who distinguished between the office and its holder — made no objection; in fact, it secured their wives and daughters from the temptations of the confessional. Thousands of loose women from all countries had assembled at Constance and Basle during the sittings of the councils. Unnatural vices also were too common among the clergy, at least in Italy. Any movement at Constance and Basle towards putting an end to these vices of the clergy, by giving them leave to marry, was checked by the fear that benefices might become hereditary, and that the clergy would be made still more dependent on the State. Accordingly the advice of *Gerson* was taken in the matter, who held, that as the vow of celibacy only referred to the marriage of priests, concubinage was not a breach of that obligation, but merely of the general commandment of chastity.

§ 112. THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

The *Monastic Orders* shared the general corruption of the clergy. Too frequently the cloisters became the seats of dissoluteness, debauchery, idleness, crimes, and unnatural vices. Monks and nuns of adjoining cloisters lived in open immorality, on which account Nicholas of Clemangis was wont to say that "virginem velare" was in reality little else than "virginem ad scortandum exponere." The Councils of Constance and Basle had their attention directed to these dreadful abuses, which bishops and secular princes also endeavoured to remedy. But all such attempts proved unavailing. The papal Curia, so far from seconding any measures of reform, rather interposed to

arrest them. Among the various orders, the Benedictines, with their different branches, were probably most deeply tainted, while the mendicant orders stood highest in the moral scale. Following the example of the cathedral chapters, the rich monasteries distributed their revenues among their inmates (Proprietarii). The gratification of the palate, and not the pursuit of science, was the object of study in these cloisters. The celebrated Scottish monastery of St. James, at Regensburg (§ 98, 1), had a regular tavern within its walls, and a proverb said: Uxor amissa in monasterio Scotorum quæri debet. The Franciscans and Dominicans were still the great representatives of monasticism; they proved the pillars of the Papacy, and in some measure contributed, at least in the fourteenth century, to theological science. In the fifteenth century, however, they became involved in the general corruption. The *Carthusians* alone continued their ancient practice of asceticism.

1. The *Benedictine* monasteries having become socially and morally corrupt, *Clement V.*, at the Council of Vienne (1311), issued a series of decrees, aiming at the revival of monastic discipline and literature. They were, however, scarcely regarded. Hence *Benedict XII.* was constrained, with the co-operation of influential Franciscan abbots, to prepare a new constitution for the Benedictines (1336), called after him, *Benedictina*. According to this, all the monasteries of black monks were to be divided into thirty-six provinces, each of which was to hold a triennial chapter for mutual consultation and decisions. Moreover, in every abbey daily penitential chapters should be held, for the maintenance of discipline, and an annual chapter for the rendering of accounts. For the resuscitation of literary tastes and efforts, it was enjoined upon each monastery to keep a number of its members at a university for the study of theology and canon law. But the disciplinary rules of the Benedictina proved futile against habits of good living, and those contemplating reorganization were impotent before the insuperable feelings of independence, which the monks and abbots cherished. The measures proposed for the revival of learning were more effectual; they did not, necessarily, militate against deeply-rooted luxurious habits.—A general chapter of Benedictines, accordingly, met under the supervision of the Council of *Constance*, in order to effect a reformation of the order. But this too proved unavailing. At the instance of the Council of *Basle*, congregations of reformed monasteries were organized, which for a time preserved stricter discipline, but soon again relapsed into their old ways.—The Olivetans, founded by Bernard Ptolemais, formed a new and independent branch of the Benedictines. Berrard taught philosophy in Siena, his native

town, but was compelled by blindness to desist. Healed by the intercession of the Virgin Mary, he renounced the world, and retired, with several companions, into an almost inaccessible, rocky wild, ten miles from Siena (1313). As disciples gathered to him from all sides, he built a monastery on a hill, called it Mt. Olivet, and founded, upon the rule of the Benedictines, the *congregation of the Blessed Virgin*, which John XXII. confirmed. Not until the fourth election for a general, which was at first held annually, then triennially, did he consent to assume this dignity for himself (1332); he then filled the office until his death, caused by his attentions to those prostrated by the plague (1348). The Abbots were also chosen triennially. The Olivetans were long distinguished by their zealous worship of the Virgin and by strict abstinence. They also prosecuted diligently theological and philosophical studies in some of their monasteries, which exceeded a hundred in number. An order of nuns, founded by *Francisca Romana* (1433), also joined the Olivetans.

2. The *Dominicans*, who were entrusted with the conduct of the Inquisition, and were largely employed as confessors among the higher classes, gradually ceased to be a mendicant order. Accordingly, they now explained their vow of poverty as applying only to personal, not to common possessions, and maintained that the latter had been held even by Christ and His apostles. This proposition was controverted by the Franciscans, who, in virtue of the nominal surrender of all their property to the Church of Rome, professed still to adhere to their original vow. When in 1321 the Inquisition at Narbonne condemned a Beghard to the stake for asserting that Christ and the apostles had held neither personal nor common property, the Franciscans maintained the orthodoxy of this statement, and accused the Dominicans before Pope *John XVII.* The Pontiff took the part of the Dominicans, and declared that the nominal donation of Franciscan property was merely an illusion. This decision occasioned a rupture among the Franciscans. The more rigorous members, with the general, *Michael of Cesena*, and the celebrated *William Occam*, joined the party of the "spiritualists," and took the side of Louis of Bavaria against the Pope. Forcible measures against them proved unavailing. Accordingly, they were appeased at Constance by their formal recognition as brethren of the stricter observance (*observantes*). The more lax party among the Franciscans took the name of *Conventuales*, and continued to regard their properties as really belonging to the donors, and themselves as only enjoying their usufruct. The *controversy about the Immaculate Conception* still continued to rage. St. Catharine had visions which confirmed the dogma of the Dominicans, while St. Bridget gave the same kind of sanction to the opinions of the Franciscans. The latter, however, gained influence and authority. It was sanctioned by the University of *Paris* in 1387; while the Council of Basle (in 1439) and Pope Sixtus IV. anathematized any one who should declare the doctrine

of the Immaculate Conception to be heretical, or the festival in its honour sinful. For the same purpose a comedy was enacted at Berne in 1509, which, however, had a tragical termination. The Dominicans of that city imposed on the simplicity of a poor tailor called Jetzer. The tailor had visions and revelations of the Virgin. Even the prints of the nails which pierced the Saviour were reproduced in him by a red-hot iron, and a picture of the Virgin shed in his sight bloody tears over the godless opinions of the Franciscans. The clumsy imposture was at last discovered, and the prior, with three of his monks, were condemned to the stake. — In 1462 another controversy broke out between the two orders. In Brescia, a Franciscan, *Jacob of Marchia*, had on Easter day maintained in the pulpit that the blood which Christ shed on the cross had, till His resurrection and consequent reassumption of it into His nature, continued separate from the hypostatic union with the Logos, and hence had not, during that time, been an object of adoration. The Grand Inquisitor, *Jacob of Brescia*, declared this sentiment heretical. A controversy arose; and during Christmas 1463 three Dominicans and as many Minors discussed the question for three days before the Pope and cardinals, but without leading to any result. The Pope at the time reserved his decision, which, indeed, was never pronounced.

St. Catharine of Siena, the daughter of a dyer, was one of the chief ornaments of the Dominicans (*ob.* 1308). Even when a child she had visions and ecstacies, during which Christ was said to have formally betrothed Himself to her, and to have given her His heart instead of her own. She also bore the prints of the nails, but only inwardly. Notwithstanding her deep humility, the influence and authority which she enjoyed were unparalleled. She became the oracle of the Dominicans, and all Italy almost worshipped at her feet. Contrary to her inclination, she was made the arbiter of the religious and political controversies of the time. To her admonitions, and to those of St. Bridget, it was mainly due that the Babylonish captivity at Avignon came to a close.

The *Order of St. Augustine* had also its congregations for the restoration of pristine discipline. But these branches continued in connection with the order itself, though they were subject to a vicar-general of their own. Such a congregation existed in Saxony from 1493, and to it both *Staupitz* and *Luther* belonged.

3. *Abolition of the Order of Templars*, 1312. — (Comp. *Michelet*, procès des Templiers. Par. 1841–51. 2 T. — *Maillard de Chambure*, Règle et statuts secrets des Temp. Par. 1841. — *W. Havemann*, Gesch. d. Ausgangs d. Templerord. — Hist. of the cess. of the Order of T. — Stuttg. 1846. — *J. v. Hammer-Purgstall*, d. Schuld d. Templer — the Guilt of the T. — Vienna 1855. — *J. Chowanetz*, d. gewaltthat. Aufheb u. Ausrott. d. Ordens d. Tempelherren. Münster. 1856). — Among all the knightly orders, the Templars, who since their return to Europe

chiefly resided at Paris, had attained greatest power and wealth, but were also charged with most pride, rapacity, and dissoluteness. Their independence of the State was as galling to *Philip the Fair* of France, as their untold riches were attractive to his cupidity. Among the common people rumours circulated that the members of the order were secretly Mohammedans, that they practised the black art, and indulged in unnatural vices. It was whispered that they even worshipped an idol called *Baffomet* (Mohammed); that a black cat appeared in their meetings; that at their reception into the order the knights blasphemed the Saviour, and spat and trampled upon the crucifix. On these grounds, or at least on such pretences, Philip ordered all the Templars in his dominions to be imprisoned, and forthwith commenced a process against them (1307). *Pope Clement V.* was obliged, at the *Council of Vienne* (1312), formally to dissolve the order. *Jacob of Molay*, the last grand master, with many of the knights, suffered at the stake. It is difficult, at this period of time, to pronounce with certainty as to their guilt or innocence. Thus much at least is true, that they had deserted the Christian cause in the East. Besides, it is also supposed by many that they entertained Gnostic and Antinomian views akin to those formerly held by the Ophites.

4. The principal *New Orders* founded at this time were: —

(1.) The Order of the Cœlestines, founded by *Peter of Murrone* (afterwards Pope Cœlestine V., comp. § 96, 6), who lived in a cave on Mount Murrone, in Apulia, in the practice of strictest asceticism. The fame of his sanctity soon attracted companions of his solitude, who built a monastery on Mount Majella. Urban IV. imposed on them the rule of the Benedictines. When Peter was elevated to the papal see (1294), his companions adopted in his honour the name of Cœlestines. The new congregation rapidly extended throughout the West.

(2.) The Jeromites. This order arose from associations of hermits, to whom Gregory XI. in 1374 gave a rule similar to that of the Augustines. They chose St. Jerome as their patron saint. From Spain, where the order originated, it spread into Italy.

(3.) The Jesuates, founded by *Johannes Columbini* of Sienna. With an imagination inflamed by poring over the legends of saints, Colombini, with some like-minded companions, resolved to found an association for the twofold object of self-chastisement and attendance on the sick. Urban V., after his return to Rome, imposed on them the rule of the Augustines (1367). Their name was derived from the circumstance that they hailed every one whom they met with the name of Jesus.

(4.) The Minimi, a kind of Minors, founded by *Franciscus de Paula*, in Calabria (1435). Their rule was exceedingly strict; the members were prohibited the use of animal food, of milk, butter, eggs, etc., on which account their mode of life was also designated as "vita quadragesimalis."

(5.) The Nuns of St. Elizabeth, an order founded by *St Elizabeth*

of Thuringia (*ob.* 1231). After having in the most exemplary manner discharged the various duties of a wife, a mother, and a princess, Elizabeth took the grey habit, confined at the waist with the Franciscan cord, as also the three vows, and retired to a wretched cot near Marburg, where she devoted herself to prayer, self-chastisement, and deeds of beneficence. Her example was followed by a number of pious women and maidens. These were in the fourteenth century regularly organized into an order, which devoted itself exclusively to the care of the poor and the sick.

(6.) The Nuns of St. Bridget. *St. Bridget* was a Swedish princess, who early in life had visions, in which the Saviour appeared to her, smitten and wounded. But her father obliged her to marry, and she became the mother of eight children. On the death of her husband, she subjected herself to the most rigid ascetic exercises, and in consequence of some visions, founded at Wadstena near Linkoping a nunnery for sixty inmates, who devoted themselves to the service of the Virgin. Connected with this institution was a separate dwelling for thirteen priests (in imitation of the apostles), for four deacons (after the four great fathers), and for eight lay brethren who had charge of all secular affairs. All these persons were subject to the rule of the abbess. The order spread, especially in the north of Europe.

5. The most famed among the *Hermits* of this period, was *Nicholas von der Flüe*, in the Alps, a worthy and pious man, who, after an active life in the world, spent his last twenty years in solitude and communion with God (*ob.* 1487). Like St. Anthony of old, he acted as peacemaker and adviser, not merely to the shepherds around him, but amid the political troubles of his own country. *Pius IX.* canonized him.

6. *The Brethren of the Common Life* were an association of pious clergymen, founded by *Gerhard Groot*, at Deventer, in the Netherlands (1384). Gerhard died that same year of pestilence; but the work was continued by *Florentius Radewin*, his likeminded pupil. The house of the brethren at Deventer became the centre and nucleus of similar institutions throughout the north of Europe. The members of this association consisted of clergy and laity, who, without submitting to any formal vow or rule, devoted themselves to the concerns of their own souls. Their earnest and evangelical sermons, their attention to the spiritual interests of those with whom they were brought into contact, and their schools, gave them a wide and very beneficial influence among the people. The most frequented of their seminaries were those of Deventer and the Hague, which at times numbered more than 1200 scholars. Similar institutions for Sisters of the Common Life were also founded. Florentius somewhat enlarged the original plan by building at *Windesheim*, near Zwoll, a monastery for *regular canons* (1386), (also called, Kugelherren, Kappelherren, from *cuculla*, from the peculiar covering they used for the head). More celebrated even than this cloister was that on *Mount St. Agnes*, at Zwoll, of which *Thomas a*

Kempis was an inmate. The labours of Florentius were seconded by *Gerhard of Zütphen*, who was wont to insist on the necessity of reading the Bible in the vernacular, and on its importance both in preaching and praying. Of course, the mendicant orders were violent enemies of this pious association. At last a Dominican, *Matthew Grabow*, accused them before the Bishop of Utrecht, and also wrote a large volume against them. The Bishop refused his suit; and when Grabow appealed to the Pope, the prelate carried the matter to the Council of Constance. *Gerson* and *d'Ailly* took the part of the brethren; and *Martin V.* not only gave his sanction to their associations, but accorded their members the privilege of claiming ordination at any time. The brethren in many respects prepared the way for the Reformation; indeed, most of them afterwards became its cordial adherents. After that period they gradually declined, and ceased to exist in the seventeenth century. (COMP. *Gerardi Magni* Epp. XIV., ed. *J. G. Acquoy*. Amst. 1857.—*G. H. M. Delprat*, over d. Broederschap van G. Groote (2d ed. Arnh. 1856), 1st ed. transl. into German with add. by *Mohnike*. Leips. 1846.—*K. Ullmann*, Reformers before the Reformation (transl. by *Menzies*, in Clark's For. Theol. Libr.). Edinb. 2 Vols. —*B. Bähring*, Gerh. Groot u. Florentius. Hamb. 1849.)

II. THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

§ 113. PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE FINE ARTS.

The Brethren of the Common Life, the Mystics, and a number of sectaries, especially the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites, had insisted on, and by their example promoted, the practice of PREACHING in the vernacular. Great activity was also displayed, especially during the fifteenth century, in the *catechetical* instruction of the people, both by means of books and pictures. The ante-reformatory spirit of that period also exerted itself in preparing *hymns* in the vernacular for general use; *church music*, likewise, was turned to similar account. And whilst the glory of *architecture* is evidently waning, the *plastic* art and *painting* reach their full bloom. The Feast of the Immaculate Conception was generally introduced in France, Germany, and England during the fourteenth century. Other festivals were also instituted in honour of Mary. The Council of Constance had given its sanction and authority to the practice of "communio sub

una.' In consequence, the miracle of a bleeding host now frequently occurred, although the fraud was exposed in a number of instances. The excessive anxiety for and veneration of relics still continued and increased. In the fifteenth century originated the legend, that angels had carried through the air the house of Mary from Nazareth to the coast of Dalmatia (1291); thence, on the 10th December, 1294, to Recanati, and lastly, after the lapse of eight months, to *Loretto.*[22]

1. The following were the *New Festivals in honour of the Virgin* (§ 105, 2; 57, 2): the *Feast of the Presentation of Mary*, on the 21st November (according to Leviticus xii. 5–8), a solemnity introduced in the East at a much earlier period; and the *Festival of the Visitation of Mary*, on the 2d July, in allusion to Luke i. 39–56. During the fifteenth century, the *Feast of the Seven Dolors of Mary*, on the Friday or Saturday before Palm-Sunday, was instituted. The worship of the Virgin was chiefly promoted by the Dominicans, who had special *Fraternities of the Rosary*. Dominic himself is said to have observed the *Festival of the Rosary* on the 1st of October (for the protection and intercession of the Virgin). It was, however, only observed by the Dominicans, till after the victory of Lepanto (1571), which was regarded as due to this species of devotion, when Gregory XIII. made it a general festival.

2. *Preaching*, in the vernacular, now became much more common. But it is a peculiar characteristic of this period, that even those who thus preached, thought in Latin, or at least first wrote their sermons in Latin before preaching them. *Vocabularia predicantium* were prepared for the use of less practised preachers. A Homiletics and Catechetics, valuable for that age, was prepared by *J. Ulr. Surgant*, a preacher in Basel (*Manuale Curatorum*), about the close of the fifteenth centuy. Among other points, he treated *de regulis vulgarizandi, i. e.*, of rendering sermons written in Latin into the vernacular. Great stress was also laid upon hearing sermons, by those who had the cure of souls: the neglect thereof was reproved as a sin. In opposition to the scholastic style of preaching, which used the pulpit only for the display of learned ostentation and theological subtleties (as by *Gabriel Biel*, &c.), popular preachers arose, who laid practical hold of actual life, and denounced social vices, of high and low life, in plain, and sometimes in ludicrous terms. Among these was *Gabriel Barletta* (*ob.* 1480), whose spicy sermons so pleased the taste of his age, that it was usual to say: *Qui nescit barlettare, nescit prædicare.* He was imitated by *Oliver Maillard*, a Franciscan and royal court-preacher, *ob.* 1502, and *Michael Menot*, also a Franciscan, *ob.* 1518. The German minister, at Strassburg, *Geiler of Kaisersberg* (*ob.* 1510), equalled the preachers just named in quaint plainness and cutting wit, but surpassed them all in moral earnestness and spiritual depth (§ 114, 4).

3. *Catechization.*—(Cf. *J. Geffken,* d. Bilderkatechismus d. 15. Jahrh., u. d. katech. Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther. I. Die 10 Gebote. Lpz. 1855.) — Next to preaching, the confessional afforded opportunities for the instruction of the people. The subsequent division of the catechism sprang rather from the mode of baptism and of making confession, than from the actual instruction of the people and youth; and among these, it is remarkable that the decalogue first found a place since the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Previously the enumeration of the seven cardinal sins and seven cardinal virtues was substituted for the ten commandments. The more deeply to impress the doctrines of the catechism, pictorial illustrations were employed. The wealth of the catechetical literature of that period, both in books of instruction for the clergy, and in doctrinal books in the vernacular for the people, may be learned from Geffken's work above named.

4. *Hymnology.* — A very marked contrast is noticeable between the number and value of the LATIN HYMNS dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and those of the preceding period. Only the Mystics (as, for example, Thomas a Kempis) still produced such compositions. On the other hand, it may be said that German hymnology originated during this period. Strange though it may appear, the processions of Flagellants in the fourteenth century contributed not a little to the spread of religious poetry in the vernacular. The hymns or chants of the Flagellants were in the vernacular, and thus found ready access to the hearts of the people. But it was in the fifteenth century, and during the Hussite movement, that really useful popular hymns were composed, and for the first time introduced into the services of the Church. Huss himself insisted on the necessity of the people taking part in the service of song, and composed a number of excellent hymns in the Bohemian. The various hymns used by the "Bohemian Brethren" (400 in number) were collected and published in 1504 by *Lucas,* a senior or Bishop of the "Brethren." The introduction of German hymns was mainly due to *Petrus Dresdensis,* formerly assistant to Huss at Prague, and since 1420 rector at Zwickau. His efforts were not unsuccessful. In some churches German hymns were now sung at the great festivals, and at special ecclesiastical solemnities, while in isolated cases they were even used at the principal service and at mass. The religious poetry of that age was of a fourfold character:—1. *Mixed hymns,* half German and half Latin (such as "Puer natus in Bethlehem, Dess freuet sich, Jerusalem," etc.). — 2. *Translations and adaptations of Latin hymns.* So early as the close of the fourteenth century an attempt at such translations was made by *Johannes,* "the monk of Salzburg," and at a somewhat later period by *Brother Dietric.* A collection of these versions appeared in 1494; but the majority of the hymns were so badly rendered, that the force and point of the original was completely lost.—3. *Original German hymns,* commonly by monks or master singers. These, however, were too frequently

destitute of all religious fervour or poetic value. — 4. *Adaptations of secular or of Minne-songs.* Thus the popular ditty, originally intended for wandering apprentices, which commenced: "Inspruck, I must leave thee, and go my lonely way, Far hence to foreign lands," etc., was transformed into: "O world, I must leave thee, and go my lonely way, Unto my Father's home," etc. *Henry of Laufenberg*, a priest at Freiburg, about 1450, seems to have been the first to attempt this kind of poetry. In all cases the melody of the original was retained. Although many of these adaptations were little better than a burlesque, they became the means of associating popular ideas and melodies with the hymns of the Church, thus preparing the way for the following period.

5. *Church Music.* — Great improvements were made at this period in the building of *organs;* the keys were made smaller, the pedal was added, etc. *Henry Cranz*, who flourished about 1500, was reputed the most successful builder of organs at that period. Equally distinguished as an organist was *Antonio dagl' Organi* at Rome, who gathered around him pupils from all countries (*ob.* 1498). A great deal was also done for the improvement of CHURCH MUSIC; the rules of counterpoint, and other musical rules, were enlarged or applied, and singing in parts came into vogue. At this time the Dutch bore the palm in music. *William Dufay*, the founder of the *first* Dutch School (*ob.* 1432), introduced his improvements even into the chapel at Rome, although a century had not elapsed since John XXII. pronounced an anathema against the practice of "discantare." *John Ockenheim*, the founder of the *second* Dutch school at the close of the fifteenth century, invented the *canon* and the *fugue;* but his system of counterpoint was very artificial, and he may be regarded as the first who corrupted the musical taste of the time. The greatest composer of this school was *Josquin de Préz* (Jodocus Pratensis), about 1500. His only rival in the art was *Adam of Fulda*, a German.

6. *Architecture and the Plastic Art.*—The *Gothic style* was universally adopted in Germany, France, and England. Into Italy it penetrated no farther than Milan. The new Church of St. Peter at Rome, the foundation of which was laid in 1506 by Pope Julius II., presents the most splendid specimen of the antique Romanesque style. The *plastic art* was carried to its highest perfection by such masters as *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (*ob.* 1455) and *Michael Angelo* (*ob.* 1564). The ART OF PAINTING also reached its highest stage in the fifteenth century. There were at this time four different schools of painters. The *Florentine School*, which chiefly devoted itself to the representation of Scriptural events, was founded by *Giotto* (*ob.* 1336), and numbered among its members such masters as *Angelico of Fiesole*, who always joined prayer with painting, *Leonardo da Vinci* (the Last Supper), *Fra Bartolomeo* and *Michael Angelo*. The *Lombard School*, of which *Bellini* (*ob.* 1516) was the most distinguished representative, also gave itself at first to

the study of sacred subjects, but soon afterwards abandoned this for the secular department. It reached the pinnacle of its renown through the works of *Corregio* (*ob.* 1534, Night, The penitent Magdalen), and *Titian* (*ob.* 1576. Venus, Ecce homo, the ascension of Mary). The *Umbrian School* seemed almost to breathe the spirit of St. Francis. Its most celebrated master was *Raphael of Urbino* (the Sixtine Madonna paintings on the walls of the Vatican, the Madonna della Sedia, etc.) The *German School* was represented by such men as the brothers *Hubert* and *John van Eyk*, *Albrecht Dürer*, and *Hans Holbein*.

§ 114. POPULAR LIFE AND NATIONAL LITERATURE.

The fearful decay of the Papacy, as well as the deep degeneracy of the clergy and of the monastic orders, were not without their effects upon the people. At no previous period had the Church less influence on the moral and religious condition of the community. In truth, the ancient reverence for the Church and its rites had been rudely shaken, though not entirely destroyed. But the religious enthusiasm and the deep poetry of popular life gradually disappeared. Such personages as a Catharine of Sienna, a maid of Orleans, or a Nicholas von der Flüe were only isolated phenomena in the history of that period. As the practice of indulgences increased, all moral *earnestness* ceased, and all religious *fervour* gave way. Yet, happily, not entirely; the existence of the *Beghards* and *Lollards*, nay, even the excesses of the Flagellants, proved that men still thought seriously on the most serious of subjects. The religious fervour still existing among the people was nourished and cherished by the faithful teachings of the Mystics, and found vent in the wide-spread association known as the *Friends of God.* In an opposite direction, though, perhaps, ultimately traceable to the same source, we have the *Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit.* But along with such piety, superstition also greatly increased, all the more dangerous now that it was no longer associated with the poetry and naive irony of a former age. The men of this period, on the contrary, firmly believed in the black art, in witchcraft, in compacts with the devil, and similar absurdities. Towards the close of our period, however, a new era dawned. The former mode of conducting warfare ceased, on the invention of powder; while the municipal institutions of the various and flourishing towns of Germany called forth and afforded scope for civic virtues for love of freedom, energy, and industry. Lastly,

the invention of the art of printing initiated the great changes of which modern society is the result.[23]

1. *Religious Associations among the People.* — Besides the Beghards and Benguins, (§ 98, 5) another association was formed at Antwerp in 1300, on occasion of a pestilence. The LOLLARDS (from lull = sing) devoted themselves chiefly to attendance on the sick and the interment of the dead. They also were exposed to the persecutions of the Inquisition, till John XXII. in 1318 granted them toleration on certain conditions. — But the strangest sight presented at that period were those long TRAINS OF FLAGELLANTS, who, with faces covered, wandered from country to country, amidst weeping, lamentation, and the chant of penitential hymns, continually applying, as they marched, the scourge to their naked backs. These revolting processions had suddenly appeared in Italy (in 1260, at Perrugia) even at a former period, during the horrors of the war between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. They again paraded the cities of Europe on different occasions during the fourteenth century, especially in 1348–50, during the ravages of the "black death." The Flagellants made their appearance along the banks of the Rhine, whence, growing like an avalanche, they passed through Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and England. On the advice of Pope *Clement VI.*, whom they had summoned to join them, they were refused admittance into France. The paroxysm lasted for three years. It was raised anew in 1399, when famine, pestilence, war with the Turks, and expectation of the approaching end of the world, excited the minds of men, and Flagellants again passed through Lombardy. This time they were arrayed in white garments, on which account they were called *Bianchi* or *Albati.* In 1417, *St. Vincent Ferreri,* a celebrated Spanish preacher, led a long train of Flagellants through Italy, France, and Spain. Princes, popes, universities, and councils expostulated against this mad fanaticism, without, however, being able to suppress it. But after the Council of Constance had denounced this species of penance, *St. Vincent* himself ceased to take part in it. Some of the Flagellants fell into sectarianism and heresy; they denounced the hierarchy as Antichrist, rejected the rites of Christianity, and declared that the baptism of blood, obtained by means of the scourge, was the only efficacious sacrament. Many of these fanatics were condemned to the stake by the Inquisition. (Comp. *E. G. Förstemann,* d. chr. Geisslerges. — the Chr. Flag. — Halle 1828; *G. Mohnike,* d. Geisslerges., in "Illgen's Journal," III. 2; *L. Schneegans,* le grand pilgrimage des Flag., transl. into Germ. by *Tischendorf,* Leips. 1840; — *L. Heller,* Vinc. Ferreri Leben u. Wirken. Berl. 1830; *Comes de Hohenthal-Stœdteln,* de Vinc. Ferr. Lips. 1839.)

Another and kindred form of madness was that of the JUMPERS or *Dancers* (Chorisantes), who, by way of penance, commenced frantic

and hysteric dances, which by some infection carried away even accidental and indifferent spectators. These fanatics appeared along the banks of the Rhine in 1347 and 1418. They were regarded as possessed, and the aid of St. Vitus was invoked for their cure (hence the name of St. Vitus' dance). Comp. *Hecker*, die Tanzwuth e. Volkskrankh. d. M. A. (Dancing Madness an Epid. of the M. A.) Berl. 1832. *H. Häser*, Lehrb. d. Gesch. d. Medicin u. d. Volkskrankhh. Jena, 1845, p. 282, etc.

2. *The Friends of God.* (Comp. *C. Schmidt*, d. Gottesfreunde im 14. Jahrh. Jen. 1854. — During the fourteenth century a wide-spread and deep spirit of mysticism seemed to pervade all Western Germany, from the Low Countries to the borders of Italy. In truth a religious awakening had taken place among the people, though from peculiar causes it bore a mystic and contemplative character. All ranks and classes, inmates of monasteries and Beguins, knights in their castles, artisans in their workshops, and merchants in their warehouses, equally came under its influence. Ultimately it led to the formation of a great fraternity of so-called *Friends of God*, the various associations of which kept up personal or epistolary intercourse. This revival was chiefly felt at Cologne, Strasburg, and Basle. Its preachers belonged mostly to the Dominican Order, and the views which they expressed or propagated were drawn from the writings of the German Mystics (§ 117). They were entirely free from sectarianism, and cherished the ceremonies of the Church as symbols and vehicles of Divine grace. But from the year 1340 a mysterious personage evidently presides over this movement, and results wider than those formerly sought began to be aimed after. Most of "the Friends" themselves seem to have been ignorant of the name or residence of this man. They call him "the enlightened layman," and "the great friend of God from the Oberland." Twice only is the mystery partly cleared away, and we hear of the name of *Nicholas of Basle.* About 1340 he appeared at Strasburg, where he exercised a decisive influence upon *John Tauler* (§ 117, 2). Again in 1356, when Basle was visited by a fearful earthquake, he addressed a letter to universal Christendom calling to repentance. In 1367 he retired into the Swiss mountains with four of his most intimate associates; and when *Gregory XI.* returned to Rome in 1377, Nicholas and one of his associates confronted him, and urged upon him the present situation, the dangers, and the requirements of the Church. The Pope at first received him with distrust, but dismissed him in a very different spirit. It is difficult exactly to ascertain what Nicholas really aimed after, and by what means he intended to accomplish his plans. This alone is certain, that he had conceived some great plan for the Church, the execution of which he deferred till the time which God should indicate to him. In 1379 those friends which belonged to the inner circle held a meeting in a mountain solitude, and finally resolved to adjourn for another

year. After that term they again assembled on the same spot, when it is said a letter from heaven fell among them, informing them that God had delayed His judgments for other three years. From that period we lose sight of them; but several years later Nicholas and two of his associates were burned by order of the Inquisition at Vienne, on the charge of being Beghards, and the same punishment was awarded at Cologne in 1393 to *Martin*, a Benedictine from Reichenau, one of the adherents of Nicholas. The writings of Nicholas which are still extant have been published by C. Schmidt, l. c. and in his Life of Tauler.

3. *The Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit.* — Originally they may have been an offshoot from the sect of the Holy Spirit (§ 108, 2), or else the result of a tendency similar to that which led to the formation of the Friends of God, only that in this case it led to the opposite extreme of pantheism and antinomianism. They seem to have existed in many parts of Germany at the beginning of the fourteenth century, especially along the Rhine, Cologne being their principal centre. They held essentially pantheistic views. Every pious person was a Christ, in whom God became incarnate. Whatever was done in love was right. The perfect were free from the law, and could not sin. The Church, its sacraments and rites, were a deception or an imposture; purgatory, heaven, and hell, so many fables; marriage was against nature, and property, theft. Their secret services appropriately closed with orgies. The Inquisition proceeded against them by the sword and the stake. — Other parties of a kindred character were the *Adamites* in Austria (1312), the *Luciferians* in Angermunde (1326), and the *Turlupines* in the Isle of France (1372). At the commencement of the fifteenth century they reappeared at Brussels under the name of "Homines intelligentiæ;" and in 1421 Ziska exterminated the Bohemian *Adamites*, who, by way of imitating the paradisiacal state, lived naked on an island in the Danube, and had their wives in common. Hidden traces of them yet remain.

4. *National Literature.* — At the close of the thirteenth and the commencement of the fourteenth century a new *literature* sprung up in Italy, which in many respects affected the Church. To three Florentine writers does Europe owe it, that the spell was broken by which poetry and science had so long been bound to the Latin language. The importance of this can scarcely be over-estimated. Not only have these writers left unperishing monuments of their own genius; they also became the fathers of the Italian language, and gave a great impulse to national literature generally. The general prevalence of the Latin was one of the means by which the Church of Rome retained its absolute hold on the minds of men, repressed all independent and national movements, and prevented the expression of those anti-papal sentiments which were rapidly pervading the peoples of Europe. In

all these respects it was important that former restraints should be removed. But the three writers to whom we allude were also enthusiastic admirers of classical literature; indeed, they prepared the way for the study of the classics, and became the precursors of the Humanists (§ 120). Withal they were opposed, though not to the same degree, to the subtleties of scholasticism, and boldly satirised the abuses in the Church, the arrogance of the hierarchy, the rapacity and dissoluteness of the Papacy, as also the moral and intellectual decay of the clergy and of the monastic orders. DANTE ALIGHIERI (born at Florence 1256, *ob.* in exile at Ravenna 1321) stood on the boundary line of two centuries and two epochs. His "Divina Comedia" may be regarded as embodying the views and tendencies of his own age, and forecasting the advent of another. He was an enthusiastic admirer of St. Thomas and his theology; but his scholasticism was transformed and spiritualized by the finest æsthetic taste and the most fervid imagination. In deep anguish of spirit he mourned over the decay of the Church. Thus he relegated a Boniface VIII., but also a Frederic II., to hell. In sharpest language he exposed the degeneracy of the monks, while he at the same time extolled the bliss of St. Francis and St. Dominic. He could admire the classic beauties of Virgil; but more than all the rest, he dwelt with peculiar delight on the fulness of Christian truth. While reprobating the practice of indulgences, he continued to adhere to the dogmas of the Church. PETRARCH (born at Arezzo in 1304, *ob.* near Padua in 1374) went much beyond his predecessor. His opposition to scholasticism brought upon him the hatred and persecution of schoolmen and monks; and although he still ranked the classics as far subordinate to the teaching of the Church, his admiration of antiquity occasionally led him beyond the bounds of proper moderation. BOCCACCIO (born in 1313, *ob.* 1375) was a most violent opponent of scholasticism, monasticism, and the hierarchy. He speaks of them not in language of indignation, but of irony and contempt. At the same time, however, he also deals too lightly with the great moral and religious requirements of Christianity. In later years he expressed, in his "Decamerone," deep regret for expressions of this kind occurring in his youthful writings.

German national literature decayed along with the dynasty of the Hohenstaufen. The only department deserving mention was that of *popular poetry*, secular and religious. The compositions of the *mastersingers* bear the character of proud self-consciousness on the part of those towns of Germany whence they sprung. *German prose writing* was richly cultivated by the Mystics (§ 117), and German *satire* was inaugurated by the "Narrenschiff" of *Sebastian Brandt*, 1494, the Syndic of Strassburg. Among *popular preachers*, *John Tauler* of Strassburg (§ 117, 2) wore the palm. The very original *John Geiler of Kaisersberg* (*ob.* 1510) was also a brilliant preacher in Strassburg; his sermons abounded in pointed wit, biting sarcasm, and bold, often

quaint, applications, but also with deep and penetrating earnestness. Among his numerous writings, his 412 sermons on Brandt's "Narrenschiff," are best known. (Cf. *Chr. Fr. v. Ammon*, G. v. Kaisersb. Leben, Lehren u. Schriften. Erl. 1826. *A. Ströber*, essai hist. et lit. sur la vie et les sermons de G. Strassb. 1834. See Herzog's (translated) Theol. and Eccl. Encyclop. Art. *Geiler*. Philad. 1859.

The *Religious Drama* (§ 106, 2) reached its highest bloom in the 14th century. During the festival weeks, such dramas were performed in almost every village. Their poetical value was, on the whole, small. But in the *Lamentations of Mary*, they sometimes rose to an unusual pitch of beauty. Comedies and burlesques (in which the characters of Judas, the spice pedlars, and Mary Magdalene, still unconverted, played a prominent part) were allowed. *Theod. Schernberg* composed a "Schön Spiel von Frau Jutte" (the popess Joanna § 82, 3), which represented, in a very earnest way, her fall and repentance. In the plays performed during the Shrove Tuesday Carnival, reformatory tendencies became obvious in the ridicule cast upon the clergy and monks. *Hans Rosenplüt*, a painter of escutcheons in Nurenberg, 1450, was celebrated as the author of such plays for the carnival. In France, near the end of the 14th century, some young persons, connected with higher families, formed a society called *enfans sans souci*, which performed *Sotties*, in cities and at Courts, with great success; they did not spare the Church. The principal of their composers was *Pierre Gringore*, who alluded very plainly, in his *Chasse du Cerf des Cerfs*, to the Servus servorum, and represented the Church under the fools; mother with a cap on (early in the 16th century). In Spain, during the 15th century, the *Auto's* appeared,—a development of the old mysteries, and rather allied in their form to the allegorical moralites of the Middle Ages (§ 106, 2). They breathed a true Spanish Spirit, and were partly *Autos al nasciemento*, but mainly *Autos sacramentales*. Their earliest composers were *Juan de la Encina*, and the Portuguese *Gil Vincente*.

§ 115. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

In 1343 *Clement VI.* gave his sanction to the teaching of the schoolmen regarding indulgences (§ 107, 1). Nor was this measure in opposition to the view taken by the reformatory councils of the fifteenth century, which only disapproved of their abuse, for the purpose of raising money. In 1477 *Sixtus IV.* confirmed the tenet, that indulgences might be granted for those who were defunct, and that they delivered souls from purgatory. In reply to the somewhat impertinent question, why the Pope, who possessed such ample powers, did not at once deliver all souls from purgatory, it was said, that the Church followed in the

wake of Divine justice, and dispensed its benefits only "discrete et cum moderamine." The *practice of indulgences* was still further carried out by the institution of *years of Jubilee.* On the testimony of a man 107 years of age, that 100 years before a jubilee had been proclaimed, Boniface VIII. promised, in 1320, an indulgence of 100 years to all Christians who should penitently visit for fifteen days the Church of the Holy Apostles at Rome. No fewer than 200,000 availed themselves of the privilege. His successors shortened the intervening period of jubilees to fifty, to thirty-three, and lastly to twenty-five years. Instead of making a personal pilgrimage to Rome, it was declared sufficient to pay the travelling expenses. Nepotism and extravagance were emptying the coffers of the Pope, and the *traffic in indulgences* offered the readiest means of replenishing them. Wars with the Turks and the building of St. Peter's Church served as a ready pretext for a fresh sale of these new spiritual wares. The venders of indulgences did all in their power to vaunt the excellency of their articles, and the necessity for penitence and amendment were no longer mentioned. Indulgence was even granted for sins contemplated. Such abuses rendered anything like ecclesiastical discipline impossible; and if any respect still existed for the confessional, it was speedily destroyed by the interference of the mendicant orders, who claimed the privilege of attending to penitents at any time and place. Already *excommunication* and the *interdict* had lost their terrors. On Corpus Christi Day, the bull "In cœna Domini" (issued by Martin V. at the close of the Council of Constance, and greatly enlarged by succeeding popes) was solemnly recited at Rome, and the anathema against all heretics, which it embodied, renewed. The *Inquisition* had still enough to do, persecuting and burning Beghards, Lollards, Flagellants, Fratricelli, Friends of God, and other sectaries. *Innocent VIII.* gave his formal sanction (1484) to the popular superstition about witches, and appointed two judges for such causes in Germany — perhaps in some measure as a compensation for the circumstance, that the Inquisition had never properly thriven in that country.

1. *The Inquisition* attained greatest power in France and Italy. The *Spanish* Inquisition (sanctum officium) was instituted in 1481 by Ferdinand and Isabella, and organized in 1483 by the Inquisitor-General, *Thomas de Torquemada.* In some respects it was as much a political as an ecclesiastical institution, since the confis-

cation of property served to enrich the public treasury and to humble the proud aristocracy. Its persecutions of the hated Moriscoes and Jews made this dreadful tribunal popular among the Spaniards. The *Auto-da-fe's* (or acts of faith) were celebrated amidst revolting displays of pomp and state. According to the statement of *Llorente* (Hist. crit. de l'Inquis. d'Espagne. Par. 1815), no fewer than 32,000 individuals were burnt, 18,000 were similarly punished in effigy, while 300,000 received other sentences at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, from its origin to the time when Napoleon swept it away in 1808. Comp. *C. J. Hefele* (d. Cardinal Ximenez. 2d Ed. Tüb. 1851), who has corrected some of the statements of Llorente.

2. *Procedure against Witches.* (Comp. *Hauber*, Biblioth., acta et scripta magica. Lemgo 1739–45. *W. G. Soldan*, Gesch. d. Hexenproc.—Hist. of the Proced. ag. Witch.—Stuttg. 1843. *C. G. v. Wächter*, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. deutsch. Strafr. Tüb. 1845.)—In 1484 *Innocent VIII.* issued the bull "Summis desiderantes affectibus," wherein he informed the Germans that their country was overrun by witches, for whose destruction he had appointed two inquisitors, *Henry Krämer* and *Jacob Sprenger*. The paternal care of the Pope found too ready a response among a superstitious people. From confessions extorted on the rack, a perfect dogmatic and historical system was framed, in which the various compacts made with the devil, or the improper alliances contracted with him, obtained their due place, while the use of broomsticks and pitchforks, the revelries of Walpurgis Night and the scenes on the Blocksberg, found appropriate explanation. On the basis of this new lore *Sprenger* elaborated a code of criminal procedure against witches, which bore the title of "Malleus Maleficarum." The delusion spread like an epidemic, and thousands of innocent females expired amid tortures, not only in Germany, but in England, and even in Scotland. Unfortunately, the Reformation made little difference in this respect, and the sorrow with which we witness the persecutions of supposed witches in Scotland, even during the most flourishing periods of religious life, is only equalled by our indignation on finding that an eminent Protestant lawyer on the Continent, *Benedict Carpzov*, should, so late as the seventeenth century, have entered the lists in defence of the practice. King James VI. showed his zeal by writing a treatise on "Dæmonologie." *Christian Thomasius* was the first in 1707, successfully to combat this superstition. (Cf. § 157, 3).

III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

§ 116. SCHOLASTICISM AND ITS OPPONENTS.

A large number of *schools of learning* were founded during this period. They increasingly assumed the character of universities, in the proper sense of the term, although chief attention was still paid to theology. These seminaries were generally pledged to the defence of matters as then existing, with all the abuses and defects of the system — hierarchical strongholds not unfrequently planted in the heart of the enemy's camp. Paris and Cologne were still the chief centres of scholasticism, which was there professed by the mendicant friars. For a considerable time realism had held undisputed sway, when *William Occam* again entered the lists in Germany in favour of nominalism. The controversy which now ensued was carried on with much bitterness; ultimately realism, which a number of the Reformers (among others, Wycliffe and Huss) professed, was decried as the source of all heresy. Aristotle continued the great authority on all philosophical questions; he was extolled as the precursor of Christ, and his system formed the basis of theology. But what of power and energy there was in scholasticism, had long passed away; bitter polemics, empty formalism, and mere casuistry now constituted its sum and substance. The distinction made between philosophical and theological truth, by which one and the same proposition might be true in philosophy and false in theology, was almost universally adopted. In ethics, the schoolmen addressed themselves chiefly to intricate questions, while on some points their views were far from trustworthy (for example, in their defence of the murder of a tyrant, or their doctrine of probability). But already the reign of scholasticism was drawing to a close. Many complained of the abuse to which it had been turned; others endeavoured to improve and reform it, or, by the study of the Bible and of the Fathers, to infuse into it a new life. Generally, however, the opposition was one of principle, and that chiefly on the part of the Mystics (§ 117), the English and Bohemian Reformers (§ 119), and the Humanists (§ 120).

1. Among the *Schoolmen, properly* so called, of that period, the most celebrated were Francis Mayron, a Scotist at Paris — Doctor illuminatus or acutus—*ob.* 1325, and Herveus Natalis, a Thomist and gene-

ral of the Dominicans (*ob.* 1323). But more extensive and important than theirs was the influence of two other schoolmen, who not only renounced strict adherence to scholastic tenets, but ventured to propound evangelical views. William Durandus *de St. Porciano* (near Clermont), also a Dominican — Doctor resolutissimus — and from 1326 Bishop of Meaux, had at first been a zealous advocate of Thomist views. Afterwards, however, he saw cause to change his opinions. In philosophy he became a nominalist, while, in opposition to the schoolmen, he taught that there were doctrines which could not be demonstrated, and which had to be received in simple faith as revealed truth. On the subject of the Eucharist he held that the (Lutheran) doctrine of consubstantiality was at least probable; he also maintained that marriage was not a sacrament in the same sense as the other six. He wrote a commentary on Lombardus, and a "Tractatus de statu animarum sanctarum postquam resolutæ sunt a corpore." This work was directed against the view of Pope *John XXII.*, that the souls of the blessed attained vision of God, only after the resurrection and the last judgment. In general, this erroneous tenet was so strenuously opposed throughout the Church, that the Pontiff himself was obliged to retract it. Of kindred spirit was the Franciscan William Occam, an Englishman—Doctor invincibilis—teacher at Paris, and provincial of his order. He was expelled by the Franciscans on account of his taking the part of the more rigorous in the order, and espoused the cause of Louis of Bavaria, whom he boldly defended against the interference of the hierarchy (*ob.* 1347). On many subjects he dissented from the views of Scotus, which were a kind of test of orthodoxy. In philosophy he was a Nominalist; he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and adopted that of impanation. Against John XXII. he wrote a "Compendium errorum Joannis XXII.," in which he charged the Pontiff with a number of heresies; among others, with that above referred to. In his numerous writings he frequently defended the opinion, that the Emperor was superior to, and the judge of, the Pope, and that the decision of all questions connected with marriage belonged to the State. (Comp. *Rettberg*, Occam u. Luther, in the "theol. Stud. u. Kritt." for 1839. I.; also *Turner*, Hist. of England, Middle Ages. Vol. III.) Of course the papal ban was hurled against him; the University of Paris also condemned his views. Still a large number of students gathered around him (Occamists). — The last great representative of the schoolmen was Gabriel Biel of Spires, a teacher at Tübingen (*ob.* 1495), and an admirer of Occam. He delivered sermons on the Ethics of Aristotle; but in other respects avoided many of the errors of scholasticism, and at a later period joined the Brethren of the Common Life.

2. Besides the Brethren of the Common Life (§ 112, 6) and those who advocated the views propounded at the Councils of Constance and Basle (§ 118), the following were the principal Opponents, or rather reformers of scholasticism:

(1.) NICHOLAS DE LYRA, a Franciscan, a Jewish convert from Normandy and teacher of theology at Paris (*ob.* 1340). His great merit consisted in applying his stores of rabbinical and philological learning to the interpretation of Scripture. Since Christian Druthmar (§ 90, 4), he was the first again to prosecute grammatical and historical exegesis (Postilla in universa Biblia). A century later another Jewish proselyte, *Paul Burgensis* (*ob.* 1435, whilst Bishop of Burgos), wrote on the margin of his copy of the Postilla, a number of excellent *Additiones*, which were partly emendatory, partly supplementary, to the original. For these additions he was assailed, about 20 or 30 years afterwards, by *Matthew Doring*, provincial of the Saxon Franciscans, in his "Replicæ defensivæ postillæ." In translating the Bible, Luther largely availed himself of the commentaries of Lyra. Accordingly the enemies of the Reformer were wont to say: Si Lyra non Lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.

(2.) THOMAS OF BRADWARDINE, Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 1349), a man of deep piety, and who charged his cotemporaries with Pelagianism, but himself strayed into the most rugged predestinarianism.

(3.) The learned and acute RAYMOND OF SABUNDE at Toulouse, the founder of the science of natural theology, designed to exhibit the agreement between the book of nature and that of revelation.—(Comp. *F. Holberg*, de theol. naturali Raim. de Sabunde. Hal. 1843.—*D. Matzke*, d. nat. Theol. d. Raim. v. Sab. Bresl. 1846.—*M. Huttler*, d. Rel. Phil. d. R. v. S. Augsb. 1851.—*Fr. Nitzch*, quæstiones Raimundianæ. In the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1859, III.)

§ 117. GERMAN MYSTICISM.

It will be remembered that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *mysticism* had formed an alliance with scholasticism. But as the latter gradually degenerated into unmeaning disputes and empty formalism, mysticism escaped from its thraldom and unfolded all the richness and depth of which, especially in that age, it showed itself capable. *Germany* was now its chief centre, and the national cast of this mysticism appeared even in the circumstance that its leading representatives wrote in the vernacular, and thereby contributed not a little to the development of the German language and literature. The mysticism to which we refer had a character of its own; in it, lofty speculation, which occasionally verged on and passed beyond the boundaries of pantheism, was conjoined with deep contemplativeness. During the fifteenth century it lost much of its metaphysical character, but gained all the more in biblical truth and practical tendency (approximating in that respect the older French mys

ticism) Two sentiments meet us in all the Mystics of that age — genuine sorrow for the decay of the Church, and equally ardent longing for a *reformation*. But mysticism, however practical and popular in its form, however right and evangelical in its aspirations, has never been able to bring about a thorough and *lasting* renovation of religious life. It finds an echo only in those isolated, quiet spirits which cherish deep longing for the cultivation of the inner life. Hence at best it cannot lead to results greater than the formation of separatist churches, whose exclusive cultivation of a subjective piety contains within itself the germs of error and of destruction. It is characteristic of such mysticism that, in its contemplation of what the Saviour does IN US, it undervalues what He has done FOR US, and that it devotes more attention to communion with God and *sanctification* than to *justification* by faith, which is the condition and basis of all fellowship with God. In short, no genuine reformation can take place without mysticism, but it alone is insufficient to accomplish that object.

1. The series of German philosophical Mystics opens with MASTER ECCART (*ob.* about 1329), a provincial of the Dominicans. In boldness and vigour of speculation he was superior to all his successors, but at the same time he strayed into open pantheism. It is more than probable that he stood in some relation to the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, though he certainly did not share their antinomian views and practices. Archbishop *Henry* of Cologne summoned him before his tribunal, and laid the case before Pope John XXII. The commission appointed to try Eccart extracted from his writings twenty-eight propositions, of which seventeen were declared directly heretical, the others at least suspicious and capable of heretical interpretation. The Pope issued a bull of condemnation, in which however he stated that Eccart had recanted shortly before his death, — which we suppose amounted to this, that he denied holding the same views as the Brethren of the Free Spirit. His numerous tractates, written in German, were suppressed, and only fragments of them have been preserved.— (Comp. *H. Martensen*, Meister Eccart. Hamb. 1842. — *C. Schmidt*, in the "Stud. u. Kritt." for 1839. III.; *Thomson*, in the same Review for 1845. III.)

2. The writings and teaching of Eccart had produced a deep impression. He was followed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by other and like-minded Mystics. If the speculations of Eccart had been pantheistic in their tendency, they now endeavoured to give them a more scriptural character, and to turn them to practical account. Their writings and sermons in the vernacular contributed

not a little to the revival of genuine piety among the people. Foremost among these Mystics we mention:—1. The Dominican JOHANNES TAULER at Strasburg (*ob.* 1361), one of the most powerful preachers of any age, whose labours seem to have been richly blessed. His own conversion and spiritual growth were in great measure due to intercourse with *Nicholas of Basle*, the "friend of God" (§ 114, 2). He was distinguished by deep humility, ardent love, and fervent piety. It was the main object of all his labours that Christians should daily die to the world and self, that so Christ might be found in them, and that they should find themselves poor in spirit, that so they might become rich in God. Withal he clearly understood and preached the great truth of justification by faith. Especially did he abound in labours during the terrible year of 1348, when the black death ravaged Strassburg and the papal interdict rested on the doomed city. But no interdict could bind Tauler. The best known of his writings is that on the "Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ." His style and diction entitle him to a place among the best German prose writers before Luther. (Comp. *C. Schmidt*, Joh. Taul. v. Strassb. Hamb. 1841. *B. Bähring*, J. Taul. u. d. Gottesfreunde. Hamb. 1853. *Rudelbach*, christl. Biographie, I. 3.)—2. HENRY SUSO, a Dominican at Ulm, also called *Amandus*, the son of a Count of Berg (*ob.* 1365). His writings, full of sorrow for sin and love to the Lord, which seem the very outpourings of his soul, go straight to the heart. (Comp. *Melch. Diepenbrock*, Suso's Leben u. Schriften, with an Introd. by *Görres*, 2d Ed. Regensb. 1837. *C. Schmidt.* der Myst. H. Suso, in the "Stud. u. Kritt." for 1843. IV. 3. JOHN RUYSBROEK, an Augustine monk at Brussels (*ob.* 1381). He was called Doctor ecstaticus, from the circumstance that he laid such stress on the ecstatic state, in which man cast off the heavy and impeding bonds of outward sense, and opened his heart immediately and directly to the influences of the love of God and the communications of His Spirit. He wrote in Latin (Comp. *Engelhardt*, Rich. v. St. Victor u. Joh. Ruysbr. Erlang, 1838).—4. HERMANN OF FRITZLAR, a pious layman, who has left us a work on the *Life of the Saints*, which has lately been again edited (by *Fr. Pfeiffer*, in his "teutsche Myst. d. 14. Jahrh. Vol. I. Leips. 1845). In attractive language and with most affectionate simplicity, he endeavoured to show how the outward life of the saints reflected their inward purity. The book is entirely free from dead externalism, and is interspersed with explanations and remarks which breathe a deep mysticism and sublime speculation. 5. RULMAN MERSWIN (Meerschwein) a wealthy merchant and broker in Strassburg, who subsequently joined the "Friends of God," and gave his riches to benevolent objects. He bought an old forsaken cloister near the city, refitted it and gave it to the order of St. John. There he spent the rest of his days in pious contemplation and good works (*ob.* 1382). He is the author, as *K. Schmidt* (hist. theol. ztschr. 1839) has shown, of the "Buch von den neuen Felsen" found among Suso's

works. It is a complaint of a devout laymen over the decay of the Church, and the distractions of social life. Other writings by him are still unpublished. — 6. *Otto von Passau* a Franciscan of the 14th (some say 15th) century. He wrote a devotional book entitled, Die 24 Alten, oder der goldene Thron," which secured him a place among the German mystics, perhaps on a level with Suso. — 7. The unknown author of the tractate entitled THEOLOGIA GERMANICA, "a noble treatise, which setteth forth what Adam and what Christ is, and how Adam is to die and Christ to rise in us." The work treats principally of the incarnation of God in Christ, and the elevation of man by the Saviour. It was held in very high esteem by Luther, who published a new edition of it. (Transl. into Engl. by *Miss Winkworth*, with a Pref. by *Kingsley*.) — 8. JOHN STAUPITZ, Vicar-General of the Augustine Order in Germany, and the spiritual father of Luther. Himself a warm admirer of the German Mystics, he succeeded in awakening similar sentiments among the members of his order. But he felt unequal to the contest on which Luther entered, and accordingly retired into a Benedictine monastery at Salzburg, where he died in 1524.

3. Even in the case of Suso, speculative mysticism had assumed a more practical cast. This change was finally completed by the "Brethren of the Common Life" (§ 112, 6). Most distinguished among their writers was THOMAS A KEMPIS (*ob.* 1471). According to their views, the whole life, all thinking, knowledge, and action, were to spring from love to God, and to manifest themselves in the way of growing sanctification. Thomas a Kempis was the author of many tractates; the well-known book on the *Imitation of Christ* is generally ascribed to him. With the exception of the Bible, perhaps no other work has so frequently been reprinted, or translated into so many languages, nor has any other been perused by so many persons of all ranks and creeds. (Comp. *J. P. Silbert*, Gersen, Gerson u. Kempis, welcher ist d. Verf. etc. — who is the author, etc. — Vienna, 1828. *Ullman*, in the "Stud. u. Kritt." for 1843. I. *G. Vert*, Etudes his. sur l'Imit. de J. C. Toul. 1957. *B. Bähring*, Th. v. Kempen. Berl. 1849.)

IV. REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS.

§ 118. THE REFORMATION IN HEAD AND MEMBERS.

The desire for a reformation in head and members continued to exist throughout the whole of this period, down to the Reformation, and even beyond it. It had found utterance in the reformatory Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle; but the

utter failure of all such attempts, however sincere and energetic, and however wide the sympathies they commanded, proves that they started from a wrong principle. While recognizing that these councils kept themselves entirely free from all sectarian tendencies, and honestly endeavoured not to destroy but to reform the Church from within, we cannot shut our eyes to the manifest defects of those movements. Foremost among them we place the circumstance, that they aimed after a reformation only in *head* and *members*, not in *spirit;* an attempt which may be compared to the pruning of wild branches, while that which in times past caused, and would still promote their growth, is left untouched. In truth, it was never intended to abolish more than the most grievous oppressions, and certain gross outward scandals — such as the assumptions of the hierarchy, the exactions of the Papacy, and the dissoluteness of the clergy. But these councils entered not on questions of doctrine; despite their corruption, the Romish interpretation of dogmas was universally acknowledged. Nor was it understood that any genuine renovation could only proceed from the preaching of repentance and from a devout acknowledgment of the doctrine of justification by faith in him who justifieth the ungodly. Hence it was that the reformers of Constance condemned to the stake a *Huss*, who had pointed out and endeavoured to apply this the only true lever of a genuine reformation; hence, also, the fathers of Basle hesitated not to proclaim "the Immaculate Conception" as an article of catholic faith. The miscarriage of all these attempts must, therefore, not be ascribed to outward obstacles, either at Pisa or Constance, such as, that before addressing themselves to the work of reformation the fathers proceeded to the choice of a new Pope, who afterwards prevented any genuine reformation. On the contrary, the circumstance that the members of these councils refused to address themselves to a reformation of the Church till they had given it a head, is rather an honourable testimony to their conscientiousness; but even had it been otherwise, their defective principles would have led to the same result. On this ground also we can understand why the ablest men in the Council of Basle gradually retired from it in despair, and, like *Nicholas of Cusa*, again embraced the phantom of papal supremacy, which, under a Gregory and an Innocent, had proved so powerful an instrument of reform. However clearly they discerned that all such attempts as were made by councils had

proved abortive, they failed to perceive the real cause of this, and hence once more clung to the Papacy as the sole anchor of hope.

1. *French Reformers.* — The desire for a reformation of the Church in head and members was chiefly fostered by the great representatives of the University of Paris. Among these divines we mention:

(1.) Peter d'Ailly, Chancellor of the University of Paris, from 1396 Bishop of Cambray, and from 1411 also a cardinal (*ob.* 1425). In many respects he still adhered to the scholastic method, and even wrote a commentary on Lombardus, while at the same time he endeavoured to give a biblical basis to his favourite science.

(2.) John Charlier of Gerson (a little village near Rheims), Doctor Christianissimus, the pupil and successor of d'Ailly at Paris (*ob.* 1429). He strenuously insisted that a General Council was superior to the Pope, — a principle which, in his opinion, was absolutely necessary for any genuine reformation. Nor was he merely alive to outward defects in the Church; on the contrary, he was wont to appeal to the Bible as the only source and rule of Christian knowledge, and contended against the abuse of the doctrine of indulgences, and the multiplication of saints and festivals. Still he would have withheld the Scriptures in the vernacular from the laity, and branded every one as an heretic who did not implicitly receive the interpretation which the Church gave of a passage. Gerson was deeply impressed with the desirableness of combining mysticism with scholasticism. His own mysticism, however, was rather practical than speculative.—(Comp. *C. Schmidt*, Essai sur J. Gerson. Par. 1839. — *D. Mettenleiter*, J. Gerson u. s. Zeit. Augsb. 1857; and the Essays on G.'s Mystic. by *Liebner* in the "Stud. u. Kritt. for 1835. II., by *Hundeshagen* in *Ilgen's* Journal IV., and by *Engelhardt; Thomassy*, Jean Gerson. Par. 1843; *Dr. J. H. Schwab* (Rom. Cath.), Joh. Gerson, e. Monogr. Würzb. 1859).

(3.) Nicholas of Clemangis, Rector of the University of Paris, from which he retired into solitude (*ob.* about 1440). Of all divines in the Church he perceived most clearly existing abuses, and most fully recognized the authority of the Scriptures as the rule of belief and of judgment. — Comp. *A. Müntz*, Nic. de Clémanges, sa vie et ses écrits. Strasb. 1846.

(4.) Louis d'Allemand, Cardinal and Archbishop of Arles, the ablest and most eloquent member of the anti-papal party at Basle. He was excommunicated and deposed by Eugenius IV. But when the Council of Basle made subjection, Pope Nicholas V. restored him, and in 1527 Clement VII. even allowed the faithful to *venerate him as a saint.*

2. *The Friends of Reform in Germany.* — A considerable time before the appearance of the French reformers, a German, *Henry of Langenstein*, near Marburg (*Henricus de Hassia*), had insisted that princes

and prelates should summon a General Council in order to put an end to the papal schism, and to initiate a reformation in the Church. His work, "Consilium pacis de unione ac reformatione ecclesiæ in concilio universali," appeared in 1381. It contained a humbling, but unfortunately too correct account of the desolate state of the Church. The monasteries he designated "prostibula meretricum," and the cathedral churches "speluncæ raptorum et latronum." He taught first at Paris, and from 1381 in Vienna, where he died (1397), as rector of the University. (Cf. *O. Hartwig*, Henr. de Langenst. dictus de Hassia Zwei Unterss. Marb. 1858.)—2. *Theodore of Niem* (Neheim) was secretary to Gregory IX., with whom he went from France to Rome. Afterwards he became Bishop of Verdun, and died in 1417, as Bishop of Cambray, during the sittings of the Council of Constance, of which he was a member. His writings, which have not yet received sufficient attention, are of the greatest importance for the history of the schism and of the Council. Throughout, his language is bold and unsparing.—3. *Gregory of Heimburg*. He attended the Council of Basle, as secretary to Æneas Sylvius, who at the time was still attached to the reforming party. But his violent opposition to papal assumptions caused such excitement, that Æneas deemed it prudent to dismiss his secretary. He afterwards became Syndic of Nurnberg, and in 1459 attended the Council of Mantua, as ambassador of the Emperor Sigismund. Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) excommunicated him, from which time he wandered about from place to place, the victim of papal persecutions. He died at Dresden, in 1472. His writings were collected and published at Frankfort, in 1608, under the title, "Scripta nervosa justitiæque plena." On the relation between Æneas and Gregory compare also *G. Pfizer*, d. Deutsche u. d. Welsche (the German and the Ital.). Stuttg. 1844.—4. *Nicholas of Cusa*, near Treves (his real name was Chryfftz = crab). He attended the Council of Basle, as Archdeacon of Lieges, spoke and wrote in defence of the principles of that Council (de concordantia catholica Ll. III.); but afterwards joined the papal party, was rewarded with the episcopal see of Brixen, where he died a cardinal in 1464. Against the abuses of the scholastic method he wrote three books, "de docta ignorantia." (Comp. *F. A. Scharpff*, d. kirchl. u. lit. Wirken d. Nic. v. Cusa (the Eccl. and Lit. Labours of N. of C.). Vol. I. May. 1843.—*J. M. Düx*, d. deutsche Card. Nic. v. Cusa u. d. Kirche s. Zeit. Regensb. 1847. 2 Vols.)[24]

3. *Italy* also contributed to the Council of Basle one who at least for a time appeared to be a reformer. *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini* was among the most determined opponents of Eugenius IV. He wrote a history of the Council of Basle, couched in a violent, anti-papal spirit, and became secretary of Felix, the Pontiff whom that Council elected. But in 1442 he entered the service of the Emperor Frederic III., became poet laureate and imperial counsellor. In this capacity he displayed considerable diplomatic skill in bringing about *the Concordat*

of Frankfort in 1446, by which a reconciliation was effected between Pope Eugenius and the German princes. Ten years afterwards Calixtus IV. nominated him cardinal, and in 1458 he was elevated to the papal see, as Pius II. His poetic effusions are full of most indecent passages, and his former lasciviousness continued even after his accession to the see of Peter. (Cf. *K. R. Hagenbach*, Erinner. an Æn. Sylv. Picc. Bas. 1840.)

§ 119. ATTEMPTS AT EVANGELICAL REFORMATION.

While the divines of Paris attacked the glaring abuses of the Papacy, a more hopeful movement had commenced in *England* (especially by WYCLIFFE) and *Bohemia* (especially by HUS). Not merely the outward corruptions of the Church, but their hidden causes, were to be exposed and removed. Another distinctive feature of this Reformation was, that it addressed itself to the people rather than to the learned, and aimed at enlisting their sympathies and convictions. For the first time also was it understood and proclaimed, more or less distinctly, that a genuine reformation must be based on that great doctrine of justification by faith, which had at first been the corner stone of the Church. It is on *this* ground that Wycliffe and Hus have frequently been represented as the precursors of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. However correct in some respects the statement, there was a vast difference between these men and the reformers of the sixteenth century. Not to speak of the comparatively small success of their labours, which in part may have been due to the circumstance that the fulness of time for such comprehensive reforms had not yet come, they failed by adopting some heretical (spiritualistic) elements, which conflicted with the idea and true character of the Church, whilst the German Reformation either shunned such errors, or gradually excluded them. Virtually acknowledging no other than the invisible Church, they failed in establishing a visible community; while in their aims after excessive purity and simplicity, they disconnected themselves not only from the past, but even from the present. Of the two reformers whom we have mentioned, Hus was more a man of the people than Wycliffe. If his views were less philosophical, and his system less developed, his aims were more practical and popular (by preaching justification by faith), and more fully directed towards inward and spiritual renovation than those of his great English teacher. —These tendencies were not confined to England

or Bohemia. A similar movement sprung up in other lands, especially in the Low Countries. In this case also submission to the Scriptures, and faith in the crucified Saviour, as the ground of salvation, were regarded as the only principles capable of achieving a genuine reformation. Like *Hus and Wycliffe*, those divines adopted the theological system of St. Augustine, but their activity was more quiet, confined to narrower circles, and rather *theological* than popular. Even in *Italy* a reformer appeared. Thoroughly imbued with evangelical sentiments, *Savonarola* exercised during his brief public career a most precious influence upon his countrymen.

1. *Wycliffe and the Wycliffites.* — (COMP. *J. Lewis*, Hist. of the Life and Sufferings of J. Wycliffe. Oxf. 1820. — *R. Vaughan*, J. de Wycliffe, a Monograph. Lond. 1853. — *O. Jäger*, J. Wyc. u. s. Bedentung für d. Reform. Halle 1854. — *G. Weber*, Gesch. d. akathol. Kirchen u. Secten v. Grossbrit. Leips. 1845. Vol. I. — *F. A. Lewald*, d. theol. Doctrin. J. Wyc. in the "Zeitsch. für hist. Theol." for 1846. II.–IV.; and in the same Journal for 1853. III. 1854. II. — *G. V. Lechler*, Wyc. u. d. Lollarden, and "Hist. of Engl. and France under the House of Lancaster." Lond 1852. — (A number of W.'s treatises have of late been reprinted.) — The kings and parliament of England had been long resisting the oppressive yoke of the papal hierarchy; and such men as *John of Salisbury*, *Robert Greathead*, *Roger Bacon*, and *Thomas of Bradwardine*, had lifted their voices against the inner corruptions of the Church. JOHN WYCLIFFE, a pupil of Bradwardine, was born 1324. As a fellow of the university of Oxford, which was then involved in a controversy with the mendicant monks, Wycliffe appeared in 1360 against these monks, and in 1366 in defence of the English crown against the demands of the papal court (then at Avignon), for feudal imposts. This secured for him the favour of the English court, which conferred the doctorate upon him, appointed him professor of theology in Oxford, and, 1374, placed him on an embassy to the pope to effect an adjustment of existing difficulties. Then he learned, by immediate observation, how corrupt the papacy was. After his return, he spoke and wrote openly against the papal "Antichrist" and its system. *Gregory XI.* condemned (1377), nineteen points in his writings, but the English court protected him against punishment. Wycliffe became more bold, formed societies of pious men to preach the Gospel among the people, (their enemies called them *Lollards*), and translated the Bible (from the Vulgate), into English. By this time the anger of his enemies had reached its height. He now assailed transubstantiation, and revived Berengar's view of the Lord's Supper; the university expelled him, and a synod at London condemned his works and doctrines as heretical (1382). The court and Parliament could only protect his person. He

retired to the parish of Lutterworth, and there died (1384). His adherents, including many eminent and educated persons (among the masses he found but little sympathy), were violently persecuted. The Council of Constance condemned anew forty-five points in his writings, and commanded his corpse to be disinterred, burnt, and scattered. But much of the seed he sowed was preserved until, in the Reformation, it sprang up and bloomed with greater purity and power.—In the last years of his compulsory leisure, Wycliffe wrote his chief work, the *Trialogus*, in which he fully sets forth his theological views. As the fundamental principle of all theology and of a reformation, he maintained that the Holy Scriptures are the only source and rule of all religious knowledge. But in rejecting all ecclesiastical tradition as a mere human invention, he went beyond the limits of evangelical consideration, and failed to distinguish between normal and abnormal developments. Agreeably to his principle he renounced the worship of relics and images, the use of the Latin language, the chanting of the priests, the numerous festivals, private masses, extreme unction, and in general all ceremonies. He pronounced the Catholic doctrine of indulgences, as well as bans and interdicts, blasphemous; auricular confession, violence done to the conscience; and the power of the keys conditional, and its application impotent unless in harmony with the law of Christ. He denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, and affirmed, with Berengar, a communication of its power, which was not only dependent on the faith of the recipient, but also on the worthiness of the administering priest. The doctrine of purgatory he wholly rejected. He held predestination in the rigid form of his teacher, Bradwardine. He maintained that the papacy was Antichrist, and that the pope obtained his power only from the emperor, not from God. For the hierarchical organization should be substituted the presbyterial form of government. Ordination imparts no ineradicable character; a priest guilty of a mortal sin cannot validly administer a sacrament. Every believer possesses a priestly character. To the state belongs the prerogative of representing Christ as the theanthropic ruler of the world; the clergy are merely to represent the poor suffering life of his humanity. Monasticism is a monster, &c.

2. *The Bohemian Reformers before Hus.* — (Comp. *J. P. Jordan*, d. Vorläufer d. Hussitenth. in Böhmen (the Precursors of H. in Bohemia. Leips. 1846.—*A. Zitte*, Lebensbeschr. d. drei Vorl. d. Joh. Hus. Prague 1786.—*F. Palacky*, Gesch. v. Böhmen. Vol. III., pp. 157, etc.) — It will be remembered that the *Bohemian* Church had been founded by missionaries from the East, and not from the West. The peculiar direction which it got at first was never wholly lost; and though, at a later period, the Romish order and liturgy had been introduced, they were not received without opposition or grudge. In Bohemia the founder of the Waldenses had spent the last years of his life; and

there, at a later period, a number of his adherents had found an asylum when driven from the valleys of Piedmont. The great stronghold of the Papacy in Bohemia was the University of Prague (founded in 1348). Most of its chairs were occupied by the mendicants, who were of course zealous defenders of hierarchical principles; while the arrangement of the members of the University into four nations, of whom each had one vote (Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Poland), prevented anything like a national and independent movement on the part of the Bohemians. Nor was it unimportant, in reference to the religious history of the country, that the controversy between Realism and Nominalism raged more violently at Prague than elsewhere, and that there also Realism was regarded as suspicious, while Nominalism was considered the great bulwark of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. (Wycliffe also was a Realist, but the Paris Reformers were zealous Nominalists.) Even before the time of Hus, three earnest preachers had prepared the way by their evangelical sermons and by their pastoral labours among the people. These were *Conrad of Waldhausen* (*ob.* 1369), *John Milicz* *ob.* 1374), and *Matthias of Janov* (*ob.* 1394). Milicz seems to have had the clearest insight into evangelical truth, while Janov was loudest in his denunciations of ecclesiastical abuses. All three gathered vast audiences around them. In 1367 MILICZ went to Rome to bear testimony against ecclesiastical corruptions in the capital of Christendom. He was soon silenced in a prison; but either Pope *Urban V.*, who had just returned from Avignon, or the good offices of some other friends, procured his liberation. Fresh persecutions awaited him on his return to Bohemia. His opponents accused him of heresy before Pope *Gregory XI.* Milicz successfully defended his orthodoxy at Avignon, whither he had gone to plead his cause in person. JANOV has left two tractates, "De sacerdotum et monachorum abhorrenda abominatione desolationis in ecclesia Christi," and "De Antichristo," which contain a withering exposure of the degenerate hierarchy, clergy, and monks of his time. His hearers he warned against trusting in their own works, or attaching value to mere ceremonies. Janov cherished the conviction that, according to Christ's appointment, the laity should receive the cup as well as the bread in the Eucharist; but, in obedience to his ecclesiastical superiors, he had yielded the point. The statement, however, wants historical confirmation.

3. *Hus and Jerome.* — (Comp. *A. Zitte*, Lebensbeschr. d. Joh. Hus. Prague, 1799. 2 Vols. — *A. Zürn*, J. Hus auf d. Concil zu Kotnitz. Leips. 1836.—*L. Köhler*, J. Hus u. seine Zeit. Leips. 1846. 3 Vols.— *J. A. Helfert*, Hus u. Hieron. Prague, 1853. — *L. Heller*, Hieron. v. Prag. Tüb. 1835. — *F. Palacky*, Gesch. v. Böhmen. Vol. III. — *John Hus*, of Husinecz, was born in 1369. From 1398 he occupied the chair of Philosophy in the University of Prague. Even before his public appearance, he had passed through deep personal experiences, realizing his own sinfulness, and ultimately finding peace and comfort

in the Word of God and in a cordial reception of the crucified Saviour. These truths became a source of new life to him, and them he proclaimed when called in 1402 to officiate as preacher in the *Bethlehem Chapel* at Prague, which was founded for the special purpose of giving the people an opportunity of hearing the Gospel in the vernacular Hitherto Hus had only been superficially acquainted with the writings of Wycliffe, whose views on the Eucharist he rejected. But when *Jerome of Prague*, a Bohemian knight, returned from Oxford an enthusiastic adherent of Wycliffe, he persuaded his friend to examine more fully the writings and opinions of the British Reformer. Jerome was a man of brilliant talents, ardently attached to what he believed the truth, and burning with a zeal which bordered on enthusiasm, but deficient in that moderation and prudence for which Hus was so distinguished. The charge of sharing Wycliffe's views was first brought against Hus in 1404, when two young English divines, pupils of Wycliffe, being persecuted in Prague for their advocacy of their teacher's tenets, exhibited a number of pictures, by way of showing the striking contrast between the poverty of Christ and His apostles, and the pomp and luxury of the Pope and his cardinals. Hus disapproved of the conduct of the young men, although he admitted the truth of the contrast presented. The Bohemian members of the University took the same view of the question; the Germans and Poles the opposite. As the foreigners commanded three votes in the University against the one of the Bohemians, a resolution was published in 1408, by which forty-five propositions of Wycliffe were formally condemned. But this state of matters was not to continue. In 1409 the national party prevailed on *Wenceslaus*, the King, to issue an order to the effect that in future the Bohemian nation should have three votes, and the other nations, combined, only *one*. The foreigners (teachers and students numbering, according to the lowest estimate, 5000) immediately left Prague, and founded the University of Leipsig. The party of Hus became dominant in Bohemia, but all the more unpopular in foreign countries, and the charge of Wycliffism was generally preferred against its leader. About the same time Hus became also more earnest and energetic in his denunciations of ecclesiastical and clerical abuses. *Sbynko*, Archbishop of Prague, now laid an accusation against him in Rome, and prohibited his preaching in the Bethlehem Chapel. But the populace openly insulted the Archbishop in the streets, while Hus appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed. The Bohemian Reformer was wont to declare that he received not implicitly all the statements of Wycliffe, but distinguished in them between truth and error, and that he was prepared to retract the moment he should be convinced from Scripture of his error. The Pope cited him to Rome; but, on the intercession of the King and the University, a temporary truce was concluded between Hus and the Archbishop of Prague Other occasions of dissension soon arose. In 1412 John XXIII. pro-

claimed a crusade against Naples, which was also preached in Bohemia. Against this daring presumption Hus protested by pen and voice; while Jerome, in his indignation, even ventured to burn the Pope's bull at the public pillory. The Pope now excommunicated Hus, and laid Prague under the interdict, so long as it sheltered the Reformer (1413). Hus appealed to the tribunal of Jesus Christ, and retired from Prague to his birthplace. Meantime the Council of Constance had been summoned. There the cause of Hus was to be finally settled. At the request of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and furnished by him with a safe-conduct, the Reformer went (1414) to Constance, fully persuaded of the justice of his cause, and prepared, if necessary, to suffer martyrdom. On his first examination Hus was immediately committed to prison. The Bohemian nobles who had accompanied him to Constance appealed to the Emperor, who was on his way to that city. The Emperor sent an order to restore Hus to liberty, which was not obeyed; and a deputation from the Council persuaded the weak monarch, that since Hus was at the bar of the Council on the charge of heresy, he was beyond imperial protection. For seven months the Reformer was tortured by private examinations. At length a public audience was granted him (in June, 1415). But he was not allowed to proceed to the discussion of controverted points: the Council insisted on simple and unqualified retractation. The humility, meekness, and gentleness of the Reformer, his enthusiasm and confidence, gained him friends even in the Council. From all sides, and by every kind of motive, he was pressed to yield. These well-meant persuasions proved as ineffectual as the threats of his enemies. On the 6*th July*, his forty-sixth birthday, a solemn oration was delivered in the cathedral on Romans vi. 6, after which Hus was stripped of his priestly robes, handed over to the secular power, and led to the stake. Amid prayer and praise he expired, joyously and confidently, one of the numerous company of martyrs who with their blood have sealed a good confession. — *Jerome* of Prague, the friend of Hus, had also appeared at Constance, though unsummoned. Perceiving that a longer stay could be of no use to his friend and only exposed himself to a similar fate, he left the town, but was captured by the way, and brought back in chains (April, 1415). Half a year spent in a loathsome prison, and the continuous solicitations of his judges, induced him in an hour of weakness to recant, and to acknowledge the sentence pronounced against Hus. But notwithstanding his recantation, he was still distrusted and kept in durance. Jerome soon recovered himself. He requested a public audience before the whole Council, which was granted him in May, 1416. He now publicly and formally retracted his former recantation, and confounded the Council by his eloquence and moral earnestness. On the 30th May, 1416, he died at the stake, full of courage and joy.

The Doctrinal Views of Hus, most clearly expressed in his tractate "de ecclesia," had but *one* error. Adopting the predestinarian views

of St. Augustine, he regarded the Church as the totality of the predestinate, and argued that only the predestinate could savingly *dispense* the sacraments. This view annuls the objective power of the Church: its nature, significance and office are evaporated; it is deprived of every thing like a firm basis. An error so fundamental, which Hus shared with Wycliffe, rendered him incompetent to be a reformer, notwithstanding his moral purity and power and the fulness of his evangelical knowledge. A reformation based on such fundamental principles would be apt to degenerate into sectarianism or fanaticism. In all other respects his teaching was excellent, and thoroughly evangelical. In regard to the Lord's Supper he differed decidedly from Wycliffe, and adhered to the doctrine of the real presence, yea even to transubstantiation. — We are scarcely surprised that the Council of Constance, though led by a *Gerson*, should have pronounced sentence of death on such a man. Other reasons also led to this result. The Fathers of Constance were chiefly Nominalists, and to them the Realism of Hus appeared the source of all his heresy; besides, the controversy in the University of Prague, and the decision of the king, which were chiefly attributed to him, had raised a prejudice in the minds of the Germans. Perhaps, also, his mistakes on the subject of the Church might appear to the Council more dangerous than they really were; while all the other points, on which he advocated evangelical views, could not be appreciated by such an assembly as that of Constance. Lastly, Hus drew upon himself the enmity of both parties in the Council: the hierarchical party wished to deter its opponents by showing that the Church still possessed the power of burning heretics, while the liberal party withdrew its protection, from apprehension that any suspicion of sharing the heretical views of Hus might endanger the success of their reformatory attempts.—The story, frequently related, that in his last moments Hus uttered the prediction, "To-day you roast a goose (in Slavonian = Hus), but from mine ashes will arise a swan (the armorial device of Luther), whom you will not be able to destroy," is entirely apocryphal. It probably originated during the time of the Reformation, from the circumstance that the two martyrs had appealed to the judgment of God of history. *Hus* predicted that, instead of the weak goose, strong eagles and falcons would soon come; while *Jerome* summoned his unjust judges to answer within a hundred years before the highest tribunal.

4. *The Hussites.* — Comp. *Z. Theobald*, Hussitenkrieg. 3d Ed. Bresl. 1750. 4. — *Lenfant*, Hist. de la guerre des Huss. 2 T. 4. Supplém. par *Beausobre*. Laus. 1745. — *F. Palacky, u. s.*). — During the imprisonment of Hus, *Jacobus of Misa* (Jacobellus) had acted as leader of the Hussites. By advice of a Waldensian (*Peter of Dresden*), and with the approbation of Hus, he dispensed to the laity the cup in the Eucharist. In consequence of this, a violent controversy broke out between the divines of Prague and those of Constance, about the lawfulness of with

holding the cup. On the proposal of Gerson, the Council resolved that any one who refused to submit in this matter to the Church, should be treated as a heretic. This and the execution of Hus raised popular feeling in Bohemia to the highest pitch. In the midst of the excitement which ensued, King Wenceslaus died in 1419, and the estates refused to acknowledge his brother, the "perjured" Emperor Sigismund. For sixteen years a civil war raged, which, in bitterness and cruelty on both sides, has rarely been equalled. The Hussites, who had built the fortified town of *Tabor* on the top of a steep mountain, were commanded by the one-eyed *Ziska*. The armies of crusaders successively summoned against the Bohemians were defeated and annihilated. But the mild evangelical spirit of Hus had forsaken the great majority of his adherents, who were divided among themselves. Two parties became more and more decidedly arrayed against each other. The (aristocratic) CALIXTINES (from calix = cup) or *Utraquists* (sub utraque, *i. e.*, under both forms), which were headed by *Rokycana*, the Bishop-elect of Prague, would have been satisfied if the Catholic Church had conceded their four articles (1. The Eucharist under both forms; 2. The free preaching of the Gospel in the vernacular; 3. Strict discipline among the clergy; 4. That the clergy should not possess secular property). But the (democratic) TABORITES refused to come to any terms with the Catholic Church. They laid down the principle, that whatever in government, doctrine, and worship could not be proved from Scripture, should be implicitly rejected, and thus, by ignoring all historical development, strayed into fanaticism, iconoclasm, and other extravagances. After the death of Ziska (of pestilence in 1424), the majority of the Taborites chose *Procopius* the Great his successor. A minority, which deemed no man worthy to succeed their departed leader, separated from Procopius, and took the name of "Orphans." Meantime the Council of Basle had assembled; and, after much fruitless negotiation, succeeded in 1433 in inducing the Hussites to send 300 deputies to Basle. The discussion on the four Calixtine articles lasted for fifty days, after which the Council conceded them, although with restriction. On the ground of these *Basle Compactates*, as they were called, the Calixtines returned, at least nominally, to the allegiance of the Church. The Taborites regarded this as a betrayal of the truth. Part of them once more tried the fate of arms, but were defeated and scattered at *Böhmischbrod*, near Prague, in 1434. The Emperor Sigismund confirmed the Compactates, and was acknowledged king. As might have been expected, small as were these concessions, they were continually ignored, and violated both by Church and State. Sigismund died in 1437, and was succeeded by his infant grandson *Ladislaus*, the government being administered by *George Podiebrad*, a zealous and able Calixtine. After the death of Ladislaus in 1457, George Podiebrad became king. He adhered closely to the compactates. He was acknowledged by *Pius II.*, in the hope of his joining

the projected war against the Turks. When this hope failed, the Pontiff in 1462 went so far as even to disown the Compactates. *Paul II.* excommunicated the king, and had a crusade preached against him. But the crusade did not succeed, and George maintained himself till his death in 1471. His successor, *Uladislaus*, a Polish prince, though a Roman Catholic, favoured the Calixtines. But their day was past. A wretched remnant of them furtively obtained at times the use of the cup, but, in the sixteenth century they wholly disappeared.

5. *The Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.* — (Comp. *Jaoch. Camerarii*, hist. narratio de fratr. orthod. ecclesiis in Bohem., Moravia et Polonia. Heidelb. 1605.—*J. Amos Comenius*, hist. fratrum Bohemorum, c. præf. Fr. Buddei. Hall. 1702. 4. — *G. C. Rieger*, d. alt. u. neuen böhm. Brüder. 24. St. Züllich. 1734, etc. — *G. W. K. Lochner*, Entsteh. u. erste Schicks. d. Brüdergem. in Böhm. u. Mähr. — Orig. and Early Hist. of the "Brethren." — Nürnb. 1832. — *A. Köppen*, Kirchenordn. u. Disciplin. d. hussit. Brüderk. in Böhm. u. Mähr. Leips. 1845. — *A. Gindely*, Böhmen u. Mahren im Zeitalter d. Reformation. 2 Vols. Prague 1857–58. — *A. Edersheim*, Bohemian Reformers and German Politicians, in the "Free Ch. Essays." Edinb. 1858). —In 1453, *George Podiebrad* took Tabor, and scattered the last remnants of the *Taborites*. Purified by their misfortunes, they gradually returned to evangelical views. *Peter of Chelcic*, (Cheltschiz), a Taborite friend of God, was the central point of their communion, and George Podiebrad, at Rokycana's recommendation, directed them to occupy the village of Kunwald, on his hereditary estates. There, under the guidance of *Michael v. Bradacz*, the minister of Senfftenberg, they organized themselves (1457), as the UNITAS FRATRUM, and assumed the name of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren. But in 1461 Podiebrad withdrew his favour, and drove them from his estates. They fled to the forests, and held their worship in caves, (also called *Picards*). In 1467, the most influential of them in Bohemia and Moravia met at the Bohemian village, *Lhota*, and in order to provide for the want of pastors, chose, by lot, three brethren as priests. Michael Bradacz then went to the Bohemian bishop of the Waldenses, and was ordained by him; on his return, he ordained the three brethren chosen at Lhota, *Mathias of Kunwald* as bishop, the other two as priests. Thus the apostolic succession of the episcopate was secured. Rokycana, embittered by this act, excited more violent persecutions against them. Still the communion was so much increased by the accession of Waldenses in Bohemia and others, that at the commencement of the sixteenth century it embraced nearly 200 churches and houses for prayer in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland. Under *Uladislaus*, to whom they submitted an apology in 1508, persecutions against them abated. They sent the same apology to *Erasmus*, in 1511, with the request that he would furnish them with his opinion upon it. Erasmus declined doing this. They hailed *Luther's* movement with hearty rejoicing. Repeated messengers were sent by

them to Luther, but were offended that he did not give as much pro minence as they desired to apostolic discipline.

6. *Reformers in the Low Countries.* — (Comp. *C. Ullmann,* Re formers before the Reform. Edinb. Clarks' For. Theol. Libr.). — Most of these reformers had learned in the school of the "Brethren of the Common Life." The following were the most celebrated among them:

(1.) JOHN PUPPER OF GOCH, prior of a cloister of canonesses at Malines which himself had founded (*ob.* 1475). From his writings (de libertate Christiana, de quatuor erroribus circa legem) we gather that he was a man of deep piety. His theology is entirely that of Augustine; he insists at great length that love, which constitutes the liberty of the children of God, forms the great subject-matter of theology, while the exclusive authority of Scripture affords the sole testing point of Christian truth. He also inveighed against legalism, work-righteousness, and all externalism in religion.

(2.) JOHN RUCHRATH OF WESEL, professor at Erfurt, then preacher at Mayence and Worms (*ob.* 1481). His theology was also cast in the mould of St. Augustine. He denied the power of the Pope to issue anathemas or to grant indulgences, and preached the doctrine of salvation by faith alone. In opposition to transubstantiation he maintained the doctrine of impanation; his views of the Church bordered on spiritualism. He wrote a tractate, "de jejunio," against ecclesiastical fasts; another, "de indulgentiis," against indulgences; and a third, "de potestate ecclesiastica," against the hierarchy. The Dominicans in Mayence accused and condemned him as a heretic. Bent by age and disease, he was prevailed upon to recant and to commit his writings to the flames, while he himself was condemned to imprisonment for life. His writings and those of Pupper are partially reprinted in *Fr. Walch's* Monumenta medii ævi. Gottg. 1757.

(3.) JOHN WESSEL, from Gröningen, educated by the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwoll, where Thomas a Kempis exercised considerable influence upon him. After having taught at Heidelberg for some years, he retired to the monastery on Mount St. Agnes near Zwoll, where he died in 1489. His friends called him "Lux Mundi." In rare measure he combined accomplishments so diverse as scholastic dialectics, mystic speculation, and thorough classical training. Luther said of him: "If I had read Wessel before I began, my opponents would have imagined that Luther had derived everything from Wessel —so entirely do we two agree in spirit." In *one* point, however, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he lost himself in a volatilizing spiritualism. The patronage of influential friends proved his safeguard from the Inquisition. Unfortunately, some of his numerous writings have been entirely suppressed through the exertions of the mendicants. An edition of those still extant has been published by Petrus Pappus (Groning. 1614) The most important of them, which bears the title "Farrago," consists of a collection of small but very interesting essays.

Along with these Netherland Reformers, before the reformation, *Nicholas Russ*, a priest of Rostock, (near the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century), merits honourable notice. From the catalogus testium veritatis of Flacius it was known that, in a work "De triplici funiculo," he zealously assailed the hierarchy, monasticism, indulgences, work-righteousness, the worship of relics and saints; also, that he kept up intimate intercourse with the Waldenses in Bohemia, had to endure much defamation and persecution on account of his reformatory efforts, and, finally, died as an exile in Livonia. His work above named, written in Low Dutch, of which many copies were printed, was also destroyed. But one of his friends rescued some copies by concealing them in a chest. Flacius intended to have it translated and printed in German, but did not accomplish it. From that time nothing was known of the book until, in 1850, *Julius Wiggers* discovered a copy in the library at Rostock, and published an abstract of it in the Hist. Theol. Ztschr. of Niedner 1850, II. It is entitled: "Von dem Strick, oder den drei Strängen;" for in order to draw men from the pit of destruction a cord is necessary, and this, to be sufficiently strong, must be composed of three strands: faith, hope, and love. These are then minutely described. Thus the book furnishes a complete guide to the Christian's faith and life, with severe assaults upon the degenerate doctrines and morals of the Church of his age.

7. *An Italian Reformer.*—(Comp. *A. G. Rudelbach*, Hier. Savonarola u. seine Zeit. Hamb. 1835. — *F. C. Meier*, Girolamo Savon. Berl. 1836. — *K. Hase*, neue Propheten. Leips. 1851. — *F. T. Perrens*, Jérome Sav. Par. — a book to which the French Acad. awarded the 1st prize—2d Ed. 1857; transl. into Germ. by *Dr. Schröder*). — The reformation which Savonarola inaugurated in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century, was directed not only against ecclesiastical, but also against political abuses. It was this combination of different objects which proved fatal to himself and his work. Jerome Savonarola, a Dominican, had learned the truths of the Gospel from Scripture and from the writings of St. Augustine. These truths he now proclaimed at Florence (since 1489). His brilliant oratory, his bold and almost fanatical denunciations of the corruptions prevalent among clergy and laity, princes and people, attracted crowds around him. With intimate knowledge of the way of salvation, he combined a strange apocalyptic and prophetic turn. Many an obstinate sinner was aroused by having discovered his most secret sins, while some of his political predictions were fulfilled in the most remarkable manner. Savonarola soon became the idol of the people; and measures were taken to carry into practice not only the moral and religious, but also the political reformation which he had proposed. Florence was to become the capital of a new democratic theocracy. What his enemies, especially Pope Alexander, could not effect by the offer of a cardinal's hat, was accomplished by the folly of a fickle populace. For a time political complications in

Italy became more unfavourable, and seemed to run counter to some of his predictions, while a famine desolated the land. The nobility and the loose young men of Florence had always been his bitter enemies; popular opinion also now began to turn against him. The Pope had chosen the right moment to hurl his anathema against the reformer, and to lay the city which sheltered him under the interdict (1497). An excited mob made him prisoner; his most bitter enemies were his judges. He was condemned to the stake as a heretic and a seducer of the people. Savonarola submitted to his doom in child-like confidence on Him who had died for him (1498). Among the heresies laid to his charge, was that of having taught the doctrine of justification by faith. — (Comp. *G. Rapp*, die erweckl. Schriften (the Popul. Relig. Treat.) d. Märtyr. H. Savon. Stuttg. 1839.

§ 120. THE SO-CALLED REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

Comp. *Heeren*, Gesch. d. class. Literat. im M. A. *Meiners*, Lebensbeschr. berühmt. Männer aus d. Zeit d. Wiederherst. d. Wiss. (Biogr. of Celebr. Men at the Time of the Reviv. of Learn.) Zur. 1775. 2 Vols. —*H. A. Erhard*, Gesch. d. Wiederaufbl. d. wiss. Bild. (Hist. of the Reviv. of Learn.) Magd. 1827–32. 3 Vols.

The classical literature of ancient Greece and Rome was not so entirely neglected during the Middle Ages as is supposed. On the contrary, frequent and successful attempts had been made throughout that period to introduce such studies. Such monarchs as *Charlemagne*, *Charles the Bald*, *Alfred the Great*, and the *Otho's* of Germany, encouraged learned pursuits, and men like *Erigena*, *Gerbert*, *Roger Bacon*, and others, possessed a comparatively extensive knowledge of the classics. Nor must it be forgotten that the circle of classical literature was enlarged during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the labours of the Moors in Spain, and by frequent intercourse with Byzantine students. The founders of the national literature of Italy in the fourteenth century — *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccaccio* — were also the most zealous promoters of classical studies. Such pursuits received during the fifteenth cent. a very great impulse. If, during the meeting of the Greeks and Italians at the Council of Florence in 1439 (§ 67, 6), a fresh interest had been awakened in the study of the classics, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 afforded the opportunity of greatly increasing, and at the same time of fully gratifying it. A large number of learned men from Byzantium sought refuge in Italy; they found an enthusiastic reception in Rome, and also especially by the

generous princes of the House of Medici. The art of printing, discovered in 1440, had already rendered the treasures of classical antiquity generally accessible. But this immigration gave a *new direction* as well as a fresh impulse to classical studies. If during the Middle Ages they had almost exclusively been employed for ecclesiastical and theological purposes, they were now prosecuted for their own sakes, and as the basis of that general culture expected in educated men (hence the name HUMANISMUS, and the term "Humanity," still used in English colleges). Humanism renounced the service of the Church; gradually it assumed a posture of indifference and of proud disdain towards Christianity. Many of its votaries even strayed into the worship of heathen antiquity. With superstition, faith was also derided; sacred history and Greek mythology were placed on the same level. From all parts the youth of Europe crowded to Italy, to draw in its academies from the newly opened springs. On their return they brought with them and spread around an ardent zeal for classical lore. Happily the infidelity with which it was too frequently conjoined in Italy, did not make such rapid progress in other countries. In Germany these studies were chiefly cultivated by the "Brethren of the Common Life," who succeeded in adapting the new weapons to the service of theology and of the Church. This school gave birth to many of the coadjutors of the Lutheran reformation. — It will be understood, that to a certain extent the sympathies of the Humanists must have gone with those who sought to reform the Church. They joined them in their opposition to the absurdities of scholasticism, to superstition, monasticism, and other abuses. But while agreed in their aversion to the prevailing state of things, both the grounds on which, and the manner in which, they carried on the contest, were widely different. The Reformers opposed abuses because they were contrary to Scripture, and led away from the great object of faith; the Humanists, because such views agreed not with those of heathen antiquity. The Reformers contended with weapons drawn from the Word of God, and for the highest of all objects — the salvation of souls; the Humanists, with shafts of wit and satire, content if they secured earthly well-being. In truth, the despised schoolmen and the derided monks were not always in the wrong in their opposition to the Humanists. A reformation of the Church, accomplished by them alone, would speedily have landed in heathenism. But

under the direction of men of genuine piety, the revival of classical learning opened a rich and till then unknown source of philological, philosophical, and general knowledge, without which the faithful translation and interpretation of the Scriptures, and consequently that revision of dogmatics which marked the Reformation of the sixteenth century, could not have been accomplished so rapidly, so comprehensively, or so safely.

1. *The Italian Humanists.* Comp. (*Dittmar*) Die Humanisten u. das Evangelium, in the Erland. "Zeitschr. für Protestsm. u. K." July and Oct. 1855.—Italy was the great nursery of Humanism, and the Greeks who emigrated thither were its parents. The first Greek who taught in that country was *Emanuel Chrysoloras* (1396). After the Council of Florence Bessarion and Gemistius Pletho settled in Italy, and being warm admirers of the Platonic philosophy, brought it into vogue in the land of their adoption. After 1453 a large number of literary men from the East sought an asylum in Rome and Florence. From their seminaries classical learning and heathen ideas spread over Italy. They found access even among the highest members of the hierarchy. Even though the well-known saying ascribed to Leo X., "Of what advantage this fable about Christ has been to us and ours is sufficiently known to all centuries," be not authentic, it affords an insight into the character and spirit animating the papal court. Cardinal Bembus, the private secretary of Leo, translated the realities of the Gospel into mythological equivalents, couched in classical Latin. Christ he called "Minervam e Jovis capite ortam," the Holy Ghost, "auram Zephyri cælestis," while he paraphrased forgiveness of sin as "Deos superosque manesque placare." So early as the meeting of the Council of Florence, Pletho had ventured to express an opinion, that Christianity would soon give place to a universal religion which would not greatly differ from heathenism. When Pletho died, *Bessarion* addressed a letter of consolation to his sons, telling them that their father had risen to purer and heavenly spheres, where he had joined the Olympic gods in their mystic, Bacchantic dances. The new *Platonic school*, which assembled in the gardens of the Medici, assigned to the philosophy of Plato a place much higher than to Christianity. A new *Peripatetic* school was also founded. Its great representative, Petro Pomponazzo (*ob.* 1526), openly declared, that from a philosophic point of view the immortality of the soul was more than doubtful. Another member of that school, the celebrated historian *Machiavelli*, introduced a system of politics entirely alien to the spirit of Christianity. Moral frivolity went hand in hand with religious laxity. The most obscene poetry and the most lascivious pictures circulated among the Humanists, and their practice was certainly no better than their theory. — In their public *declarations* the Italian Humanists were careful at least to ignore the Church and its doctrines, from fear of bringing down ven-

geance. Laurentius Valla, however, ventured, in his "Annotationes in Novum Testam." (afterwards edited by Erasmus), to point out a number of errors in the Vulgate. He even went further. Having proved on irrefragable historical evidence that the pretended donation of Constant. to the see of Rome was spurious (§ 82, 1), he inveighed against the ambition of the Papacy. Valla was summoned before the Inquisition, but escaped with a retraction. Nicholas V. suppressed the investigation, and by kindness attached him to the papal see. Valla was not, however, one of those Humanists who had lost all reverence for Christianity. He died in 1456 as papal secretary. — But the phœnix of that age was Johannes Picus *Prince of* Mirandola, who combined in himself all the nobler aspirations of the period. He was a courtier and a poet, a scholastic, a mystic, a cabbalist and a humanist, a historian, a mathematician, and an astronomer — and equally versed in classical and Oriental lore. During the last ten years of his brief career (he died at thirty years of age) he renounced the world and its pomp, and wholly devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures. He had intended to travel through Europe to preach Christ crucified, when death called him from the field of labour. Characteristic is his saying: Philosophia veritatem quærit, theologia invenit, religio possidet.

2. *The German Humanists.* (Comp. *C. A. Cornelius*, d. münster. Human. u. ihr Verh. zur Reform. — The Munster Hum. and their rel. to the Reform.—Münst. 1851. *K. Hagen*, Deutschlands liter. u. relig. Zustände im Zeitalter d. Reform. Erl. 1841. 3 Vols. *E. Th. Mayerhoff*, Joh. Reuchlin u. s. Zeit. Berl. 1830. *F. W. Kampfschulte*, die Univ. Erfurt in ihr. Verh. zum Humanism. u. zur Reform. 2 Bde, Trier. 1858. The universities of *Heidelberg* and *Erfurt* were the chief seats of German Humanism. — Rudolph Agricola of Heidelberg, a pupil and associate of Wessel and Kempis (*ob.* 1482), may be designated the father of German Humanism. Most of his numerous pupils (*Alexander Hegius* at Deventer, *Rudolph Lange* at Münster, *Hermann Busch* at Wesel, and others) joined Luther's Reformation. The example set by *Maximilian I.* induced the princes and knights of the empire to take an interest in scientific and literary pursuits. After the death of Agricola, John Reuchlin (Capnio), a celebrated jurist, became the leader of the German Humanists (*ob.* 1522). He gave himself more especially to the study of the language of the Old Testament, which he prosecuted with the greatest zeal and with unsurpassed success. Well might he in 1506 conclude his "Rudimenta linguæ Hebraicæ" with the words of Horace, "Exegi monumentum, etc." The work has become the basis of all later studies in Hebrew philology. He also wrote a tractate on the difficult subject of the Hebrew accents (De acc. et orthogr. hebr. Ll. III.). His work, "de arte cabbalistica," treats of the secret philosophy of the Jews. Such was his interest in the Jews, with whom he had continual and intimate intercourse, that

in 1505 he published "an Open Letter to a Nobleman, why the Jews have so long been suffering" ("Tütsch Missiv an einen Junkherrn, warumb die Jüden so lang im Ellend sind"). In this tractate he offered to instruct any Jew in the Christian religion, and at the same time to provide for his temporal support. His predilection for Rabbinical studies involved him in a controversy, by which, however, his fame only spread over Germany and Europe. In 1509 one PFEFFERKORN, a baptized Jew at Cologne, called upon the Emperor Maximilian to order all Rabbinical writings to be burnt, on account of the blasphemies against Christ which they contained. When Reuchlin protested against this summary measure, Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans of Cologne fell upon the Humanist, who defended himself with stinging satire. *Jacob of Hoogstraten*, the Inquisitor of Cologne, cited him before his tribunal. Reuchlin appealed to Leo X. The commission of inquiry appointed by the Pope condemned the Dominicans to pay the expenses of the process (1514); the forcible collection of these 111 gold florins was a real labour of love and pleasure on the part of Knight *Francis of Sickingen* (1519). Meantime a number of able pens had been set in motion on behalf of Reuchlin. In 1516 the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum* appeared, professedly a correspondence between *Ortuinus Gratius* of Deventer, a teacher at Cologne, and some friends. That this man, a pupil of the Brethren of the Common Life, and from all we know of him, an honourable, pious, and not a bigoted man, should have been selected as the butt for such sarcasm, can only be explained on the ground of personal motives (comp. *Mohnike* in the "Zeitschr. fur hist. Theol." 1843. III. IV.). In the most exquisite monkish Latin, the stupid, and in part obscene love affairs of the mendicants, are related with such apparent sincerity and frankness, with a continual running reference to their controversy with Reuchlin, that at first some of the Dominicans themselves regarded these letters as genuine, and excused their somewhat curious expressions as due to the "vis sententiarum." All the greater was the merriment and scorn which was heaped upon them by the learned of Europe. At the request of the mendicants, Leo X. indeed issued a severe bull against all readers of the blasphemous tractate, but this measure only increased their number. These letters were in all probability composed by such men as *Crotus Rubianus*, *Hermann Busch*, *Wilibald Pirkheimer*, and by the publisher of the work, *Wolfgang Angst*, at Hagenau. This termination of the controversy with Reuchlin had given the reformatory movement in Germany a false and even dangerous turn. A contest carried on with such unholy and carnal weapons could only have ended in complete subversion of both Church and State. To the circle of writers from which the "Epist. obsc. vir." came belonged also *Ulric von Hutten*, a knight of noble Franconian family. It was, however, in the cause of liberty, rather than in that of the Gospel, that he fought all his life long against pedantry of every kind, against

the monastic orders, and indeed against all constraint in matters of conscience. In 1504 he escaped from the monastery of Fulda, where he was to be trained for the clerical profession. He next studied in Erfurt, and fought in the army of Maximilian, as he afterwards contended with his pen on behalf of Reuchlin. When deprived of the aid of Sickingen, he wandered about homeless, and at last died in wretchedness in 1523. His works were published by *E. J. H. Münch*, Berlin 1821, etc., 5 Bde.—(Comp. *L. Schubart*, Ulr. v. H. Leips. 1791. — *Herder's* Denkmal (Memorial). — *G. C. F. Mohnike*, U. v. H.'s Jugendl. Greifsw. 1816. — *G. J. W. Wagenseil*, U. v. H. Nürnb. 1803. — *G. W. Panzer*, U. v. H. in lit. Bezieh. Nürnb. 1798. — *E. v. Brunnow*, U. v. H. Leips. 1842. — *D. Strauss*, U. v. H. Leips. 1871. 2 Vols.).

3. *Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam.*—(Comp. *Burigny*, Vie d'Er., translated into German by *Reich*, with add. by *Henke*. Halle 1782. 2 Vols. — *Sal. Hess*, Er. v. R. Zür. 1790. 2 Vols. — *Ad. Müller*, Leben d. Er. v. R. Hamburg 1828.) — The most distinguished among all the Humanists, either before or at the time of the Reformation, was Erasmus (Gerhard Gerhardson). The child of conjugal affections which were shamefully defrauded of the happiness of valid marriage, he was educated at Deventer and at the Hague by "the Brethren of the Common Life." Forced by relatives to enter a monastery in 1486, he was ultimately set free through the interposition of an ecclesiastical dignitary from his conventual prison, and thus enabled wholly to devote himself to the pursuit of science (1496). He next attended the University of Paris. Having finished his studies, he travelled through Europe, when he made personal acquaintanceship with almost all the eminent men of his time. For several years he occupied the Chair of Greek in Oxford, and ultimately settled in Basle with his learned publisher *Frobenius* (1521). In this retreat he refused every office, and even the dignity of cardinal, although not liberal pensions; and amidst learned labours of varied kinds, and a most extensive epistolary intercourse, lived as a kind of scientific monarch. His chief merit consisted in his promotion of classical learning, and in its application to theological purposes. In many other ways also he promoted the Reformation. Thus he pointed out the defects in the theological study of the time, especially the absurdities of the prevailing scholastic method. He also exposed the abuses in the Church, castigated the moral corruption of all ranks, and unsparingly denounced the ignorance, idleness, and dissoluteness of the monastic orders. On the other hand, he also disapproved of the paganizing spirit of many of the Humanists, and of the revolutionary ideas of such men as Ulric von Hutten. His own views were essentially Pelagian; he was, accordingly, quite unable to understand the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. While anxious for a reformation of the Church, he neither was nor felt himself called to be a Reformer. With him the whole was merely a question of rationality; religious depth, strength of faith, self-denying love, con-

viction, and courage, such as martyrs require, were utterly wanting in him. He loved his quiet and comfortable life too well to jeopard it; and his knowledge of the real causes of prevailing abuses, and of the kind of reformation requisite, was entirely insufficient. Erasmus would have accomplished the work by human science, and not by the agency of a pure Gospel. When, in 1529, the Reformation prevailed at Basle, Erasmus left it, and settled at Freiburg in Breisgau, but died at *Basle* (whither he had gone to have a personal interview with Frobenius), "sine lux, sine crux, sine Deus" (1536). The best edition of his writings is that by J. Clericus (Lugd. 1702. 10 Voll. fol.). Among his writings, the most important for theology, are his critical and exegetical notes on the N. T. (note 5). He also edited a number of the Fathers (Jer., Hilar., Ambros., Iren., Athan., Chrys., etc.). His controversy with Luther belongs properly to a later period. The "Ecclesiastes s. concionator evangelicus" was intended as a kind of homiletics. The ἐγκώμιον μωρίας s. laus stultitiæ, dedicated to his friend *Thomas More*, contains a most cutting satire on the monks and the clergy generally. Even in his "Colloquiis," by which he hoped to make boys "latiniores et meliores," he allowed not an opportunity to pass of deriding the monks, the clergy, and those rites which he regarded as superstitions (such as monastic vows, fasts, pilgrimages, indulgences, auricular confession, the worship of saints, etc.).

4. *Humanism in England, France, and Spain.* — In England, also, the new study excited considerable interest. Its chief friend and advocate there was *Thomas More*, Lord High Chancellor of Henry VIII. *More* was on intimate terms with Erasmus, and shared his objections to prevalent abuses in the Church. But it appears from his well-known treatise, "De optimo reipublicæ statu deque nova insula Utopia," that he rather inclined towards Deism than desired an evangelical reformation. In the treatise to which we have referred, he expressed at some length the expectation, that a more rational and natural arrangement of social relations would lead to universal happiness. The contemplated religion of Utopia is undisguised Deism: providence, virtue, immortality, and retribution; everything distinctively Christian is carefully ignored. In his capacity of Chancellor, More suppressed the Reformation in England, and took the side of the King in his controversy with Luther. But when Henry VIII. quarreled with the Pontiff, and laid claim to reform the Church in his own fashion, More resigned his offices, refused to acknowledge the King as head of the English Church, and was beheaded in 1535, after a long and close imprisonment. (Comp. *G. Th. Rudhart*, Leben d. Th. Mor. Nürnb. 1829.)

In *Spain* Humanism found a patron in no less a personage than Francis Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, Grand Inquisitor, and Minister of Ferdinand and Isabella (*ob.* 1517). (Comp. *C. J. Hefele*, d. Card. Xim. 2d Ed. Tüb. 1851. — *W. Havemann*, Darstellungen aus d. innern

Gesch. Span. im 15., 16. u. 17. Jahrh. Gött. 1850.) Among those who prosecuted the new study in Spain the ablest was ANTHONY OF LERIJA, Professor at Salamanca. In 1508 Ximenes assigned him a chair in the new University of *Alcala* (Complutum). The Cardinal availed himself of his assistance in the Complutensian Polyglott, and protected him from the Inquisition, before which he was summoned to answer for his criticisms on the Vulgate. He died in 1522.

Humanism scarcely made any progress in *France*. For this we can only account by the great influence which the University of Paris brought to bear against it. However, *one* man at least presented the new learning, and was led to devote himself to the critical investigation of the Bible. JOHN FABER STAPULENSIS, a doctor of the Sorbonne (*ob.* 1537), who reached the patriarchal age of 100, gave himself to the study of the Scriptures in the original, and pointed out and corrected the corruptions in the text of the Vulgate. He also insisted that the Bible should be read in the vernacular, and translated the Scriptures into the French. For these offences he was expelled the Sorbonne, and deprived of his doctorate. The French Parliament likewise took measures against his heresy; happily, he enjoyed the protection of *Francis I.*, who entrusted him with the education of the royal princesses. The Council of Trent placed his works in the "Index Prohibitorum," though with the remark, "donec corrigantur." (Comp. *K. H. Graf*, J. Fab. Stap.: Ein Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Reform. in Frankr., in the "hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1852. I.)

5. *The Study of the Scriptures.* — The greatest advantage which the Church and theology derived from the so-called restoration of the sciences was this, that the Scriptures were taken from under the bushel which had concealed them, and again placed on the candlestick. The Vulgate (of which ninety-eight printed editions appeared before the year 1500) was now compared with the text of the original, and the allegorical mode of interpretation gave place to grammatical and historical exegesis. This was mainly accomplished by providing the necessary means for carrying on philological studies, while the printing-press spread the original text throughout Europe. Since the invention of printing, the Jews diffused the Old Testament in the original. In 1502 *Ximenes* employed a number of learned men to edit that splendid work known as the *Complutensian Polyglott* (the Old Testament was edited by learned Jewish proselytes) — the whole was completed in 1517. The work contained the Hebrew and Greek text of the Old and New Testaments, the Targumim, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and a Latin translation of the Septuagint and of the Targumim, together with a somewhat meagre grammatical and philological apparatus—the whole in six volumes (four for the Old Testament). About the same time, *Daniel Bomberg*, a learned bookseller in Antwerp, was engaged at Venice in bringing out various editions of the Old Testament, partly with and partly without Rabbinical commentaries. Bomberg had

made himself thoroughly familiar with the Hebrew; he was also aided by *Felix Pratensis,* a converted Jew, and by *Jacob Ben Chajim,* a Rabbi from Tunis. The first two editions appeared in 1518, and were soon followed by other three.—But the great expense of the Complutensian Polyglott placed it within the reach of very few. To *Erasmus* belongs the great merit of publishing a pocket edition of the Greek New Testament (with a Latin translation of his own). The first edition of this work appeared in 1516. The first who distinguished himself in this branch of study was *Laurentius Valla,* whose "Annotationes in N. T." were published by Erasmus. *Erasmus* himself composed paraphrases on the whole New Testament (excepting the Book of Revelations); *Faber Stapulensis* wrote commentaries on the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul, while *Lerija* published critical remarks on the Vulgate.

The want of translations of the Bible into the *vernacular* was also increasingly felt. *Faber* composed an excellent translation of the Scriptures in French, which has formed the basis of all later versions (it was completed in 1530). Wycliffe had translated the Bible into English; and before the time of Luther there were no fewer than fourteen translations of the Scriptures into German and six in Low Dutch. And yet they are essentially but one and the same version, translated of course from the Vulgate. The translator, or translators are wholly unknown. Throughout the language is wretched, and the sense is often unintelligible. Some portions, however, are better, and Luther seems to have consulted them. (Comp. *J. Kehrein,* zur Gesch. d. deutschen Bibelübers. vor Luther (Contrib. to the History of the German Bible before L.). Stuttg. 1851.)

INDEX.

(*The numerals refer to the Paragraphs and notes.*)

Abbacomites, 85
Abbots "in commendam," 115
Abbuna, 52, 7
Abdas of Susa, 64, 2
Abderrhaman, 81; 95
Abelard, 105, 1
Abgar, 25
—— Uchomo, 14, 2
Abodrites, 63, 2
Abraxas, 28, 2
Abrenunciatio diab., 32; 58, 1
Absolution, Formula of, 88, 5
Acacius of Amida, 64, 2
—— of Constantinople, 52, 5
Academy, New, 8, 4
Achamoth, 28, 3
Acoimetes, 44, 4; 52, 6
Acolythi, 30, 1
Acroteleutia, 59, 3
Acta facientes, 23, 5
Adalbert of Bremen, 96, 3; 97, 1
—— of Prague, 93, 3
—— of Tuscany, 96, 1
—— the Heretic, 78, 4
Adam of Bremen, 4, 1; 102, 1
—— of Fulda, 113, 5
—— of St. Victor, 105, 4
Adamites, 114, 3
Adesius, 64, 1
Adoptionists, 91, 1
Adrianus, 48, 1
Advent, 56, 5
Advocati eccl., 86
Ædesius, 94, 1
Æneas Sylv., 110, 3, 4; 118, 3
Æons, 26
Aerius, 62
Aetius, 50, 3
Africa, 25; 76, 3
Agapes, 18, 5; 33
Agapetæ, 36, 3
Agapetus, 52, 6
Agathangelos, 64, 3
Agatho, 52, 8
Age, Canonical, 70, 1
Agilulf, 76, 8
Agnes, Empress, 96, 2
Agobard, 88, 4; 90, 4; 91, 1; 92, 2
Agricola, Rudolf, 120, 2
Aidan, 77, 5
d'Ailly, 110, 3; 118, 1
Aistulf, 82, 1
Aix la Chapelle, Council at, 91, 1, 2
Aizanas, 61, 1
Ἀκέφαλοι, 52, 5
ἀκρόασις, 36, 2
ἀκροώμενοι, 32, 1
Alamanni, 78, 1
Alanus ab Insulis, 103, 2
Alaric, 76, 2
Alaviv, 70, 1
Albati, 114, 1
Alberic, 96, 1
Alberic v. Drübeck, 104, 5
Albert of Apeldern, 93, 4
—— the Bear, 93, 3
—— of Buxhöwden, 93, 3
—— of Suerbeer, 93, 3
Albertus Magnus, 104, 1
Albigenses, 109, 1
Alboin, 76, 8
Alcuin, 90, 3; 91, 1, 2; 92, 1
Aldgild, 78, 3
Alexander II., Pope, 96, 2
—— III., 96, 4
—— V., VI., 110, 3, 4
Alexander of Alex, 50, 1
—— of Ant., 63, 1
—— Halesius, 104, 1
—— Severus, 23, 3
Alexandria, Council of, 50, 4; 52, 1
—— School of, 39, 4; 47, 4; 52, 2
Alexius Comnenus, 71, 1, 3
Alfonso the Chaste, 81
—— the Catholic, 81
—— the III. of Castile, 95, 2
Alfred the Great, 88, 1; 90
Alfric, 101, 1
d'Allemand, 100, 3; 118, 1
Alogi, 40, 2
All-Saints, 57, 1; 89, 5
All-Souls, 105, 2
Altar, 35; 60, 2; 89, 5
Alvarus 81, 1
Alzog, 4, 4
Amalarius, 84, 4; 90, 4
Amalric of Bena, 108, 2
Amandus, St., 78, 3
Amatus of Salerno, 102, 1
Ambon, 60, 3
Ambrosiaster, 48, 1
Ambrosius, 47, 5; 50, 4; 57, 2, 3; 59, 3
Ammonius, 44
——Saccas, 24, 2
Ananus, 17
Anastasius Bibl., 4, 1
——of Rome, 51, 2.
——Sinaita, 48, 1
Anathema, 52, 3
Anchorites, 36, 3; 44
Ancyra, Council of, 50
Andrew II. of Hungary, 94, 4

Andronicus Palæol., 67, 5
Angelico of Fiesole, 113, 6
Angelici, 57, 3
Angelo, Mich., 113, 3
Angels, Worship of, 87, 3
Angilram, 87, 1
Anglo-Saxons, 77, 4
Angst, Wolfg., 120, 2
Anicetus, 33, 1
Ann, St., 72, 4
Annatæ, 110
Anno of Cologne, 96, 3; 97, 1
Anomoites, 50, 3
Ansbert of Maild., 83, 1
Ansegis, 87, 1
Anselm of Canterbury, 67, 4; 96, 5
—— of Havelb., 67, 4
—— of Laon, 102, 1
—— of Lucca, 96, 3; 99
Ansgar, 80. 1
Anthimus of Const, 52, 6
Antidicomarianites 57, 2 62
ἀντίδωρα, 58, 4
Antilegomena, 34, 2
Antinomianism, 19
Antioch, Council of, 50, 2
—— School of, 47, 1; 52, 2
Antiphones, 34, 4
Antiphonous Singing, 59, 3
Antiphonarium, 59, 3
Antitactes, 28, 6
Antony, St., 44, 1
—— of Padua, 98, 4
Antoninus Pius, 23, 2
Apiarius, 46, 2
Apinus, 64, 1
Apocrisarians, 46
Apocrypha, 39, 7; 41, 5
Apollinaris, 52, 1
—— Claudius, 41, 1
Apollonius of Tyana, 32, 1
Apollos, 19
Apologetics, 24; 41, 1; 48, 3
Apostles, Meeting of, 19, 1
Apostolic Brethren, 108, 3
—— Constitutions and Canons, 41, 6
Apostolic Fathers, 39
Apostolici, 62
Apostolicity, 13
Apsis, 60, 1
Aquarii, 28, 8
Arausio, Council of, 53, 5
Arcadius, Emperor, 42, 3; 51, 3
Arcesilaus, 8, 4
Archbishops, *see* Metropolitans.
Archchaplain, 84, 1
—— Deacon, 45, 5; 84, 2; 87, 9
—— Presbyter, 45, 5
Architecture, Ecclesiastical, 105, 6; 113, 6
Arevurdi's, 71, 2
Ariald, 97, 2
Arians 50; 76
Ariold, 97, 2
Aristides, 41, 1
Aristobulus, 11, 1
Ariston of Pella, 41, 1
Aristotle, 8, 4; 100, 2
Arius, 50, 1, 2
Armenia, 64, 3; 73, 2
Arno of Salzb., 79
Arnobius, 41, 1
—— the Younger, 83, 5
Arnold, Gottfr., 4, 3
—— of Brescia, 96, 6; 108, 3
—— of Citeaux, 109, 1
—— of Lübeck, 104, 5
Arnulf of Carinthia, 82, 5
—— of Rheims, 96, 1
Arsacius, 51
Arsenius, 70, 1; 82, 4
Artabasdus, 66, 2
Artemon, 32, 2
Ascension, 56, 4
Asceticism, 36, 3
Ash Wednesday, 56, 4
Associations for the Dead, 89, 3
Asterius, 50, 6
—— of Amasa, 57, 4
Astronomus, 90, 9
Asylum, Right of, 43
Athanaric, 76
Athanasian Creed, 50, 6
Athanasius, 44; 47, 4; 50; 52, 2
Athenagoras, 41, 1
Athenogenes, 41, 4
Athos, Monks of, 69, 7; 70, 3
Atrium, 60, 1
Atto of Vercelli, 101, 1
Audians, 62
Audientes, 32, 1
Augustine, 45, 1: 47, 5; 53, 2, 4, 5; 54, 1, 58, 3; 63, 2
—— the Missionary, 77, 4
Augustines, 98, 4; 112, 2
Aurelian, Emp., 23, 5; 40, 7
—— of Carth., 63, 2
Auto da fé, 115, 1
Auxentius, 76, 1
Avari, 79
Averrhoes, 100, 2
Avicenna, 100, 2
Avitus, 48, 9; 53, 5; 76, 5
Azymites, 67, 3

Baanes, 71, 1
Bacon, Roger, 104, 3
Baffomet, 112, 2
Baldwin of Jerusalem, 94, 1; 98, 6
—— of Flanders, 94, 4
Bangor, 85, 4
Baptism, doctrine of, 32, 3
—— of Blood, 32, 3
—— of Heretics, 32, 2
—— of Infants, *see* Infant Baptism.
—— Godfathers, 32; 56, 4
—— Mode of, 32; 58, 1
Baptismal Font, 60, 1; 89, 5
Baptismus Clinic., 32
Baptisterium, 60, 2
Baradai, 52, 7
Bar-Cochba, 21
Bardesanes, 32, 9
Barhebræus, 73, 2
Barlaam, 67, 5; 69, 1
Barletta, 113, 2
Barnabas, 15; 41, 1
Baronius, 4, 2
Barsumas, 52, 3
Bartholomen of Lucca, 4, 1
Bartholomew of Pisa, 98, 4

Bartolomeo, Fra, 113, 4
Basilica, 60, 1
Basilides, the Gnost., 28, 2
——the Martyr, 23, 4
Basiliscus, 52, 5
Basilius the Great, 44, 3; 47, 4
——, Leader of the Bogomiles, 71, 3
—— of Ancyra, 50, 3
—— the Macedonian, 57, 1; 68, 1; 71, 1; 72, 1
Basle, Council of, 110, 3
——Reform. in, 120, 3, 8
Bas-relief, 60, 3
Baumgarten, 76, 2
Bavaria, 78, 2
Beatus, Presb., 91, 2
Beccus, 67, 4
Bede, the Venerable, 90, 2
Beghards and Beguins, 99, 5
Behram V., 64, 2
Bellini, 113, 4
Bells, 60, 3
—— Baptism of, 89, 5
βῆμα, 60, 1
Bembus, 120, 1
Benedict VIII., 96, 2
—— IX. 96, 2
—— X. 96, 3
—— XII. 67, 5; 110, 2; 112, 1
—— of Aniane, 85, 2
—— Levita, 87, 1
—— of Nursia, 85, 1
Benedictina, 112, 1
Benedictines, 85; 98, 1; 112, 1
Benefices, 86, 1
Benno of Meissen, 93, 3
Berengar, 102, 1, 2
—— II. 96, 1
Bernard of Clairv., 94, 2; 96, 6; 98, 2; 105, 2, 4; 108, 1, 3; 109
Bernardines, 98, 2
Berno, Abbot, 98, 1
Bertha, 77, 4
Berthold of Calabria, 98, 3
—— of Loccum, 93, 4
—— of Regensb., 105
Bertrada, 96, 3
Bertrand de Got, 110, 2
Beryllus, 40, 5
Bessarion, 67, 6; 68, 2; 120, 1
Bianchi, 114, 1
Bible, Transl. of, 32, 3
Biel, Gabr., 116
Bishops, 18, 2; 30, 1
——, Transl. of, 45
Björn, 80, 1
Blandina, 23, 3
Boabdil, 95
Bobbio, 78, 1; 85, 4.
Boccaccio, 114, 4
Boethius, 47, 6
Bogomiles, 71, 1
Bogoris, 72, 3
Bohemia, 79, 2; 93, 2.
Bohemian Brethren, 119, 5
Boleslav, I., III., of Poland, 93, 2
—— I, II. of Bohemia, 93, 2
——Chrobry, 93, 2; 96, 1
Bomberg, 120, 5
Bonaventura, 104, 1; 105, 4
Boniface, St., 78, 4
—— VIII., 99; 110, 1
Boni homines, 108, 1
Bonosus, 62
Borgia, Cæsar, 114, 4
Boruth, 79
Borzivoi, 79, 2
Bossuet, 7
Bradacz, Mich. v., 119, 5
Bradwardine, Th., of, 116, 2
Braga, Synod of, 76, 4
Brandt, Seb. 114, 4
Brest, Synod of, 72, 4
Brethren, "the four long," 51, 3
—— Bohemian, 119, 5
——of the Common Life, 112, 6
—— of the Free Spirit, 114, 3
Bretwalda, 77, 4
Bridget, St., 112, 2, 4
Britons, 77
Brumalia, 56, 5
Brunehilda, 78, 1
Bruno the Missionary, 93, 3
Bruno of Cologne, 101
—— of Rheims, 98, 3
—— of Toul, 96, 2
Bulgaria, 67, 1; 72, 3
Bulgari, 108, 1
Bull, In Cœna Domini, 115
Burchard of Worms, 99
Burgundians, 76, 5
Busch, Herm. of, 120, 2
Bythos, 28, 3

Cabasilas, *see* Nicholas
Cadalus of Parma, 96, 3
Cæcilianus, 63, 2
Cædmon, 88, 2
Cæsarius of Arel., 47, 4; 53, 5
Cainites, 28, 4
Cajus, 37, 2; 60, 8
Caland, 106, 1
Calatrava, Order of, 98, 6
Calixt, George, 4, 3
Calixtus I., 60, 1; 40, 4
—— II., 96, 5
—— III., 110, 4
Callinice, 71, 1
Camaldulensians, 98, 1
Canon of the Mass, 59, 4
—— in music, 113, 5
Canons of Synods, 43, 2
Canonesses, 85, 3
Canonical Life, 84, 4; 97
Canonici, 84, 4; 97
Cantores, 30, 1
Cantus Ambros., 59, 3
—— Firmus, 59, 3
—— Figuratus, 105, 5
Canute the Gr., 123, 1
Capitula Episcop., 87, 1
Capitula, three, controversy about, 52, 6
Capitularies, 87, 1
Carantani, 79
Carbeas, 71, 1
Cardianls, 96
Carmelites, 98, 3
Carnival, 56, 4; 106, 1
Carpocrates, 34, 5
Carthusians, 98, 3; 112
Casimir of Pol. 93, 2
Cassianus, 44; 53, 5
Cassiodorus, 4; 47, 6
Catacombs, 61, 3
Catechists, 30, 1

Catechetical Sch ol, 39,4
Catechumens, 32, 1
Catenæ, 48, 1
Cathari, 38, 2; 108, 1
Catharine, St., 122, 2
Cathedral Chapters, 84, 4; 97: 111
Catholicity, 13; 30, 3
Catholicos, 52, 7
Ceitumar, 79
Celibacy, 36, 3; 45, 4; 84, 3; 96, 2; 111
Celsus, 24, 4
Cencius, 96, 2
Centuria, Magdb., 4, 2
Cerdo, 28, 10
Cerinthus, 18; 28, 1
Cesarini, 110, 3
Chalcedon. Œc. Counc. of, 46; 52, 4 [2
Chaldean Christians, 52,
Chapels, 84, 3
Chapter, Chapter-house, 84, 4
Charismata, 18, 1
Charlemagne, 81, 1; 92, 1; 97
Charles Martel, 81; 82, 1
—— of Anjou, 96, 8
—— the Bald, 82, 2, 4, 5; 90
Chazars, 72, 2
Chelbes, 28, 4
Chiersy, Synod of, 91, 4
Children of the Sun, 71, 2
Chilperic II., 76, 5
China, 93, 5
Chinghis-Khan, 73, 1
Chorepiscopoi, 30; 45
Chosroes II., 64, 2
Chrisma, 32
Christians, persecutions of, 21; 23
Christianitates, 84, 2
Christmas, 53; 86, 5
Christ, controversies concerning the Person of, 52
Chrodegang, 84, 4
Chrysam, 45, 3
Chrysoloras, 120, 1
Chrysostom, 47, 1; 51, 3; 53, 1
Church. *See* also Ecclesiastical. [5
—— Consecration of, 59,
Church, Nave of, 60, 1
—— Peace of, 88, 4
—— States of, 82, 1
Churches, 35
Ciborium, 60, 3
Cid, 95
Cimabue, 105, 7
Circumcelliones, 63, 2
Cistercians, 98, 2
Clara, of Assissi, 98, 4
—— Order of, 128, 4
Clarendon, Assembly at, 96, 4
Claudius, Emp., 23, 1
—— of Turin, 92, 2
Clemanges, 110, 3; 118,1
Clement II., 96, 2, 3
—— III., 96, 4
—— V., 99; 110, 2; 112, 2
—— VI., 110, 2; 114, 1; 115
—— VII., 110, 3
—— the Heretic, 78, 4
—— of Alexandria, 39, 4
—— of Rome, 39, 1
Clementines, 27, 4
—— (jus can.), 99
Clergy, 30
—— Choice of, 45
Clerical Dress, 45, 3
Clerici vagi, 84, 2
Clericis laicos, 110, 1
Clermont, Synod of, 94
Clinici, 30, 1; 45, 2
Cloveshoo, Synod of, 88, 5
Clugny, Monks of, 98, 1
Cœmeteria, 35
Cœlestine of Rome, 52, 3; 53, 4
—— III., 96, 6
—— IV., 96, 8
Cœlestines, 112, 4
Cœlestius, 53, 4
Cœlicolæ, 37, 2
Cœna Domini, bull, 115
Coifi, 77, 4
Cola di Rienzi, 110, 2
Colidei, 77, 1
Collatio cum Donat, 63, 2
Colleges of Canons, 84, 4
Collyridians, 57, 2
Colman, 77, 6
Colombino, 112, 4
Colonna, 110, 1, 3
Colet, 120, 4
Columba, 77, 3
Columbanus, 78, 1
Comes Hieron., 59
Commendæ, 110
Commodian, 41, 1
Commodus, 23, 3
Communic. idiom., 87, 7
Communion of Children, 33; 58, 4
Competentes, 32, 1
Compiegne, Synod of, 82, 2
Compurgators, 88, 4
Concha, 60
Conclave, 96, 6
Concubitus Œdipod., 23
Confession, 33; 61, 1; 88, 5
Confessors, 23, 5; 36,2,4
Confirmation, 32
Conrad of Hochsteden, 105, 6
—— of Marburg, 109, 2
—— I., II., 96, 1, 2
—— III., 94, 2
Conradin, 96, 6
Consolamentum, 108, 1
Constance, 96, 5
—— Council of, 110, 3
Constantia, 50, 2
Constantine the Great, 23, 7; 42, 1; 50, 1; 63, 2
Constantinus Chrysomalus, 70, 4
—— Copronymus, 66, 2
—— of Mananalis, 71, 2
—— Monomachus, 67, 3
—— Pogonatus, 52, 8
—— Porphyrogenneta, 68, 1
—— the Philosopher, 72, 2
Constantinople, Œcum. —— Council of, II., 46, 50, 4, 5; 52, 1
—— V., 52, 6
—— VI., 52, 8
—— VII., 66, 2, 3
—— VIII., 67, 1
Constantius, 42, 1; 50, 2
—— Chlorus, 23, 6
Constitutio Romana, 82, 3
Continentes, 36, 3
Convenensa, 108, 1
Conventiclers, 108, 5

Conventuales, 112, 1
Conversi, 98
Copts, 52, 7; 73, 2
Corbinian, 78, 2
Cornelius of Rome, 30, 2
Corporale, 60, 2
Corpus Christi day, 105, 2
Corpus jur. can., 99
Correggio, 113, 4
Cosmas Indicoplastes, 48, 2
—— Patriarch, 70, 4
—— the Usurper, 66, 1
Cossa, 110, 3
Councils, 30, 2
—— General, 43, 2
Courland, 93, 4
Court chapels, 84, 1
Cranz, H., 113, 3
Creatianism, 53, 1
Crescentius, 96, 1
Crimthan, 77, 3
Cross, discovery of, 57, 5
—— elevation of, 57, 5
—— experiment of, 88, 4
—— particles of, 57, 5
—— sign of, 36, 1
Crotus Rubianus, 120, 2
Crucifix, 60, 3
Crusades, 94
Crypts, 60, 1
Culdees, 77, 1
Cupola, 60, 1
Curates, 84, 2
Cursores, 60, 3
Cusa, Nich. of, 110, 3; 118, 2
Cyprian of Carthage, 23, 5; 30, 3; 32, 2; 36; 38, 2; 39, 5
Cyril of Alexandria, 45, 9; 52, 2, 3
—— of Jerusalem, 48, 5
—— and Methodius, 72, 2, 3
Cyrus of Alexandria, 52, 8
Dagobert I., 78, 1
Damasus, 62, 1
Dambrovka, 93, 2
Damiani, *see* Petrus.
Dandalo, 94, 4
Dante, 144, 4
David of Dinanto, 108, 2
Deacons, 18, 3; 30, 1
—— Subdeacons, 51, 1
Decani, Deans, 84, 2
Decalogue, 113, 3
Decius, Emp., 23, 5
Decretals, 43, 3; 46, 2
Decretists, 99
Decretum Gratiani, 99
—— Gregorii, 99
Defensores, 45, 5
Definitiones, 43, 2
Demetrius of Alexandria, 31, 4
Demiurgos, 26, 1
Dendrites, 70, 3
Denmark, 80; 93, 1
Desiderius, 82, 1
Desk, 35; 60, 2
Dhu-Nowas, 64, 4
Didenhofen, Synod of, 82, 2
Didymus of Alexandria, 45, 6
Dies stationum, 32
Dinanto, *see* David.
Diodorus, monk, 34, 5
—— of Tarsus, 47, 1; 48, 1
Diognetus, 39, 1
Donysius of Alexandria, 39, 4; 40, 6, 8
——the Areopag., 47, 6; 48, 5; 90, 1
—— Exiguus, 43, 3; 48, 2; 56, 3
—— of Paris, 25
—— of Rome, 40, 6
Dioscurus, 52, 4
Diptychs, 59, 4
Disciplina arcani, 33, 2
Discipline, Eccles., 36, 2; 61, 1; 88, 5
—— stages of, 36, 2
Discussion at Aix la Chapelle, 91, 1
Docetism, 19; 26, 1
Doctor audientium, 30, 1
—— angelicus, 104, 1
—— ecstaticus, 117, 2
Doctor invincibilis, 116, 1
——irrefragabilis, 104, 1
——mirabilis, 104, 3
——resolutissimus, 116, 1
——seraphicus, 104, 1
——subtilis, 104, 1
Dolcino, 108, 3
Döllinger, 4, 4
Dominicans, 98, 4; 109, 2; 112, 1
Domitian, the Abbot, 52, 6
—— Emp., 24
Donation of Constantine, 82, 1
Donatists, 63, 2
Dorotheus, 39, 6
Dositheus, 22, 1
Double Monasteries, 85, 3
Drahomira, 93, 2
Druids, 77, 2
Druthmar, Christian, 90, 4, 6; 91, 3
Drys, Synod of, 51, 3
Dualism, 26, 1
Dubrawka, 93, 2
Dufay, 113, 3
Dungal, 92, 2
Dunstan, 97; 101
Durandus, 116, 1
Dürer, A., 113, 4

Eadbald, 77, 4
Eanfled, 77, 6
Easter, Festival of, 32
—— calculation of, 56, 3
—— observance, disputes about, 36, 1
—— plays, 106, 2; 114, 4
—— risus paschalis, 106, 1
East Indies, 64, 4
Ebbo of Mayence, 80
Ebed-Jesu, 73, 1
Ebionites, 33, 2
Ecbert of Shönau, 108, 4
Eccart, Master, 117, 1
Ecclesiastical architecture, *see* Architec.
—— Discipline, 36; 91
—— Functionaries, 45, 5
—— Law, 41, 3; 43, 3; 99
—— Revenues, 45
—— Year, 56, 7
Ecetes, 70, 3
Ecthesis, 52, 8
Edgemiadzin, 73, 2
Edwin, 77, 4
Einhard, 89, 6
Εἰρήνη, 36, 2
Electors, princes, 97, 1
Eleesban, 64, 4
Eligius, 78, 3
Elijah of Cortona, 98, 4
Elipandus, 91, 1

Elizabeth, St., 109, 2; 112, 3
—— Order of, 112, 3
—— of Shönau, 108, 4
Elkesaites, 33, 3
Elvira, Synod of, 60, 3
Elxai, 27, 3
Emanation, 26, 1
Emma, 93, 1
Emmelia, 47, 4
Empire, Frankish, 82, 2
—— Latin, 67, 4; 94, 4
Encratites, 28, 8
Encyclical Letter of Photius, 67, 1
Encyclion, 52, 5
Endemic Synods, 43, 2
Endura, 108, 1
Enfans sans souci, 114, 2
Engelhardt, 4, 4
Ennodius, 46, 2
Enthusiasts, 71, 3
Eon, 108, 4
Epaon, Council of, 76, 5
Ephesus, Council of, 52, 3; 53, 4
Ephraem, 47, 2; 59, 2
Epicurus, 8, 4
Epiphanes, 28, 5
Epiphanias, 32; 56, 5
Epiphanius, 47, 4; 51, 2, 3; 57, 4
Episcopi in partibus, 97
—— regionarii, 84
Epistolæ canonicæ, 38, 3
—— decretals, 46, 2
—— formatæ, 30
—— obscur. vir., 120, 2
Epulæ Thyest., 23
Erasmus, 119, 5; 120, 3, 5
Eric II., 80, 1
—— St., 93, 1, 3
—— the red, 93, 1
Erigena, J. Sc., 90, 5, 7; 91, 4; 108, 2
Ertenki Mani, 29, 1 [6
Erwin of Steinbach, 105,
Esnig, 64, 3
Essenes, 9, 2
Estates of the Empire 114, 1
Esthonia, 93, 4
Ethelberga, 77, 4
Ethelbert, 77, 4
Ethelwold 101, 1
Etherius of Osma, 91, 1
Ethiopia, 64, 1
Eucharist, 18, 5; 33, 1
—— doctrine of, 33, 3; 58, 2; 91, 3
—— elements of, 33; 58, 4
Eucherius, 48, 1
Euchetes, Christian, 44, 5; 71, 3
—— Heathen, 42, 2
Eudo da Stella, 108, 4
Eudocia, 48, 8; 52, 4, 5
Eudoxia, 51, 3
Eugenicus of Ephesus, 67, 6
Eugenius II., 82, 3
—— III., 96, 4
—— IV., 67, 6; 110, 3
Eulogia, 58, 4 [4
Eulogius of Cæsarsa, 53,
—— of Cordova, 81, 1
Eunapius, 42, 4
Eunomius, 50, 3
Euphemites, 42, 5
Euphrates, 28, 4
Euric, 76, 2
Eusebians, 50, 2
Eusebius of Cæsarea, 6; 47, 3; 48, 2
—— of Emisa, 48, 1
—— of Nicomed., 50, 1
—— of Vercelli, 50, 2
Eustasius of Luxeuil, 78, 2
Eustathians, 44, 5
Eustathius of Ant., 48, 1
—— of Sebaste, 44, 5
—— of Thessalonica, 68, 5; 70, 4
Eustochium, 44, 2
Euthalius, 59, 1
Euthymius Zigabenus, 68
Eutyches, 52, 4
Evagrius, 4, 1
Evangelists, 18, 3
Evangelium æternum, 108, 4
Ewald, the White and the Black, 78, 5
Exarchate, 76, 7
Exarchs, 41, 1
Excommunication 32, 2
Ἐξομολόγησις, 36, 2
Exorcism, 32
Exorcists, 30, 1
Expectantiæ, 110
Extraneæ, 36, 3
Extravagantes, 99
Experiment, *see* Ordeal
Exucontians, 50, 3
Eyck, 113, 4

Faber Stapulensis, 120 4, 5
Facundus of Hermiane 52, 6
Faustus of Mileve, 54, 1
—— of Rhegium, 53, 5
Feast of the Ass, 106, 1
—— of Fools, 106, 1
—— of Peter and Paul, 57, 1
Felicissimus, 38, 2
Felicitas, 20
Felix II., 52, 5
—— V., 110, 3
—— of Aphthunga, 63, 2
—— Pratensis, 120, 5
—— of Urgellis, 91, 1
Ferdinand of Castile, I., III., 95, 2
Ferrara, Council of, 67, 6; 110, 3
Ferula, 60, 1
Festa Cathedræ Petri, 57, 1
Feudalism, 86, 1
Feyin, Synod of, 64, 3
Filioque, 50, 6; 67, 1; 91, 2
Finland, 93, 4
Firmicus Maternus, 42; 48, 3
Firmilian, 32, 2
Flacius, 4, 2
Flagellants, 114, 1
Flavian, monk, 34, 4
—— Patr. of Const., 52, 4
—— of Ant., 44, 5
Fleury, 4, 2
Flodoard of Rheims, 101
Florence, Council of, 67, 6; 72, 4; 110, 3
Florus Magister, 90, 5; 91, 4
Fontevraux, Order of, 98, 3
Formosus, 82, 5
Fortunatus, 42, 5; 48, 8
Franciscans, 98, 4; 112, 2

Francis, St., 93, 5; 98, 4; 105, 4
—— de Paula, 112 3
Frankfort, Synod of, 91, 1; 92, 1 [5
Franco of Cologne, 105,
Franks, 76, 9 [4
Fratres de Commun., 98,
—— intelligentiæ, 114,3
—— minores, 98, 4
—— prædicat., 98, 4
Fratricelli, 98, 4; 108, 4
Fredegis, 90, 4
Frederic I. Barb., 94, 3; 96, 4
—— II., Emp., 94, 5; 96, 5, 6; 97, 1; 108, 1
Frisia, 78, 3
Frithigern. 76, 1
Fritzlar, 78, 4
Frobenius, 120, 3
Frumentius, 64, 1
Fugue, 113, 3 [1
Fulbert of Chartres, 101,
Fulco, 93, 3
Fulda, 78, 4
Fulgentius Ferr., 77, 3
—— of Ruspe, 47, 6

Gailer of Kaisersb., 113
Galerius, 23, 3
Gallienus, 23, 5
Gallus, St., 78, 1
—— Emp., 23, 5
Gangra Synod of, 44, 5; 45, 4
Gaunilo, 102, 3
Gazari, 108, 1
Gebhard of Eichstedt, 96, 2
—— of Salzburg, 97, 1
Gegnesius, 71, 1
Geiler, 113, 2; 114, 4
Geismar, 78, 4
Gelasius I., 59, 4
Gelimer, 76, 3
Γενέθλια, 36, 4
Generatianism, 53, 1
Gennadius, 48, 2
—— Patr., 68, 5
Gentile Christians, 19
Gentilly, Synod of, 91, 2; 92, 1
Genuflectentes, 32, 1
George Acindynos, 69, 1
—— of Trebizond, 68, 2
Gerbert, 96, 1; 101, 1
Gerhard Segarelli, 108,
—— of Zutphen, 112, 5
Germanus, Patr., 66, 1
Geroch of Reichersb., 97
Gerson, 110, 3; 118, 1
Gewilib of Mayence,78, 4
Geysa, 93, 2
Gfrörer, 4, 4
Ghazali, 100, 2
Ghiberti, 113, 6 [4
Giacomo da Verona,105,
Giacoponi da Todi, 105, 4
Gieseler, 4, 4
Gilbert, Porret., 103, 1
Gildas, 90, 9
Giotto, 113, 4
Giunta of Pisa, 105, 7
Gnosticism, 19; 26, 1; 28
Goar, 78, 3
Goch, 119, 1
God, truce of, 106, 1
—— Friends of, 114, 2
—— judgment of, 88, 4
Godfrey of Bouillon, 94,1
—— the Bearded. 96, 2
—— of Lucina, 93, 3
—— of Strasburg, 106, 3
γονυκλίνοντες, 32, 1
Gonzalo of Berceo, 106, 3
Gordianus, 23, 4
Gorm, the Old, 93, 1
Goths, 76
Gottschalk, 91, 4,
——Prince of theWends, 93, 3
Grobow, 112, 5
γράμματα τετυπωμένα, 30
Grammont,Order of,98,3
Gratian, canonist, 99
—— Emp., 42, 3
Greenland, 93, 1
Gregentius, 48, 3
Gregory I., 42, 1; 47, 1; 57, 4; 58, 3; 59, 3; 76, 8; 77, 4
—— II., 66, 1
—— III., 66, 1; 78, 4; 82, 1
—— IV., 82, 2
—— V., 86, 1
—— VII., 84; 86, 2
—— IX., 86, 6; 89
—— X., 67, 4
—— XI., 110, 2
Gregory XII., 110, 3
—— Abulfaragus, 73, 2
—— Illuminator, 64, 3
—— Palamas, 69, 1
—— Scholaris, 68, 5
—— Thaumaturgus, 39, 4; 41, 2
—— of Nazianzus, 47, 4
—— of Nyssa, 47, 5
—— of Tours, 4, 1; 90, 2
—— of Utrecht, 78, 3
Grimoald, 76, 8
Groot, Gerhard, 112, 5
Grossteste, 104, 3
Grundtvig, 75, 9
Gaulbertus, J., 98, 1
Guardian, 98, 4
Guericke, 4, 4
Guido of Arezzo, 105, 5
—— of Sienna, 105, 7
Gundioch, 76, 5
Gundobald, 76, 5
Gunthamund, 76, 3
Gunther of Cologne, 82,4
Gyrovagi, 44, 5

Haco the Good, 83, 1
Hadrian, Emp., 21; 23, 2
—— I., 66, 3; 82, 1; 92, 1
—— II., 67, 1; 82, 4; 83, 1
——IV., 90, 4
Hadrumetum, 53, 5
Hagenbach, 4, 4
Hakim, Caliph, 94
Hamburg, See of, 70, 1
Harmonius, 30, 9
Harold, 80
—— Blaatand, 93, 1
Hase, 4, 4
Haymo of Halberst, 90, 5. 9
Heathenism, 8
Heddo of Strasb., 84, 2
Hedwig, 93, 2
Hegesippus, 4, 1
Hegira, 65
Hegius, Al., 120, 2
Heimburg, Gr., of, 118, 2
Helena, the Tyrian, 22, 2
——the Empress, 57, 5,6
Heliand, 88. 2
Heliogabalus, 23, 4
Hellenists, 11
Heloise, 103. 1

Helvidius, 62
Hemerobaptists, 22
Hemming of Upsala, 93, 4
Henoticon, 52, 2
Henry II., Emp., 97, 1
—— III., 96, 1
—— IV., 96, 2
—— V., 96, 3
—— VI., 96, 4
—— II., of England, 96, 4
—— Beauclerc, 96, 3
—— de Hassia, 118, 2
—— of Laufenberg, 113, 2
—— of Lausanne, 108, 3
Heraclion, 28, 3
Heraclius, 52, 8; 57, 5; 64, 2
Herigar, 80, 1
Hermann of Fritzlar, 117, 1
—— the Lame, 102, 1
Hermas, 39, 1
Hermeneutæ, 30, 1
Hermias, 41, 1
Hermogenes, 37, 11
Herveus, 103, 3
—— Natalis, 116, 1
Hesychasts, 69, 1
Hetæriæ, 23, 2
Hierocles, 24, 4
Hilarion, 44
Hilarius of Arelate, 46, 2
—— of Poictiers, 47, 5
Hildebrand, 96, 2; 102, 2
Hildegard, 97; 108, 4; 109
Hilderic, 76, 3
Himerius, 42
Hincmar of Laon, 83, 1
—— of Rheims, 82, 4; 83, 1; 91, 4
Hippolytus, 38, 1; 39, 3; 40, 4
Hogstraten, 120, 2
Hohenstaufen, 96, 4, 5, 6
Holbein, 113, 4
Holland, *see* Netherlands.
Homilies, 34
Homoiites, 50, 3
Homologoumena, 34, 2
Homoiuosians, 50, 2
Homoousians, 40, 1; 50, 1
Honoratus, 44
Honorius, Emp., 42, 3; 53, 4
Honorius of Rome, 52, 8
Horæ, 56, 2
Horic, 80, 1
Hormisdas of Rome, 52, 6
Hormuz, King, 29
Hornbach, 78, 1
Ὅροι, 43, 2
Hosius, 50, 1, 2, 3
Hospitallers, 98, 6
Hottinger, 4, 2
Hucbald, 105, 5
Hugo Capet, 96, 1
—— a St. Caro, 104, 3
—— a St. Victore, 103, 2
Hugo de Payens, 98, 6
Humanists, 120
Humbert, 67, 3; 102, 2
Humiliati, 98, 3
Huneric, 76, 3
Hungary, 93, 2
Hus, 113, 2; 119; 3
Husig, 64, 3
Hutten, Ulric of, 120, 2
Hy, *see* Iona.
Hyle, Hylic, 26, 1
Hymnology, 18, 5; 34, 4; 59, 2, 3; 89, 2; 105, 3; 113, 2, 3
Hypatia, 42, 3
Hypophonous singing, 59, 3
ὑπόπτωσις, 36, 2
Hypostasianism, 40, 1
Hypsistarians, 42, 5

Ibas, 52, 3
Iberians, 64, 4
Idacius, 54, 2
Ignatius of Ant., 23, 2; 30; 39, 1
—— Patr. of Const., 67, 1
Images, worship of, 57, 4; 89, 4; 92
—— controversy about (iconoclastic), 66; 92, 1
Immacul. Conceptio, 105, 2; 112, 4
Immunity, 84, 1
Incense, burning of, 59, 5
Indulgences, 92, 1; 107; 115
Infant Baptism, 18, 5; 32; 58, 1
Innocent I., 46, 2; 53, 4; 61, 2, 3
—— II., 96, 4
Innocent III., 96, 5; 108, 5; 109, 1
—— IV., 96, 6 [2
—— VIII., 110, 4; 115, 1
Innocentum festum, 57, 1; 106, 1 [1
Inquisition, 109, 2; 115.
Inspiration, 34, 1
Insula Sanctorum, 77, 2
Intercession, episc., 43
Interdict, 107
Investiture, 40, 3; 84; 96, 2, 3
Iona, 77, 3
Ireland, 77, 2
Irenæus, 39, 3
Irene, 66, 3
Irmin-column, 78, 5
Isaac the Gr., 52, 2 (64, 3)
Isidorus, Gnostic, 28, 2
—— Presbyter, 51, 2, 3
—— Metrop. of Russia, 72, 4
—— of Seville, 90, 2
Islam, 65; 81; 95
Itala, 34, 3
Ithacius, 54, 2
Ittig, 78, 4

Jablonsky, 4, 3
Jacobellus, 119, 4
Jacobites, 52, 7
Jacoponus, 105, 4
Jagello, 93, 2
Jacobus a Benedictis, 105, 4
—— a Voragine, 105, 3
—— el Baradai, 52, 7
—— of Brescia, 112, 1
—— of Harkh, 71, 2
—— of Marchia, 112, 1
—— of Misa, 119, 4
—— of Nisibis, 46, 2
—— of Sarug, 59, 2
Jaldabaoth, 28, 4
Jamblichus, 24, 2
Janitores, 36, 1
Jaroslav, 72, 4
Jazelic, 52, 3
Jeremias II., 72, 4
Jerome, St., 48, 1; 51, 2; 53, 4; 62
—— of Prague, 119, 3
Jeromites, 112, 3
Jesuates, 110, 3

Jews, 90, 7; 96, 1
Jewish Christians, 19, 1
Jetzer, 112, 2
Joachim, Abbot, 97; 108, 4
Johanna, female pope, 82, 3
JohannesV., Palæologus, 67, 5
—— VII., 67, 6
—— of Parma, 108, 4
—— Philoponus, 47
—— of Ravenna, 83, 1
—— of Salisbury, 102, 3
—— Scholasticus, 43, 3
—— Scotus Erigena, 90, 5, 7; 91, 4
—— of Talaja, 52, 5
—— of Trani, 67, 3
—— Tzimisces, 71, 1
John, Apostle, 17
—— disciples of, 22
—— festival of, 57, 1
—— St., Knights of, 98, 6
—— VIII., 67, 1; 82, 5
—— IX., 82, 5
—— X., XI., XII., XV., 96, 1
—— XIX., 67, 2; 96, 2
—— XX., 82, 3
—— XXII., 110, 2; 112, 1; 116, 1 [3
—— XXIII., 98, 5; 110,
—— of Ant., 52, 3
—— Beccos, 67, 3
—— Cassianus, 44; 53, 5
—— Damascenus, 66, 1; 68, 4, 5
—— Duns Scotus, 104, 1
—— Jejunator,, 46, 2; 61, 1 [4
—— of Jerus, 51, 2; 53,
—— of England, 96, 5
—— de Monte Corvino, 93, 5
—— Ozniensis, 73, 2
Johnites, 51, 3
Jolanthe, 94, 5
Jonas of Orleans, 90, 4; 92, 2
Jornandes, 90, 9
Joseph, Patr., 67, 4; 70, 1
Josephus, 11; 14, 2
Josquin de Préz, 113, 3
Jovi, 80, 1
Jovinian, 62
Jubilee, 115
Jubili, 89, 2
Judicatum, 52, 6
Julia Mammæa, 23, 4
Juliana, 105, 2
Julianists, 52, 7
Julianus, Emp, 42, 2, 4 63, 2
—— of Eclanum, 53, 4
Julius I., 46, 2; 50, 2
—— II., 110, 4
—— Africanus, 41, 5
Junilius, 48, 1
Jus circa sacra, 43, 1
Justina, 50, 4
Justinian I., 42, 3; 82, 6
—— II., 63, 3
Justinus I., Emp., 52, 5
—— Gnostic, 28, 4
—— Martyr, 39, 2; 41, 1
Juvenal of Jerus., 52, 3
Juvencus, 48, 8

Kelbes, 28, 4
Keldeer, 77, 1
Kempis, Thomas a, 112, 5
Keraïts, 73, 1
Keys, power of, 61, 1
Kilian, 78, 2
Kiss, fraternal, 18, 5; 33, 1; 36, 1
Kissing the Pope's toe, 96
Knightly orders, 98, 6
Krämer, 115, 2

Labarum, 23, 7
Lactantius, 39, 5; 41, 1
Lambert of Aschaffenburg, 102, 1
—— le Begue, 98, 5
Landulf Cotta, 97, 2
Lanfranc, 101, 1, 2
Lange, Rudolph, 120, 2
Langenstein, H. of, 118, 2
Langobards, 76, 8
Langthon, 96, 5
Laos, 30
Lapland, 93, 4
Lapsi, 23, 5
Lateran Synod I., 52, 8; 96, 3
—— II., 96, 4
—— IV., 96, 5
Laurentius, Archb., 7 ,4
—— Martyr, 23, 5
Laurentius, Valla, 120, 1
Lay-Abbots, 75
—— Brethren, 98, 1
Lectio, 30
Lectionaria, 59
Lectores, 34; 59
Legates, 96
Legenda aurea, 105, 3
Legio fulmin., 23, 3
Legists, 99
Leidrad of Lyons, 90, 3; 91, 1
Lentulus, 14, 2
Leo I. the Gr., 45, 4; 46, 2; 47, 5; 52, 4; 54, 1, 2; 61, 1
—— II., 82, 2; 91, 2
—— IX., 67, 3; 90, 2
—— X., 110, 4; 120, 1, 2
—— of Achrida, 67, 3
—— the Armenian, 66, 4; 71, 1
—— Chazarus, 66, 3
—— the Isaurian, 66, 1; 71, 1
—— the Philos., 67, 1, 2; 68, 1 [4
Leonardo da Vinci, 103,
Leonistæ, 108, 5
Leontius of Byz., 48, 2
Leovigild, 76, 2
Leporius, 52, 2
Lerija, A. of, 120, 4, 5
Lestines, Synod of, 78, 4
Libanius, 42, 4
Libellatici, 23, 5
Libelli pacis, 36, 2
Liber conformit., 98, 4
Liber paschalis, 56, 3
Liberatus of Carth., 52, 6
Liberius of Rome, 50, 2, 3; 63, 1
Libri Carolini, 92, 1
Licinius, 23, 7
Limina apost., 57, 7
Lindner, Br., 4, 4
Liptinæ, Synod of, 78, 4
Litany, 59
Lithuania, 93, 2
Liturgy, 33, 1; 59, 4; 89, 1; 105
Liudger, 78, 3
Liutprand, 82, 1
Livonia, 93, 4
Lollards, 114, 1; 119, 1
Lombardus, P., 103, 2

Lord's Day, 18, 5; 32; 56, 1
Loretto, 113
Lothair, Emp., 82, 2
—— II., of Lothar., 82, 3, 4 [2
Louis, the Germanic, 82,
—— the Child, 82, 5
—— the Indol., 82, 5
—— the Pious, 82, 2
—— II., 82, 2
—— VII., 94, 2
—— IX., St., 93, 5; 94, 6; 96, 6
—— XII., 110, 4
—— of Bavaria, 110, 2
Lucas, Bohem. Sen., 113, 2
Lucian of Ant., 39, 6
—— of Samos., 24, 3
Lucidus, 53, 5
Lucifer of Calaris, 50, 2, 3; 63, 1
Luciferites, Schismatics, 63, 1
—— Heretics, 114, 3
Lucilla, 63, 2
Lucius, Brit. King, 77
Lucrezia, 110, 4
Ludmilla, 79, 2
Lullas, Archb., 78, 4
—— Raim., 93, 5; 104, 2
Lund, 93, 4
Luxeuil, 78, 1
Lyons, Council of, 67, 4; 96, 6
Lyra, Nicholas of, 116, 2

Macarius the Gr., 48, 7
Maccabees, festival of, 57, 1
Macedonius, 50, 5
Macrianus, 23, 5
Macrina, 47, 4
Magdeburg, 93, 3
Magister sent., 103, 2
Magnoald, 78, 1
Mainots, 42, 3; 72, 1
Majorinus, 63, 2
Malta, Knights of, 98, 6
Mamertus, 59
Mandeans, 22; 27, 3
Mani and Manich., 28, 54, 1
Mansur, 68, 5
Mantua, Counc. of, 110, 4
Manuel Comn., 69
Maphrian, 52, 7
Mara, 14, 2
Marcellus of Anc., 50, 2
Marcia, 23, 3
Marcian, Emp., 52, 4
Marcion, Gnos., 30, 10
Marco Polo, 93, 5
Marcus Aurelius, 23, 3
—— Evangelist, 17
Marianus Scotus, 102, 1
Marius Mercator, 53, 4
Maris, 52, 3
Maronites, 52, 3; 73, 3;
Marozia, 96, 1
Marriage, 36, 1; 61, 2; 88, 1; 105, 1
Mass, canon of, 59, 4
—— sacrifice of, 58, 3; 89, 3
Masses for the Dead, 58, 3; 89, 3
Martin I., 52, 8
—— V., 110, 3
—— of Duma, 76, 4
—— Polonus, 104, 3
—— of Tours, 49; 54, 2
Martyrs, 33, 5; 36, 4; 57, 5
Massilians, 53, 5
Mastersingers, 114, 4
Matthew Paris, 104, 3
Matilda of Can., 96, 2
Maurus, St., 85
Maxentius, 23, 7
Maximianus, 23, 6
Maximilian I., 110, 4
Maximilla, 37, 1
Maximinus, Emp., 23, 6
—— the Thracian, 23, 4
Maximus, Emp., 54, 2
——Confess., 47, 6; 52, 8
Mayence, Synod of, 91, 4
Mayron, 116, 1 [4
Meinhard of Bremen, 93,
Melchiades, 63, 2
Melchisedechites, 40, 2
Melchites, 52, 7
Melitus of Ant., 63, 1
—— of Lycopol., 38, 3
Melito, 39, 3; 41, 1, 4
Memnon of Eph., 52, 3
Memoriæ, 57
Mendicant orders, 98, 4
Mennas, 52, 6
Menot, 113
Mensurius, 63, 2
Messalians, Chr. 44, 5
Messalians Heathen, 42, [
Methodius, 72, 3; 79
—— of Olympus 32, 8; 33, 2
Metrophanes, 67, 6
Metropolitans, 30; 83
Michael Balbus, 66, 4
—— Bohem., senior, 119, 5
—— Cærularius, 67, 3
—— de Cesena, 112, 1
—— the Drunkard, 67, 3
—— Palæologus, 67, 4
—— festival of, 57, 3
—— Angelo, 113, 3
Middle Ages, 74
Miecislav, 93, 2
Miesrob, 64, 3
Milicz, 119, 2
Militia Christi, 36
Millennarianism, 40, 8
Miltiades, 41, 1
Minimi, 112, 3
Minnesingers, 106, 3
Minorites, 98, 4
Minucius, Felix, 41, 1
—— Fund., 23, 2
Missa catech. et fidelium, 33, 1
Missale Rom., 59, 4
Mistvoi, 93, 3
Modalists, 40
Mogtasilah, 27, 3
Mohamet, 65
Möhler, 4, 4
Molay, J., 112, 2
Monarchians, 40
Monasterium Cler., 45, 1
Mongols, 93, 5
Monica, 47, 5
Monophysites, 52, 5, 7; 73, 2
Monotheletes, 52, 8
Montanists, 37
Monte-Cassino, 85
Montfort, S. of, 109, 1
Moors, 81; 95
Morality, higher and lower, 36
Moravia, 79, 1
More, Thomas, 110, 1
Moriscoes, 95 [4
Morsel, consecrated, 88,
Mosaic, 60, 3
Moses of Chorene, 64, 3
Moslems, 65

Mozarabs, 81
Music, 59, 3; 105, 5; 113, 2
Muspili, 88, 2
Mysticism, Greek, 68, 3
—— Latin, 100, etc.
—— German, 117

Naassenes, 28,
Νάρθηξ, 60, 1
Natales episcop., 45, 3
Natalis, 4, 2
Natalitia mart., 36, 4
Nazarenes, 27, 1
Neander, 4, 4
Nectarius, 61, 1
Nennius, 90, 9
Neophytes, 30, 1
Neoplatonists, 24, 2; 42
Nepos of Arsinoe, 40, 8
Nero, 23, 1
Nerses, 64, 3
—— Clajensis, 73, 2
—— of Lampron, 73, 2
Nerva, 23, 1
Nestorians, 52, 3; 64, 2; 73, 1
Nestorius, 52, 3
Neumæ, 59, 3
New-year, 56, 5
Niebelungen, 106, 3
Nice, Council of, 46, 2; 50, 1 (66, 3).
Nicephorus Gregoras, 69, 1
—— Callisti, 68, 4 [5
Nicetas Acominatus, 68,
—— of Nicomed., 67, 4
—— Pectoratus, 67, 3
Nicolaitanes, 19; 28, 6
Nicholas I., 67, 1; 72, 3; 82, 4; 83, 1; 91, 4
—— II., 96, 2
—— of Basle, 114, 2
Nicholas von der Flüe, 112. 5
—— Cabasilas, 68, 5; 70, 4
—— of Methone, 68, 5
—— Mysticus, 67, 2
Nicola Pisano, 105, 7
Niedner, 4, 4
Nimbus, 60, 3
Ninian, 77, 3
Niphon, monk, 70, 4
—— Patr., 70, 1
Nitrian Desert, 51, 1
Nithard, 90, 9
Noetus, 40, 4
Nogaret, W. of, 110, 1
Nominalists, 100, 2
Nomocanon, 43, 3
Nonæ, 86, 1
Nonua, 47, 4
Nonnus of Panop., 48, 8
Norbert, 98, 3
Norway, 91, 1
Noting of Verona, 91, 4
Notker Labeo, 101, 1
Novatians, 38, 3
Novatus, 38, 2
Noviciate, 44, 3; 86, 1
Nunia, 64, 4
Nuns, 44; 85, 3
Nynias, 77, 3

Oblati, 85, 1
Oblations, 33
Obotrites, 93, 3
Observantes, 112, 1 [1
Occam, W., 112, 1; 116,
Ockenheim, 113, 3
Octavæ, 56, 4
Odericus Vitalis, 103, 3
Odilo of Clugny, 98, 1
Odo of Clugny, 98, 1; 101, 1
Odoacer, 76, 6
Œcumenius, 68, 4
Officials, 97
Officium Sanctæ Mariæ, 105, 3
Οἰκονομία, 40, 1
Οἰκόνομοι, 45, 5
Oktai-Khan, 93, 5
Olaf, 80, 1; 93, 1
Olga, 72, 4
Oliva, J. P., 108, 4
Olivetans, 112, 1
Ommiades, 81, 1; 95, 2
Omphalopsychoi, 69, 1
Onochoetes Deus, 23
Ophites, 28, 4
Optatus of Mileve, 63, 2
Oranges, Synod of, 53, 5
Oratories, 84, 2
Ordeals, 88, 4
Ordination, 30, 1; 45, 3
Ordines majores et minores, 30, 1
Ordo Rom., 59, 4
Ordruff, 78, 4
Organ, 89, 2
Origen, 39, 4; 40, 5; 41, 3
Origenists, 51
Orosius, P., 53, 4; 54, 2
Orphans, 115, 4
Orthodoxy, festival of, 64, 4
Ortuinus Gratus, 120, 2
Osculum pacis, 32
Ostiarii, 30, 1
Ostrogoths, 76, 7
Oswald, 77, 5
Oswy, 77, 5, 6
Ota, 78, 2
Otgar of Mayence, 87, 2
Otho I., 93, 2, 3; 96, 1
—— II., III., 96, 1
—— IV., 96, 5
—— of Bamberg, 93, 3
—— of Freisingen, 103, 4

Pabulatores, 44, 5
Pachomius, 44
Pacifico, 105, 4
Pagani, 42, 3
Painting, 60, 3; 105, 7; 113, 4
Palladius, 48, 2; 77, 2
Pallium, 46
Palm Sunday, 56, 4
Pamphilus, 41, 2; 47, 3
Pantænus, 39, 4
Paphnutius, 45, 4
Papias, 39, 1
Parabolani, 45, 5
Paris, Synod of, 92, 1
Parochia, 84, 2
Parochus, 30; 84, 2
Pasagii, 108, 1
Paschal II., 96, 3
Paschasius Radb., 91, 3
Passover, 32
Πασχα, &c., 31
Patareni, 108, 1
Pataria, 97, 2
Pater orthod., 47, 4
Patriarchs, 46
Patricius, 77, 2
Patripassians, 40, 3
Patronage, 84
Patronus, 57
Paul II., 110, 4; 119, 4
—— Diaconus, 90, 3
—— of Samos., 36, 3 40, 7

Paul Silentiarius, 48, 4
—— of Thebes, 36, 3
—— Warnefrid, 90, 3
Paula, St., 44, 2
Paulicians, 71, 1
Paulinus of Ant., 63, 1
—— of Aquileja, 90, 3
—— Nolanus, 48, 8 [4
—— the Missionary, 77,
Pauperes de Lugduno, 108, 5
Payens, Hugh de, 98, 6
Pelagius, 48, 1; 53, 3
—— of Rome, 52, 6
Pelayo, 81
Penance, priest of, 61, 1
—— redemption of, 98, 5
Penda, 77, 4
Penitential books, 78, 5
Pentecost, 56, 4
Pepin, 82, 1
Pepuziani, 37, 1
Peratics, 28, 4
Peregrinus, 24, 3
Perfectus, 81
Periodeutes, 45, 5
Peristerium, 60, 2
Perpetua, 23, 5
Person of Christ, controversies about, 52
Persia, 64, 2
Peschito, 36, 3
Peter's pence, 82
Petilian, 63, 2
Petrarch, 114, 4
Petrobrusians, 108, 3
Peter, Ap., 17
—— of Alex., 38, 4
—— of Amiens, 94
—— of Bruys, 108, 3
—— Cantor, 103, 3
—— of Castelnau, 109, 1
—— Chrysolanus, 67, 4
—— Damiani, 97; 102, 1
—— Dresdensis, 113, 2
—— Fullo, 52, 5
—— Lombardus, 103, 2; 105, 1
—— Mongus, 52, 5
—— of Murrone, 112, 3
—— of Pisa, 90
—— Siculus, 71, 1
—— Venerabilis, 98, 1; 109
—— Waldus, 108, 5
Pfefferkorn, 120, 1
Pharensis Syn., 77, 6
Pharisees, 9, 2
Pherozas, 64, 2
Philip I. of France, 96, 3
—— III., of Spain, 95
—— Aug. of France, 94, 3; 96, 5
—— the Fair, 110, 1
Philippopolis, Synod of, 50, 2
Philippus, the Evang., 15; 17
—— Arabs, 23, 4
Philo, 11, 1
Philopatris, 43
Philoponus, 47, 6
Philosophy, Greek, 8, 4
Philostorgius, 4, 1
Philoxenus, 59, 1
Phocas, 46, 2
Photinus, 50, 2
Photius, 67, 1; 68, 5
Φθαρτολάτραι, 52, 7
Φωτιζόμενοι, 32, 1
Piacenza, Council of, 94
Picts, 77, 3
Pictures, 37
Pilgrim of Passau, 93, 2
Pilgrimages, 57, 6; 89, 4
Pirkheimer, 120, 2
Pirminius, 78, 1
Pisa, Council of, 110, 3, 4
Pistis Sophia, 28, 4
Pius II., 110, 4; 108, 3; 119, 4
Planck, 4, 3
Plastic Art, 66, 3; 105, 7; 113, 4
Plato, 8, 4; 47, 5; 68, 3; 100, 2
Plebani, 84, 2
Plebes, 84, 2
Plebs, 30
Pleroma, 26
Pletho, 68, 2; 120, 1
Pliny, 23, 2
Plotinus, 24, 2
Plutarch, 24, 2
Pneumatics, 26, 1; 37, 1
Pneumatomachoi, 50, 5
Podiebrad, 119, 4
Poets, Christian Latin, 48, 8
Polycarp, 23, 3; 32, 1; 39, 1
Polycrates, 32, 1
Polyglotts, 120, 3
Pomerania, 93, 3
Pompa diab., 36
Pomponazzo, 120,
Pontianus, 38, 1
Ponticus, 23, 3
Pontion, Synod of, 82, 5
Pontius, 98, 1
Poor, case of, 88, 3
Popes, coronation of, 96; 115
—— election of, 96, 2, 4, 6
Porphyrius, 24, 2, 3
Portiuncula, 98, 4
Possessed, the, 30
Possessor of Carth., 53, 5
Potamiæna, 23, 4
Pothinus, 23, 3
Prædestinarians, 98, 3
Præpositi, 84, 2
Pragmatic sanction, 97, 6; 110, 4
Praxeas, 37, 2; 47, 3
Prayer, 36
Prebends, 84, 4
Predestination, 53; 91, 4
Preaching, 34; 59; 105; 113 [4
Preachers, Order of, 98,
Precariæ, 86
Precists, 96
Presbyter, 18, 2; 30; 45
Primacy of the Pope, 30, 3; 46, 1, 2
Primasius, 48, 1
Primian, 63, 2
Priscilla, 37, 1
Priscillianists, 54, 2
Private Confession, 61, 1
—— Masses, 56, 3
Procession of the Holy Spirit, 50, 6; 67, 1; 91, 2
Processions, 59
Proclus, 42; 48, 3
Procopius the Gr., 119, 4
—— of Gaza, 48, 1
Proculus, 23, 4
——the Montanist, 40, 8
Prodicians, 28, 6
Proselytes, Jewish, 11, 2
Πρόσκλαυσις, 36, 2
Προσφοραί, 33
Prosper Aquit 48, 8; 53, 5

Proterius, 52 2
Provosts, 84, 2
Prudentius, 48, 8
—— of Troyes, 91, 4
Prussia, 93, 4
Psalter, 30, 1
Psellus, 68, 5; 71, 3
Pseudepigraphs, 39, 7; 63, 1
Pseudo-Basilidians, 28,2
—— Dionysius, 47, 1; 48, 5; 90, 1
—— Isidore, 87, 2
Psychicoi, 26, 1; 37, 1
Publicani, 108, 1
Pulcheria, 52, 4
Purgatory, 58, 3; 67, 6; 101, 1

Quadragesima, 32; 56,4
Quadratus, 43, 1
Quartodecimani, 30, 1; 56, 3
Quercum, Syn. ad, 51, 3
Quicunque, symbol., 50, 7
Quinisextum, 63, 3 [4
Quinquagesima, 32; 56,

Rabanus Maurus, 90, 5; 91, 3, 4
Rabulas of Edessa, 52, 3
Radbertus Pasch., 90, 5; 91, 3; 105, 2
Radbod, 78, 3
Radewin, 112, 5
Raimundus Lullus, 93, 5; 104, 2
—— de Pennaforti, 99
—— du Puy, 98, 6
—— of Sabunde, 116, 2
—— of Toulouse, 109, 1
Ralph Flambard, 96, 3
Raphael, 113, 4
Rastislav, 79
Ratherius, 97; 101, 1
Ratisbon, Synod of, 91, 1
Ratramnus, 67, 1; 90, 5; 91, 3, 4
Realists, 100, 2
Realm, estates of, 84, 1
Recafrid, 81, 1
Reccared, 76, 2
Rechiar, 76, 4
Reclusi, 85, 5
Recognit. Clem., 43, 4
Reconciliatio, 36, 2
Redemptions, 88, 5
Reformation in Head and Members, 118
Regino of Prüm, 88, 5
Reginus, 105, 5
Regionary Bishops, 84
Reichenau, 78, 1
Reinerius Sachoni, 108,1
Relics, worship of, 36, 4; 57, 5; 89, 4; 105, 3
Religiosi, 43, 3
Remigius of Lyons, 91, 4
—— of Rheims, 76, 9
Remismund, 76, 4
Remoboth, 44, 5 [6
Reparatus of Carth., 52,
Reservationes, 110
Reuchlin, 120, 2
Revenues of the Church, 45
Rhense, meeting of Elect., 110, 2
Rhodoald of Porto, 67, 1; 82, 4
Richard Cœur de Lion, 95, 3
—— a St. Victore, 103, 3
Richer, 101, 1
Rienzi, Cola di, 110, 2
Rimbert, 80, 1
Rimini, Council of, 50, 3
Risus paschalis, 106, 1
Ritter, J., 4, 4
Robber Synod, 52, 4
Robert of Arbrissel, 98,3
—— of Citeaux, 98, 2
—— Grossteste, 104, 3
—— Guiscard, 96, 2
—— of Sorbonne, 104, 3
—— King of France, 105, 4
Roger Bacon, 104, 3
Rokycana, 119, 4
Romanesque style, 105,6
Romanus, 96, 1
Romuald, 98, 1
Rosary, 105, 3
—— Fraternity of, 113, 1
Roscellinus, 102, 3
Rosenplüt, Hans, 114, 4
Rota Rom, 96
Rothad of Soissons, 83, 1
Rubianus, Crotus, 120, 2
Rudolph of Swabia, 96, 2
Rufinus, 4, 1; 47, 5; 48, 2; 51, 2
Rügen, 93, 3
Rugians, 76, 6
Rupert, 78, 2
—— of Deutz, 103, 3
Russia, 72, 4 [1
Ruysbroek, John of, 117,
—— William, 93, 5

Sabatati, 108, 5
Sabbath, 56, 1
Sabellius, 40, 4, 6
Sabians, 22
Sabinianus, 60, 2
Sacraments, 105, 1
Sacramentarium, 59, 4
Sacrificati, 23, 5
Sacrificial Theory, 33, 3
Sacrum rescr., 53, 3
Sadducees, 9, 2
Saints, worship of, 57; 105, 3
Saladin, 94, 3
Salvianus, 48, 3
Salzburg, 78, 2; 79
Samaritans, 10; 22
Sampseans, 27, 3
Sanction, Pragm., 96, 6
Sapores II., 64, 2
Sarabaites, 39, 5
Sardica, Synod of, 46, 2; 50, 5
Sarmatio, 62
Sarolta, 93, 2
Saturnalia, 56, 5
Saturninus, 28, 7
Savonarola, 119, 2
Savonières, Synod of, 91, 4
Sbynko, 119, 3
Scepticism, 8, 4
Scetian Desert, 51, 1
Schism, Papal, 110, 3
—— Eastern, 67
Schisms, 38
Schmidt, Christ., 4, 4
Schola Palat., 90
—— Saxonica, 72
Scholastica, 85, 3
Scholasticism, Greek, 47, 6; 68, 3
—— Latin, 100, etc., 116
Schools, Monastic, 90, 1
—— Popular, 118, 1, 106, 2

Schools, Ancient Theological, 39, 3, 4, 5; 47; 52, 2
Scotists, 104, 1
Scotus, Erig., 90, 5, 7; 91, 4
—— J. Duns, 104, 1
Seckingen, 78, 1
Secundus, 50, 1
Sedes apostolicæ, 30
Sedulius, 48, 8
Segarelli, 108, 3
Sembat, 71, 2
Semiarians, 50, 3
Semipelagians, 53, 5
Semler, 4, 3
Sends, 88, 5; 97
Sens, Synod of, 103, 1
Septimius Sev., 23, 4
Septuagint, 9, 2; 34, 2; 56, 4
Sequences, 89, 2
Serapeion, 36 [2
Serenius Granianus. 23,
Serenus of Massil., 57, 4
Sergius of Const., 52, 8
—— of Ravenna, 83, 1
—— of Rome, 63, 3
—— Tychicus, 71, 1
Servatus Lupus, 91, 4
Servites, 98, 4
Sethians, 34, 4
Severa, 23, 4; 26
Severians, 52, 7
Severinus, 76, 6
Shiites, 65, 1
Sibylline Books, 41, 1
Sicilian Vespers, 96, 6
Sickingen, 120, 2
Σιδηρούμενοι, 70, 3
Siena, Council of, 110, 3
Sigillaria, 56, 5
Sigismond, of Burgundy, 76, 5 [3
—— Emp., 110, 3; 119,
Sigurd, 93, 1
Simeon Metaphr., 68, 4
——of Thessalonica, 68, 5
Simon Magus, 22, 2
—— of Tournay, 108, 2
Simony, 96, 2
Singing Schools, 89, 2
Sirmium, Council of, 50, 2, 3
Sixtus II., 23, 5
Sixtus IV., 112, 1; 115
Socrates, 8, 4
——the Church Hist., 4, 1
Soissons, Synod of, 78, 4; 103, 1
Sophronius, 52, 8
Sorbonne, 104, 3
Sorores, 36, 3
Sotties, 114, 4
Sozomenus, 4, 1
Spanheim, 4, 2
Spirit, Sect of the Holy, 108, 2
Spirituales, 98, 4
Spittler, 4, 3
Spolia, 140
Sponsors, 32
Sprenger, 115, 2
Ssufis, 65, 1
Staupitz, 117, 1
Stedingers, 109, 2
Stephen of Rome, 32, 2
—— II., 66, 2; 82, 1
—— III., 66, 2
—— VI., 82, 5
—— St., 93, 2; 96, 1
—— de Borbone, 108, 5
—— Langthon, 96, 5
—— of Sünic, 73, 2
—— festival of, 57, 1
Stock, Simon, 98, 3
Stoicism, 8, 4
Stolberg, L. of, 4, 4
Streaneshalch, Synod of, 77, 6
Studites, 44, 4
Sturm of Fulda, 78, 4
Stylites, 39, 4; 85, 5
Subdeacons, 30, 1
Subintroductæ, 36, 3
Succat, 77, 2
Suevi, 76, 4
Suffragans, 84
Sulpitius Sever., 4, 1
Summis desiderantibus, 115, 2
Συνεισάκτοι, 36, 3
Σύσταδις, 36, 2
Sunnites, 65, 1
Suso, H., 117, 1
Sutri, Synod of, 96, 1
Svatopluk, 79, 2
Svatoslav, 72, 4
Sven, 93, 1
Sweden, 80; 93, 1
Sword, Brethren of, 93, 4; 98, 6
Sylvanus, 71, 1
Sylvester I,, 59, 3
—— II., 94; 96, 1
Symbols, 35, 1
Symeon, 72, 3
—— called Titus, 71, 1
—— of Jerus., 23, 2
Symmachus, 42
Synagogues, 9, 2; 18, 5
Syncelli, 46
Synergists, 53, 1
Synesius, 47, 4
Synods, *see* Councils.
Synodus Palmaris, 46, 2
Syzygia, 27, 4; 28, 3

Tabernaculum, 60, 2
Taborites, 119, 4
Talmud, 22
Tamerlane, 73, 1
Tanchelm, 108, 4
Tartares, 73, 1
Tatian, 28, 8; 41, 1
Tauler, 117, 1
Templars, 98, 6; 112, 2
Tempus clausum, 56, 4
Terebinth, 29, 1
Tertiaries, 98, 4
Tertullian, 37, 2; 39, 5; 40, 3; 53, 1
Tertullianists, 37, 2
Theatricals, religious, 106, 2
Theganus, 90, 9
Themistius, 42, 4
Theodelinda, 76, 8
Theodemir, abbot, 98, 2
—— I., 76, 4
Theoderic, 76, 7
Theodo I., 78, 2
Theodora, 52, 6 (66, 4); 71, 1 (96, 1)
Theodoret, 44, 5; 52, 3, 4
Theodorus Ascidas, 52, 8
—— Balsamon, 48, 3
—— of Mops., 47, 1; 48, 1; 52, 3; 53, 4
—— of Niem, 118, 2
—— Studita, 66, 4
Theodulf of Orl., 88, 1; 90, 3
Theognis of Nicæa, 50, 1

Theologia Germanica, 117
Theonas, 50, 1
Theopaschites, 52, 6
Theophano, 96, 6
Theophilus, Emp., 66, 4
—— of Alex., 42, 3; 51, 2, 3
—— of Ant., 41, 1
—— of Diu, 64, 4
Theophylact, 68, 5
Θεοτόκος, 52, 2, 3
Therapeutæ, 11
Thesaur. superog., 107
Thietberga, 82, 4
Thietgaut of Treves, 82, 4
Thomas Aquinas, 104, 1; 105, 1
—— a Becket, 96, 4
—— of Celana, 105, 4
—— a Kempis, 112, 5
Thomas-Christians, 52, 3
Thomasius, Christ., 115, 2
Thomists, 104, 1
Thontracians, 71, 2
Thrasamond, 76, 3
Thuribulum, 60, 3
Thurificati, 23, 5
Tiberius, 23, 1
Tillemont, 4, 2
Timotheus Ælurus, 52, 5
Tiridates III., 64, 3
Tithes, 86
Titian, 113, 4
Tituli, 84, 2
Torquemada, 115, 1
Toulouse, Synods of, 106, 2; 108, 1; 109, 2
Tours, Syn. of, 102, 2; 110, 4
Towers, 60, 1
Tradition, 30, 3
Traditores, 23, 6
Traducianism, 53, 1
Trajan, 23, 2
Transfiguration, festival of, 56, 6
Translations, 57
Transubstantiation, 58, 2; 105, 1
Treuga Dei, 106, 1
Tribur, diet at, 96, 2
Trinity, festival of, 105, 2
Trinitarians, Order of, 98, 3
Trinitarian controversy, 40; 50
Troubadours, 106, 3
Trullanum I., 52, 8
—— II., 63, 3
Turlupines, 114, 3
Turribius, 54, 2
Tutilo, 89, 6
Tychonius, 48, 1
Typos, 52, 8
Tyre, Synod of, 50, 2

Uladislaus, 119, 5, 6
Ulfilas, 76, 1
Ulric of Augsburg, 84, 3
Unam sanctam, 110, 1
Unction, Extreme, 61, 2; 70, 2
Union of Greek with Rom. Ch., 72, 4
Unitas fratrum, 119, 6
United Greeks, 72, 4
Universities, 100, 1
Unni of Hamb., 93, 1
Urban II., 96, 3
—— IV., 96, 6
—— V., 110, 2
—— VI., 110, 3
Ursinus of Rome, 63, 1
Ursula, 108, 4
Usuardus, 90, 9
Utraquists, 119, 5

Valence, Synod of, 91, 4
Valens, Bishop, 50, 3
—— Emp., 50, 4; 6'
Valentinian I., 42, 3
—— II., 42, 3
—— III., 46, 2
Valentinus, 28, 3
Valerianus, 23, 5
Valla, Laur., 120, 1
Vallambrosians, 98, 5
Vandals, 76, 3
Varanes, 29, 1
—— V., 64, 2
Velasquez, 98, 6
Vengeance, private, 88, 4
Vercelli, Synod of, 102, 2
Verdun, treaty of, 82, 2
Veronica, 14, 2
Vespers, Sicil., 96, 8
Vestibulum, 60
Vicelinus, 93, 2
Victor I. of Rome, 32, 1
—— II., 96, 2
Vienna, Council of, 110, 2; 112, 2, 3
Vigilantius, 62
Vigils, 32; 56, 4
Vigilius of Rome, 52, 6
Vincentius Ferreri, 114, 1
—— of Lirinum, 48, 5; 53, 5
Virgilius of Salzb., 78, 4
Virgin, festivals in honour of, 57, 2; 105, 2; 113, 1
Visigoths, 76,
Vladimir, 72, 4
Vulgate, 59, 1

Wadstena, 112, 3
Walafrid Strabo, 90, 4, 6; 91, 3
Waldenses, 108, 5
Waldhausen, conr. of 119, 3
Walter the Penniless, 94, 1
—— of St. Victore, 103, 3
—— von der Vogelweide, 106, 3
Warnefrid, Paul, 90, 3
Wazo of Lieges, 109
Wearmouth, 85, 4
Wechabites, 65, 1
Week, the great, 32
Welsh, 4
Wenceslaus, 119, 4
Wenceslav, 93, 2
Wends, 93, 3
Wesel, J. of, 119, 1
Wessel, J., 119, 1
Wido of Milan, 97, 2
Widukind, 101, 1
Wilfrid, 77, 6; 78, 3
Willibrord, 78, 3
Willehad, 78, 3
William of St. Amour, 98, 4
—— of Aquitaine, 98, 1
—— of Champeaux, 102, 1
—— the Conqueror, 96, 3

William of Nogaret, 110, 1
—— Rufus, 96, 3
—— Ruysbroek, 93, 5
—— of Tyre, 94, 3
Willigis of Mayence, 97, 1
Wilzen, 93, 3
Winfrid, 78, 4
Witches, malleus maleficarum, 115, 2
—— procedure against, 115, 2
Wittekind, 78, 5
Wolfram of Eschenb., 106, 3
Worms, Syn. of, 96, 2
—— concordat of, 96, 3
Wulflaich, 78, 3
Wulfram, 78, 3
Wycliffe, 119
—— theology of, 119, 1
—— successors of, 119, 2

Xerophagiai, 37, 3
Ximenes, 120, 4, 5

Zacharias, 82, 1
—— of Anagni, 67, 1
Zanzalus, J., 52, 7
Zelatores, 98, 4
Zeno, 8
—— Emp., 52, 5
Zenobia, 40, 7
Ziska, 119, 4
Zosimus, 42, 4; 53, 3, 4
Zütphen, Gerh. of, 112, 5

TEXT-BOOK

OF

CHURCH HISTORY.

BY

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PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DORPAT: AUTHOR OF "A MANUAL OF SACRED HISTORY," "THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY," ETC., ETC.

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TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

THE present volume completes "Kurtz's Text-book of Church History." In preparing the translation, I was largely aided by the Rev. John Beck, A.M., of Easton, who consented to carry on the work during my protracted summer's illness, and to whom the last twenty paragraphs must be accredited.

This volume differs from the first in being a direct American translation from the original, instead of a republication of a foreign work. Its preparation, consequently, demanded a greater amount of labor than that expended on the first volume, but it was labor of a vastly more pleasant kind. And I cannot but hope, that the course thus adopted will receive general approval.

As the prosecution of the undertaking has necessarily brought me into closer intimacy with this Text-book, my earlier convictions of its great excellence have been fully confirmed. It would be hard to find a *text-book* in any department of literature, to equal it in lucid conciseness, and its admirable arrangement of the material on hand. In this respect it is a book which cannot fail to be welcomed by teachers and students, in all our institutions of learning, in which due attention is given to this important branch of knowledge.

The book possesses, however, another virtue, worthy of commendation. I refer to the courageous distinctness with which it assumes and maintains its theological and ecclesiastical character. Dr. Kurtz, of Dorpat, is a true Lutheran, and is not ashamed to let his book bear testimony to the fact. To many moving in

a different Church sphere this may seem an objection, and they may especially complain of occasional partialities of statement into which his denominational preferences may have betrayed him. But such faults are fully atoned for by excellencies springing from the same root with themselves, and should be the less offensive because they may be so easily corrected by every intelligent student.

With but three exceptions, the author has been allowed to pursue his course uninterruptedly, and even then the brief corrections of what are thought misstatements have been thrown into brackets, easily distinguished from the author's text, or into a foot-note.

Those parts of Dr. Kurtz's history referring to the British and American Churches will be found somewhat meagre and defective. But its wants, in this respect, may be readily supplied by those into whose hands the book may fall.

It has been the single aim of the translators to furnish the English student and reader with a true and faithful rendering of the original, holding themselves responsible, not for the sentiments of the author, but only for the style and fidelity of the translation.

J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

THIRD SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

§ 1. Its Character and Limitations..... PAGE 27–29

FIRST PERIOD OF CHURCH HISTORY IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Sixteenth Century.)

I. THE REFORMATION.

a. Establishment of the Reformation.

§ 2. Commencement of the Wittenberg Reformation (1517–1519)..... 32
1. Luther's Early Years. 2. The Theses. 3. Cajetan and Miltiz. 4. The Leipsic Disputation. 5. Melanchthon.

§ 3. The Period of Luther's Conflicts and Trials..... 36
1. The Bull of Excommunication. 2. Erasmus. 3. Charles V. 4. Luther at Worms. 5. The Wartburg Exile.

§ 4. Degeneracy and Purification of the Reformation in Wittenberg.... 42
1. The Wittenberg Fanaticism. 2. Francis of Sickingen. 3. Carlstadt. 4. Thomas Münzer. 5. The Peasants' War.

§ 5. Luther's Feuds with Henry VIII. and Erasmus..... 46
1. Luther and Erasmus. 2. Thomas Murner. 3. Berthold of Chiem-see.

§ 6. Development of the Reformation in the Empire..... 48
1. The Diet of Nuremberg. 2. Spread of Evangelical Doctrines. 3. The Diet of Nuremberg, in 1524. 4. Convention of Regensburg. 5. The Evangelical States. 6. The Torgau Alliance. 7. The Diet of Spires (1526).

§ 7. Establishment of the National Evangelical Churches 54
1. Electoral Saxony. 2. Hesse. 3. Other German States 4. Lower Germany.

§ 8 Martyrs of the Evangelical Faith (1521–9) 57

§ 9 Luther's Private and Public Life 58

§ 10 The Reformation in German Switzerland (1519–21) 60
1. Ulric Zwingli. 2. The Reformation in Zurich. 3. In Basel. 4. In other Cantons. 5. Anabaptists. 6. Disputation in Baden. 7. Disputation in Berne. 8. Triumph of the Reformation in Basel, St. Gall, and Schaffhausen. 9. First Peace of Cappel. 10. Second Peace of Cappel.

§ 11. The Sacramentarian Controversy (1525–1529) 68

§ 12. The Protest and Confession of the Evangelical States 70
1. The Pack Affair. 2. The Emperor's Position. 3. The Diet of Spires (1529). 4. The Marburg Colloquy. 5. The Schwabach Convention. 6. The Diet of Augsburg. 7. The Augsburg Confession. 8. Recess of the Augsburg Diet (1530).

§ 13. Events and Negotiations during 1531–36 76
1. The Smalcaldic League. 2. The Religious Peace of Nuremberg. 3. The Evangelization of Würtemberg. 4. The Reformation in Anhalt and Pomerania. 5. In Westphalia. 6. The Münster Faction. 7. Extension of the Smalcaldic League. 8. The Wittenberg Concord.

§ 14. Events and Negotiations during 1537–39 83
1. The Smalcald Articles. 2. The Nuremberg League. 3. The Frankfort Suspension. 4. The Reformation in Albertinian Saxony. 5. In Mark Brandenburg.

§ 15. The Period of Union Efforts (1540–46) 87
1. The Landgrave's Bigamy. 2. Religious Colloquy at Worms. 3. At Regensburg. 4. Regensburg Declaration. 5. The See of Naumburg and the Würzen Quarrel. 6. The Reformation in Brunswick and the Palatinate. 7. In the Principality of Cologne. 8. The Emperor's Embarrassments. 9. Diet of Spires. 10. Quarrels of the Emperor with the Evangelical States. 11. Luther's Last Days.

§ 16 The Smalcald War and the Interim (1546–51) 96
1. Preparations for the War. 2. The Campaign along the Danube. 3. On the Elbe. 4. The Council of Trent. 5. The Augsburg Interim. 6. Its Introduction. 7. The Leipsic Interim. 8. Resumption of the Council of Trent.

§ 17. The Elector Maurice and the Peace of Augsburg (1550–55) 104
1. The State of Affairs. 2. The Elector Maurice. 3. The Treaty of Passau. 4. The Death of Maurice. 5. The Religious Peace of Augsburg. 6. The Second Attempt to reform Cologne.

§ 18. The Reformation in French Switzerland 109
1. Calvin's Forerunners. 2. Calvin prior to his Labors in Geneva. 3. Calvin's First Period in Geneva. 4. His Second Residence there. 5. Calvin's Writings. 6. Doctrinal System. 7. The Triumph of Calvinism over Zwinglianism.

§ 19. The Reformation in other Countries 114
1. Sweden. 2. Denmark. 3. Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. 4. England. 5. Scotland. 6. The Netherlands. 7. France. 8. Poland. 9. Bohemia and Moravia. 10. Hungary. 11. Transylvania. 12. Spain. 13. Italy. 14. Turkey.

b. Inner History of the Churches of the Reformation.

§ 20. The Distinctive Character of the Lutheran Church 129

§ 21. Doctrinal Controversies in the Lutheran Church 130
1. The Philippists. 2. The Antinomian Controversy. 3. The Osiandrian. 4. The Adiaphoristic. 5. The Majoristic. 6. The Synergistic. 7. The Crypto-Calvinistic. 8. The Karg and Æpine. 9. The Form of Concord. 10. Electoral Saxony Articles of Visitation. 11. The Huber Controversy.

§ 22. Constitution, Cultus, Life and Literature of the Lutheran Church .. 140
1. Constitution. 2. Public Worship and Art. 3. Hymnology. 4. Psalmody. 5. Theology. 6. National Literature. 7. Missions.

§ 23. Internal Character of the Reformed Church 148
1. Psalmody. 2. Theology. 3. Missions.

§ 24. Calvinizing of German Lutheran National Churches 150

II. THE DEFORMATION.

§ 25. Character of the Deformation 153

§ 26. Mysticism 154
1. Schwenkfeld. 2. Agrippa, Paracelsus, Weigel. 3. Seb. Franck, Giord. Bruno. 4. The Familists.

§ 27. Anabaptism 157
1. David Jöris. 2. Menno Simons.

§ 28. Antitrinitarians and Unitarians 158
1. German Antitrinitarians. 2. Servetus. 3. Italian Antitrinitarians before Socinus. 4. Socinus and the Socinians.

III. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

§ 29. Efforts to Strengthen and Renovate the Catholic Church 161
1. The Council and the Popes. 2. The Society of Jesus. 3. New Orders for Inner Missions. 4. Reformation of the old Orders. 5. Augustinianism. 6. Theology. 7. Music, Art, Poetry. 8. Piety.

30. Transmarine Missions 168
1. East India and Japan. 2. China. 3. America. 4. Abyssinia and Egypt.

§ 31. Catholic Restoration Efforts. 171
1. Views of the German Emperors. 2. Attempts at Restoration in Germany. 3. In other European Countries. 4. Russia and the United Greeks.

SECOND PERIOD OF CHURCH HISTORY IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Seventeenth Century.)

I. RECIPROCAL RELATIONS OF THE CHURCHES.

§ 32. The Oriental Churches and the West. 175
1. Expectations of the Catholics. 2. Of the Calvinists. 3. Orthodoxy Confirmed.

§ 33. Catholicism and Protestantism. 176
1. The Restoration in Germany and adjacent Territories. 2. Protestants in France, and Waldenses in Piedmont. 3. The Catholics in England. 4. Converted Princes. 5. Union Efforts.

§ 34. Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism 181
1. Calvinising of Hesse-Cassel. 2. Of the Earldom of Lippe. 3. Transition of the House of Brandenburg. 4. Union Efforts. 5. English Non-conformists.

II. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 35. The Papacy, Monasticism, and Missions 184
1. The Papacy. 2. New Orders. 3. Missions.

§ 36. Mysticism, Quietism, Jansenism 188
1. Mysticism and Quietism. 2. Jansenism in its First Stages.

§ 37. Science and Art. 192
1. Theology. 2. Church Music. 3. Poetry.

III. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

§ 38. Lutheran Orthodoxy and its Struggles 196
1. Orthodoxy in Conflict with itself. 2. The Syncretistic Controversy. 3. First Stages of the Pietistic Controversy. 4. Theology.

§ 39. Religious Life in the Lutheran Church 202
1. Mysticism and Asceticism. 2. Mysticism and Theosophy. 3. Church Hymns. 4. Psalmody. 5. Christian Life. 6. Missions.

IV. THE REFORMED CHURCH.

§ 40. Reformed Theology and its Conflicts 207
1. The Arminian Controversy. 2. Its Effects. 3. The Cartesian and Cocceian Controversies. 4. Theology.

§ 41. Piety in the Reformed Church 216
1. Music and Æsthetics. 2. Missions.

V. ANTI AND EXTRA-ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.

§ 42. Sects and Fanatics 218
1. The Netherland Anabaptists. 2. The English Baptists. 3. The Quakers. 4. Schismatics and Sects. 5. Russian Sects.

§ 43. Philosophers and Free-thinkers 222
1. Philosophers. 2. Free-thinkers.

THIRD PERIOD OF CHURCH HISTORY IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Eighteenth Century.)

I. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 44. The Roman Catholic Church 226
1. The Popes of the first half of this Century. 2. New Orders. 3. Missions. 4. The Counter-reformation. 5. Conversions. 6. Jansenism in its second stage. 7. The Order of Jesuits abolished. 8. Anti-hierarchical movements in Germany. 9. The French Revolution. 10. Illumination. 11. Theology.

§ 45. Oriental Orthodox Church 238

II. THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

§ 46. The Lutheran Church before the Illumination 240
1. Second stage of the Pietistic Controversies. 2. Theology. 3. Theories of Canon-law. 4. Hymnology. 5. Psalmody. 6. Piety and Devotional Literature. 7. Missions.

§ 47. The Moravians (Unitas Fratrum) 252
1. Zinzendorf. 2. Establishment of the Church. 3. Progress of the Church. 4. Zinzendorf's Plans and Labors. 5. Spangenberg. 6. Missions.

§ 48. The Reformed Church and Methodism 266
1. Methodism. 2. Union Efforts. 3. Theology.

§ 49. New Sects and Fanatics 269
1. Fanatics and Schismatics in Germany. 2. The Inspiration Congregations in Wetterau. 3. Dippel. 4. Hypocritical and Immoral Sects. 5. Swedenborgianism. 6. New Baptist Sects. 7. New Quaker Sects. 8. The Hebrews and Hattemists.

§ 50. The Theology and Literature of the period of Illumination..... 276
1. English Deists. 2. The Forerunners of German Illumination. 3. Illumination in Germany from 1750. 4. Transition Theology. 5. Rationalistic Theology. 6. Supranaturalistic Theology. 7. German Philosophy. 8. National Literature.

§ 51. Ecclesiastical Life during the period of Illumination..... 288
1. Dilution of Hymn-books, and Sacred Poetry. 2. Psalmody. 3. Church parties. 4. Christian Societies and Missions.

FOURTH PERIOD OF CHURCH HISTORY IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

(Nineteenth Century.)

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 52. Review of Religious Movements during the Nineteenth Century... 293

§ 53. General basis of culture in the nineteenth century, in its relations to Theology and the Church..... 295
1. German Philosophy. 2. The Sciences. 3. National Literature 4. National Culture. 5. Art.

II. PROTESTANTISM.

§ 54. The Protestant Church in general, especially in Germany..... 306
1. Rationalism. 2. Pietism. 3. The Union. 4. Lutheran opposition to the Union. 5. The Confederation. 6. Lutheranism. 7. Melanchthonianism and Calvinism. 8. Complications regarding Worship. 9. Home; and, 10. Foreign Missions.

§ 55. Protestant Established Church 327
1. Prussia. 2. Saxony. 3. Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Hessen, Lippe. 4. Würtemberg and Baden. 5. Switzerland. 6. Austria. 7. Bavaria. 8. England, Scotland, Ireland. 9. Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway. 10. France and Belgium. 11. Italy, Spain, Russia, Turkey. 12. North America.

§ 56. Protestant Theology in Germany 351
1. The Founders of the Theology of the Nineteenth Century. 2. Rationalistic Theology. 3. The Supranaturalistic Schools. 4. Speculative Theology and the School of Baur. 5. The Modern or German School. 6. Lutheran Confessional Theology.

III. ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

§ 57. Roman Catholicism in general 376
1. The Papacy. 2. The Jesuits, Trappists, School-sisters. 3. Proselytism. 4. Ultramontism. 5. National Religious Liberalism. 6. The Unions. 7. Theology.

§ 58. Roman Catholic National Churches 392
1. Italy. 2. Spain, Portugal, South America. 3. France, Belgium, Holland. 4. England, Ireland, N. America. 5. Austria, Bavaria, and Hanover. 6. The Church Province of the Upper Rhine. 7. Prussia and Mecklenburg. 8. Switzerland.

§ 59. The Orthodox Greek Church 403

IV. ANTI-CHRISTIANITY.

§ 60. Sects and Fanatics 405
1. The Propagation of the older Sects. 2. Fanatical Phenomena. 3. The Harmonites. 4. The New Templars. 5. The Hypocrites of Königsberg. 6. The Irwingians. 7. The Darbyites. 8. The Amen Society. 9. The Mormons.

§ 61. Practical Anti-Christianity 414
1. The St. Simonites. 2. Socialists and Communists.

Chronological Tables.

Index.

THIRD SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN ITS

MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

§ 1. CHARACTER AND LIMITATIONS OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

In the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Germanic spirit, which, until then, had been under the tutelage and discipline of the Romish Church, attained to maturity and independence. It fully emancipated itself from the bondage of its master, who had become an ambitious oppressor, and had made every effort to suppress all independent attempts to secure ecclesiastical, theological, and scientific freedom — all movements in favor of evangelical reforms. In the primitive history of the Church, the person of Christ was made the centre of salvation, and the Holy Scriptures were set forth as the *source* of all announcements and knowledge of salvation. The development of Christianity was impelled in the *ancient* Church by tradition, in the *mediæval* by the hierarchy, in the *modern* by science. Tradition represents the continued agency of the *Holy Ghost* in the Church—the hierarchy represents *Christ's* supremacy over the Church. By the former the catholicity of the Church was developed; the latter protected the Church against the storms which arose amid the conflicts of the ancient and modern world, and secured its perpetuation. But both tradition and the hierarchy transcended their proper limits; hence upon modern science devolved the duty of leading men back to the fountain of salvation in Christ, and of the knowledge of that salvation in the Scriptures, that thus the truth might be sifted of falsehood, and that which was normal be separated from abnormal developments in the history of the Church. This happened in the Reformation. Not that science produced the Reformation, for it was rather called forth by deep anxieties for the salvation of the soul, against which Romish tradition had sealed the Sacred Scriptures, and Romish indulgences and justification by works

had barred faith in Christ. But the Reformation became the most zealous patron of science, because science furnished the means of discovering, establishing, and perfecting the principles of true reform. These principles were: the sole normal authority of the Holy Scriptures, and justification by faith alone, without any merit of works.

1. As the Romish Church, in opposition to the Reformation, clung to its peculiarities, both in form and substance, and even reaffirmed them, the occidental Church was sundered into an Evangelical Protestant and a Roman Catholic Church. And, as the principles of the Reformation were differently apprehended, Protestantism divided into two branches, the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. In addition to these three western Churches, and the ancient oriental Church, all which were based upon the common foundation of primitive catholicism, various sects arose which repudiated that catholicism, and set up for themselves. In consequence of these divisions and schisms, modern Church History exhibits varieties, activities, and rivalries, with good and bad fruits, such as no previous period presents. Another still more distinctive peculiarity of this age of the Church is found in the fact that infidelity, fanaticism, worldliness, and anti-Christianity have developed themselves in its course more vigorously, widely, and consistently, than ever before, so that an anti-Christian secular Church is seen in violent antagonism to the true Church of Christ. This progress of anti-Christianity has its ground in this: that, according to prophecy and historical necessity, the kingdom of darkness will develop itself parallel with the kingdom of God more decidedly and vigorously as it approaches its end, and thus become ripe for judgment. In regard to the duty of the Church to *extend its limits*, we find that, whilst the early Church prosecuted the work of missions among the Greeks and Romans, and the mediæval Church spread Christianity among the Germanic-Slavonian nations, the modern Church has engaged in the work of bearing the Gospel to countries beyond the ocean, so that, before the end of all things, Christianity may make the circuit of the earth.

2. Modern Church History clearly and distinctly presents four separate forms of development, by which its division into as many periods is justified. The main characteristic points of their distinction consists partly in the opposition between particular Churches, partly in the antagonism between faith and infidelity. The transitions from one period to another nearly correspond with those of the several centuries. The *first* period is the *age of the Reformation* (the sixteenth century), in which the reformatory German church-life was separated from the Romano-German, and their reciprocal relation became fixed. The *second* period, extending beyond the seventeenth century, was that of the general conflict between the leading particular Churches, and

exhibits their free, independent development. It is characterized as the *age of orthodoxy*, and of the supremacy of confessions of faith. In the *third* period, reaching to the commencement of the nineteenth century, infidelity, in the form of *deism*, *rationalism*, and *naturalism*, began to assert its authority. The *fourth* period, beginning with the present century, includes our own times. Revived faith, invigorated by its triumphant conflict with rationalism, branches out on the side of Protestantism, into latitudinarian *unionism*, and strict *confessionalism*, whilst the Romish Church mounts to the pinnacle of the most zealous *ultra-montanism*. Infidelity, also, assumes new and decidedly anti-Christian forms, in the shape of *pantheism*, *materialism*, and *communism*, and seems to wage a war of extermination against everything Christian in Church and State, in science and faith, in social and political life.

FIRST PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

§ 2. COMMENCEMENT OF THE WITTENBERG REFORMATION. (1517–19.)

No historical event so clearly and plainly displays a ruling divine Providence as the German Reformation. In its case, place, time, persons, circumstances, and relations, religious and political, all combined most wonderfully to secure, for the great work, a firm basis, a safe position, a healthy tendency, strict purity, powerful protection, general recognition, successful progress, and permanent results. There was a lively sense of the errors of the Church, and a deep and general longing after a reformation; and science offered it ample means to effect a reformation. The papal chair was occupied by a man as indifferent and indolent as *Leo X.;* and another, as foolhardy and shameless as *Tetzel*, vended indulgences For the tender plant, there was provided a protector as pious, faithful, and conscientious, as honored and esteemed, as *Frederick the Wise.* On the imperial throne sat *Charles V.*, sufficiently powerful and inimical to kindle the purifying fires of affliction, but too much involved in political troubles to render a reckless and violent suppression of the movement either prudent or possible. Besides these, there were a great many other persons, circumstances, and complications, all which seemed to conspire, as by design, to strengthen and advance the cause. Then, finally, at the proper time, at the most desirable place, and amid the most favorable circumstances, arose a genius like *Luther*, in whom was found the rarest combination of all the gifts and qualities of spirit, mind, character, and will, requisite to the great work. He was, moreover, providentially trained for his high mission by the events of his life, and by being made to experience in his own soul the essential principles of the Reformation, and to make such proof of its divine power, that he felt irresistibly impelled to communicate to the world this most sacred and precious experience of his life. The great work began with the nailing of ninety-five simple *theses* to the door of the Wittenberg Castle church, and the Leipsic disputation constituted the first prominent point in his history.

1. *Luther's Early Years.*—*Martin Luther* was born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483. After growing up under strict parental discipline, and amidst the wants and privations of poverty, he went, in 1501, to study law at the University of Erfurt. Deeply affected by the sudden death of his friend *Alexius*, he entered the Augustine monastery at Erfurt in 1505. In great distress for the salvation of his soul, he sought to quiet his conscience by fastings, prayers, and penances. But his temptations ever returned with new power. An old brother in the monastery, one day, repeated to the distressed and almost exhausted penitent the article of the creed: "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." It was a word of comfort to his soul. He was still more cheered by the counsel of his noble superior, *John Staupitz*, the provincial of the Augustines for Germany. He pointed out to him the way of true repentance and faith in the Saviour, who was crucified not for imaginary sins. Following his advice, Luther zealously studied the Bible, along with the writings of Augustine, and of the mystics of the middle ages. In 1508, Staupitz aided him in obtaining an appointment to the chair of philosophy in the University of *Wittenberg*, founded in 1502. This compelled him thoroughly to study scholastic authors. A journey to Rome, undertaken in 1510, at the request of his order, had a mighty influence upon his future course. Indignant at the blasphemous levity and immorality exhibited there by the clergy, and unappeased by the outward penances to which he submitted, he returned home. All the way back, these words resounded in his ears: "The just shall live by faith." It was a voice from God to his soul, and filled his troubled spirit with divine peace. After his return, Staupitz gave him no rest until he was promoted to the theological doctorate (1512), when he commenced lecturing upon theology, and also preaching in Wittenberg. Guided by the study of Augustine, he penetrated ever more deeply into the knowledge of the Scriptures, and of their fundamental doctrine of justification by faith; he attained daily to greater freedom from the trammels of scholastic formalism, and from those of mediæval pantheistic mysticism, by which he had, at first, allowed himself to be unduly influenced.

2. *Luther's Theses.* (Cf. *F. G. Hoffmann*, Lebensbeschr. Tetzel's. Lpz. 1844.—*Val. Gröne* (Cath.) Tetzel u. Luther. Soest. 1853. In reply: *H. O. Köhler*, röm. Geschichtsverdrehung, etc., in the Luth. Ztschr., 1855, III.—*J. H. Hennes*, Albr. v. Brandb. Mainz, 1858).—Pope Leo X. had authorized a general indulgence, avowedly to complete St. Peter's, but really to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments, and gratify his love of splendor. Germany was divided among three commissioners. The Elector *Albrecht of Mayence*, who was also Archbishop of Magdeburg (a brother of the Elector of Brandenburg), himself assumed the chief management of the commission for his provinces, reserving the half of the receipts for the liquidation of his own debts. Among the vendors of indulgences whom he appointed, *John*

Tetzel, the Dominican prior, was the most scandalous. Attended by a numerous retinue, he travelled from place to place, and offered his wares with the most unexampled impudence and obtrusive publicity. Thus he set up in *Jüterbock*, near Wittenberg, and attracted crowds of purchasers from all directions. Luther discovered, in the confessional, the pernicious consequences of this disorder, and on the eve of All Saints' Day, *Oct.* 31, 1517, he nailed ninety-five theses (in Latin), "in explanation of the power of indulgences," on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg. Although these theses did not assail the doctrine of indulgence itself, but merely its abuse, their decided reference to faith in Christ as the only ground of salvation, involved the life-principle of the Reformation. With incredible rapidity the theses were spread over Germany, and indeed over all Europe. Luther connected with them a sermon for the people upon "indulgences and grace." The movement met with so much favour, that the friends of the old order of things were compelled to resist it. Tetzel publicly burned the theses at Jüterbock, and, with the aid of *Conrad Wimpina*, of Frankfort, prepared counter-theses, which he wished to discuss with Luther. A number of copies of these were bought by the Wittenberg students, and, in retaliation, burned by them; an act of which Luther highly disapproved. *John Eck*, pro-chancellor in Ingolstadt, one of the most learned theologians of his day, and a professed friend of Luther, wrote *Obeliscos*, in which, without naming Luther, he severely denounced the Bohemian poison. Luther rejoined in his *Asteriscos*. At first Leo X., in his self-security, regarded the matter as nothing more than an unimportant quarrel among the monks, and even praised Brother Martin as a remarkable genius. *Hogstraten's* cry of heresy he did not heed, but had no objections that the Dominican, *Sylvester Prierias*, master *sacri palatii*, should controvert Luther. His book was a miserable affair. Luther briefly and effectually refuted it. Prierias wrote a second more wretched reply. Luther, instead of replying to this, published it himself. Leo then enjoined silence upon his unskilful advocate. — In May, 1518, Luther addressed a humble letter to the pope, and, in self-justification, added detailed *Resolutiones* upon his theses. Both were to be sent to Leo by Staupitz.

3. *Cajetan and Miltiz* (1518).—At length it was resolved, at Rome, to lay vigorous hold of the Wittenberg movement. The papal fiscal entered complaints against Luther, who was thereupon summoned to answer to the charge, in Rome, within sixty days. But, at the solicitation of the University of Wittenberg, and especially of *Frederick the Wise*, the pope committed the settlement of the matter to his legate, *Cardinal Cajetan*, at the Diet of Augsburg. Luther appeared and appealed to the Bible. But the legate wished to refute him by the testimony of the scholastics, and, after vainly demanding an unqualified retraction, arrogantly turned away. Luther made a formal appeal to the pope, and happily escaped from Augsburg. Cajetan now sought to incite

Frederick the Wise (1486–1525) against the refractory monk; but Luther's meek and cheerful confidence won the heart of the noble elector.—No good was to be looked for from Rome; hence Luther prepared, in advance, an appeal to a general council, which, however, the covetousness of the printer prematurely circulated, against the will of Luther. — In Rome, the unhappy issue of the diet was charged to Cajetan's unwise obstinacy. By a papal bull, the doctrine of indulgences was carefully defined, their abuse disapproved, and the papal chamberlain, *Charles of Miltiz*, a Saxon, a man of worldly adroitness, was sent, in 1519, as papal nuncio to Saxony, to confer upon the elector the sacred golden rose, and adjust the controversy. He began his work by severely condemning Tetzel, and approached Luther with the most flattering kindness. Luther apologized for his violence, wrote a humble, submissive letter to the pope, and, in order to do all in his power, publicly issued an explanation of the views ascribed to him by his opponent. But, notwithstanding these concessions, he firmly adhered to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without any merit of good works. He promised the nuncio to abstain from further controversy, provided his opponents also remained silent; these, however, did not comply.

4. *The Leipsic Disputation* (1519). (Cf. *J. K. Seidemann*, d. Lpz. Disp. Dresd. 1843. — *C. G. Hering*, de disp. Lps. hab. Lpz. 1839).— *John Eck*, of Ingolstadt, who had previously exchanged controversial treatises with Luther, had engaged in a dispute with *Andrew Bodenstein, of Carlstadt*, a zealous adherent and colleague of Luther, a professor and preacher in Wittenberg, and Luther himself had proposed a disputation between them. This was to take place in *Leipsic*, in 1519. But the vain Eck not only sought to attract as much attention as possible to the proposed disputation, but to involve Luther in the controversy. For eight days Eck debated with Carlstadt upon grace and free will, and with overpowering skill, boldness, and learning, defended Romish semi-pelagianism. Then for fourteen days he discussed, with *Luther*, the pope's primacy, repentance, indulgences, and purgatory, and sorely pressed him with accusations of the Hussite heresy. But Luther vigorously defended himself with Bible proofs, and became convinced that even general councils (like that of Constance) might err, and that not all Hussite doctrines are heretical. Both parties claimed the victory. Luther followed up the debate with several controversial tracts; neither did Eck keep silent. Other combatants also entered the field. The party of *Liberal German Humanists* had, at first, taken but little notice of Luther's movements. But the Leipsic disputation changed their views of the case. *Luther* seemed to them a second Reuchlin, *Eck* as another *Ortuinus Gratius*. A pungent anonymous satire, "Der abgehobelte Eck," which surpassed the Aristophanian wit of the epistolæ obscurorum virorum, was published early in 1520. It was succeeded by several satires by *Ulric von*

Hutten ("Die Anschauenden," "Vadiscus, oder die römische Dreifaltigkeit," etc.), whom Luther's appearance at Leipsic had anew electrified. *Hutten* and *Sickingen* offered themselves and their entire party, soul and body, pen and sword, to the service of Luther. Though this league with the Humanists was temporarily needful to the Reformation, it would have given a wholly false direction to the cause, had it not been, in due time, providentially dissolved. — The Leipsic disputation likewise led to amicable relations between the *Bohemian Hussites* and the German reformer; letters, gifts, and messages, were exchanged between them. But, on the other hand, Duke George of Saxony, in whose castle and presence the disputation was held, became from that time an irreconcilable foe of Luther and his Reformation. (Cf. *A. M. Schulze*, Herz. Georg. u. M. Luther. Lpz. 1834.)

5. *Philip Melanchthon.* (Cf. Melanchthon's Leben by *F. Galle*, Halle, 1840, and by *K. F. Matthes*, Altenb. 1841.)— There was a man present at the Leipsic disputation who occupied a prominent place in the progress of the Reformation. Born at Bretten, in the Palatinate, in 1497, *Philip Melanchthon* (*Schwartzerd*) entered the university at Heidelberg in his thirteenth year. Three years later he published a Greek grammar; in his seventeenth year he obtained the master's degree, and in his twenty-first (1518), at the recommendation of *Reuchlin*, a relative, was appointed professor of Greek at Wittenberg. His fame soon spread over all Europe, and attracted to him thousands of hearers from all countries. Luther and Erasmus both lauded his talents, his fine culture, and his learning, and his age pronounced him the *Præceptor Germaniæ*. He was an Erasmus of loftier power and nobler mien, a complementary counterpart of Luther. His entire nature breathed forth modesty, mildness, and goodness. With child-like simplicity he yielded to the power of evangelical truth, and humbly bowed to the more forcible practical spirit of Luther, who, on his part, however, gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God in raising up such a coadjutor for him and his cause. — Melanchthon wrote a report of the Leipsic disputation to his friend Œcolampadius, which incidentally fell into Eck's hands. This occasioned a controversy between them, in which Eck's vain self-exaltation, and Melanchthon's noble modesty, were equally manifest. His first participation in the new movement was in the form of an apology for Luther, issued under an assumed name.

§ 3. THE PERIOD OF LUTHER'S EARLIEST CONFLICTS AND STRAITS. (1520, 1521.)

The Leipsic disputation led Luther to assume an essentially freer point of view. He was made to see that he could not stop half-way; that his great principle of justification by faith was wholly incompatible with the hierarchical system of the

papacy and its fundamental doctrines. But along with his violence and subjective one-sidedness, which he displayed in this period of his earliest conflicts and straits (1520, 1521), he still possessed sufficient considerateness to hold fast to the spiritual character of his reformatory labors, and to reject the carnal aid offered by Ulric von Hutten and his warlike associates, however thankfully he acknowledged their ardent sympathy. The position he then occupied, as well as the full height of his subjectivism at that time, are set forth in two papers written during the first half of the year 1520: "*An kaiserliche Majestät und den christl. Adel deutscher Nation* von des christlichen Standes Besserung," in which he razed the three breastworks behind which the papacy had intrenched itself (the supremacy of the pope over all temporal powers, his exclusive authority to interpret the Bible, and his sole right to convoke councils), and proposed measures for the radical improvement and reconstruction of the German Church, — and "*De captivitate babylonica ecclesiæ*," the main subject of which was the doctrine of the sacraments. He admits only three (baptism, repentance, and the Supper), and rejects the communio sub una, transubstantiation, and the idea of a sacrifice in the Mass. Some of his works of a more edifying character, also belong to this period, as the exposition of Galatians, the manual on confession, the sermon on good works, etc. The papal bull of excommunication incited him to more violent words and acts, and with heroic boldness he hastened to Worms, to render an account of his doings before the emperor and diet. The papal ban was followed by the imperial proscription. But as an exile in Wartburg he escaped from the hands of his foes and — his friends.

1. *The Romish bull of excommunication* (1520). — To reap the fruits of his imaginary victory, *Eck* had gone back to Rome, and returned triumphantly as a papal nuncio with a bull dated June 15, 1520, in which Luther was pronounced a heretic, his writings ordered to be burned, and he threatened with the ban, unless he appeared in Rome within sixty days. *Miltiz* made new attempts to compromise matters, which, of course, were unsuccessful, although Luther, to show his good intentions, gave them consideration, and proposed a basis of compromise in his tract — "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen," in which he shunned controversy as much as possible. He accompanied this paper with a letter to the pope, in which, with all its sincere expressions of humility, and reverence for the person of the pope, whom he represented as dwelling in the midst of a most abominable

Romish Sodom and Gomorrah, like a sheep among wolves, or like Daniel in the lions' den, there was no trace of repentance or retraction. It was easy to foresee, however, that neither paper would suit the taste of the Romish court. Meanwhile, Eck came with the bull itself. After its publication, Luther opened his assault upon it with three writings ("Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen," "Contra exsecrabilem Antichristi bullam," "Assertio omnium articulorum per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum"), and renewed his appeal to a general council, which he had carefully prepared two years before.—In Saxony, Eck's bull only excited derision, but in Lyons, Mayence, Cologne, etc., Luther's writings were really burned. Then Luther took the boldest step of his life. Attended by a large concourse of doctors and students, invited by a placard posted on the black board, he burned the bull with the papal decretals on Dec. 10, 1520, at 9 A. M. This was an absolute divorce from the pope and Romish Church. He had thus rendered all retreat impossible. Hutten shouted approbation, and proclaimed in German rhymes a full catalogue of the sins of the Romish curia.

2. *Erasmus* (1520). (Cf. *W. Chlebus*, Erasm. u. Luth., in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1845, II.—*W. E. Eberhardi*, Warum blief Erasm. Kath., ibid. 1839, III.)—Thus far Erasmus kept on good terms with Luther; they cherished mutual respect and esteem. However diverse their positive tendencies, they agreed in opposing scholasticism and monasticism. Erasmus rejoiced in the defeat of an obnoxious monasticism, and persistently rejected all solicitations to write against Luther; neither did he care, as he confessed, to feel the rasp of Luther's wrath. When the papal bull appeared, he decidedly disapproved of it, and even expressed doubts as to its genuineness. As the oracle of his day, his opinion of the whole matter was often asked. He said, the papal decision itself was not to be condemned, but its manner and form. He desired an arbitration of learned and pious men, with three princes (the German emperor, and the kings of England and Hungary), to whose decision Luther should submit. *Frederick the Wise* also (before Luther had taken his boldest step) had consulted Erasmus, who then said, that Luther had made two mistakes, he had touched the pontiff's crown and the monks' bellies; he also regretted Luther's want of moderation and considerateness. The elector heard these declarations of Erasmus, not without approbation. The proposal to submit the case to an arbitration, also had its influence upon subsequent public measures against Luther.

3. *The Emperor Charles V.* (1519–20).—The Emperor Maximilian died Jan. 12, 1519. The Elector of Saxony, the regent of the empire, declined his election in favour of Charles I., the young King of Spain, Maximilian's grandson, who was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on Oct. 23. All hopes centered in the young emperor. It was expected

that he would place himself at the head of the religious and national movement in Germany. But Charles, who was a stranger to the impulses of the German spirit, and did not even understand the language, had interests which he was not disposed to subordinate to German politics. The German crown was but an integral part of his power; its interests had to subserve the general interests of the empire, on whose domain the sun never set. He considered the religious agitation in Germany important, but not so much in its religious as in its political aspect. It furnished him with the desired means of keeping the pope in check, and of compelling him to favour his interests. Charles demanded two things of the pope for the suppression of the religious movement in Germany: first, that he should renounce French alliances, and league with the emperor against France; secondly, the withdrawal of the previously issued papal breve, which ordered a reconstruction of the Spanish Inquisition—a main prop of absolute monarchy in Spain. Leo X. yielded to both demands, and thus the hopes of the Germans, that Charles would at length rid the nation of the ignominious Roman yoke, were frustrated. The compact between the emperor and pope was concluded on May 8, 1521.—*Charles* opened his first diet at Worms on Jan. 28, 1521. In February a papal brief arrived, urgently admonishing the emperor legally to enforce the bull against Luther. During a tournament Charles summoned the princes to his quarters, communicated the breve to them, and submitted an edict couched in strong terms, enjoining the execution of the bull. He desired them at once to give their assent. But he met with unexpected opposition. The States demanded that Luther should be summoned to Worms, under an imperial safe-conduct, to answer the charges made against him. They could not consider his assaults upon Romish abuses a crime, since they themselves had drawn up an indictment of 101 gravaminam against Rome, which they intended laying before the diet. Still they declared themselves ready to subscribe the edict, if Luther would not retract in regard to points of doctrinal dispute. Earnestly as the papal legate *Alexander* protested against a temporal diet affording a heretic the opportunity of a trial, the opinion of the Estates prevailed. An imperial herald was dispatched to Wittenberg to summon Luther to Worms under an imperial safe-conduct. Before his arrival, the confessor of the emperor, *Glapio*, a Franciscan, who was by no means a blind devotee of the Romish chair, sought to effect an amicable settlement of the affair. He thought if Luther would but retract the most offensive of his books, as that of the Babylonian captivity of the Church, and acknowledge the decrees of Constance, the whole case might be dismissed. He first laid this proposition before the Elector of Saxony, and after failing with him, sought *Francis of Sickingen* in the castle of Ebern. He embraced the plan, and invited Luther to a conference in his castle. But Luther did not trust Glapio, and declined the invitation.

4. *Luther at the Diet of Worms* (1521). (Cf. *W. Boye*, Luth. zu W Halle. 2 A. 1824.—*Zimmer*, Luth. zu W. Heidelb. 1821.)—In the meantime Luther had not been idle at Wittenberg. He preached twice daily, delivered lectures, wrote books and letters, had conferences, and contended with opponents, especially with *Jerome Emser* in Leipsic, with whom he became involved in a long and odious correspondence in regard to his memorial addressed to the German nobility. The imperial herald found him in the midst of these various labors. He dropped everything, and obeyed the citation with courage and confidence. The fears of his friends in Wittenberg, the admonitions to return which were addressed to him on his way, he discarded with Christian heroism, in his usual vigorous manner. His journey resembled a triumphal march. He reached Worms on April 14, amidst a dense mass of people, attended by his theological friends, *Justus Jonas* and *Nicholas Amsdorf*, and the legal counsellor, *Jerome Schurf*. Soon after his arrival, on April 17, he was cited before the diet. He acknowledged the books laid before him as his own; in regard to the required retraction, he obtained time for consideration until the following day. In his subsequent declaration, he divided his books into three classes (those setting forth positive doctrines, controversial writings against the papacy and papal doctrines, and those directed against private persons), and gave his reasons, at length, for refusing to recall any of them. A direct answer was demanded. He gave this by saying that he would not and could not retract, unless it could be shown, from Scripture, or by other clear proofs, that he was in error, and concluded with the words: "Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir! Amen." He had won the hearts of many German knights and princes, but had not favorably impressed the emperor. Still, Charles spurned the suggestion to withdraw the promised safe-conduct from the heretic. Well-meant attempts, urging him still to retract, Luther met with the words of Gamaliel (Acts 5 : 38, 39), and, on April 26, left Worms without hindrance. On May 26, after some of the princes (including the Elector of Saxony) had gone away, the papal legate succeeded, by various secret machinations, in having the imperial decree, couched in the severest terms, pronounced against Luther and all his adherents, and falsely antedated May 8 (*the edict of Worms*). But Luther had been safely concealed.

5. *The Wartburg Exile* (1521–22). (Cf. *C. Köhler*, Luth. auf d. Wartb. Eisenach, 1798, 4to.)—By the provident arrangement of the elector, two masked knights, with some servants, had surrounded Luther's carriage, in a forest near Eisenach, seized Luther, and, with seeming violence, borne him off to the Wartburg, where, dressed in the garb of a knight, and known as Knight *George*, he was directed quietly to await further developments. It was generally supposed that he was dead. But when Cardinal *Albert*, of Mayence (as Archb. of Magdeburg), reopened the sale of indulgences in Halle, he soon dis-

covered, to his terror, that the bold monk was still living. At the elector's request, he indeed kept back his tract, "Wider den Abgott von Halle," for the time, but in a letter addressed to the cardinal, peremptorily required him to cease the traffic within fourteen days. The archbishop succumbed, and wrote a mild apologetic answer. Luther also gave more public proof that he still lived, and was not inclined to keep silent, or change his course, by writings of an instructive or destructive character. He completed his exposition of the Magnificat, sent forth the first part of his Church-postils, wrote "Wider den Missbrauch der Messen," "Von den geistlichen und Klostergelübden," etc. Nevertheless, he was greatly dissatisfied with the elector's precaution, by which, at such a time, he was withdrawn from active life. He would rather "burn on glowing coals than rot in such inaction." But this very involuntary exile rescued him and the Reformation from a ruinous downfall. Apart from the dangers to which the imperial sentence exposed him, and which might have compelled him to seek refuge with an Ulric von Hutten and his associates, which would have made the Reformation degenerate into a revolution — apart from this, the compulsory detention in the Wartburg was advantageous and important to Luther and his cause, in many respects. One advantage of it was, that men thus learned to distinguish Luther's work from his person; but a still greater advantage was that which accrued to Luther himself from this exile. His past life had exposed him to the danger of attempting to carry on the work by violent, stormy measures, rather than by considerate and positive means. The leisure of the Wartburg compelled him quietly and earnestly to examine himself and his labors, which he could not do amid the conflicts and perplexities of his public life, and the fanaticism of the Wittenberg iconoclasts, and prophets of Zwickau, which he could now observe and judge of calmly and without prejudice, showed him, as in a warning mirror, whither he too, and his work, might have been hurried. His theological knowledge, also, had not acquired that ripeness, circumspection, and clearness, which he needed to carry on his work, for he was still largely involved in subjectivism. At the Wartburg, however, he could turn from his work of demolition to that of building up, and by the undisturbed study of the Holy Scriptures, extend, purify, and strengthen his religious views. It was of special importance, also, that at the Wartburg he formed and partly (in regard to the New Testament) executed the plan of *translating the whole Bible* into German. His exile, likewise, by restraining his violent temper, and, by the inward temptations and conflicts he then experienced, served to humble him, to strengthen his religious character, and to purge and sanctify his entire nature.

§ 4. DEGENERACY AND PURIFICATION OF THE REFORMATION IN WITTENBERG. (1522–25.)

During Luther's absence, the Reformation had progressed, in Wittenberg, only too rapidly, and soon became entangled in the wildest fanaticisms. But Luther hastened to the scene, obtained control of the movement, and soon brought it back to moderate evangelical measures. The fanatics fled from Wittenberg, but only to carry on their revolutionary disorders elsewhere. At the same time, however, danger threatened from other directions. The religious movement started by Luther happened to be simultaneous with a twofold political agitation, the conflict of the German knights with the princes, and the insurrection of the German peasants against the nobility. The Reformation was in danger of being mixed up with these political movements, and of sharing their fate. But Luther stood firm as a rock against all temptations, and the dangers passed by.

1. *The Wittenberg Fanaticism* (1522). (Cf. *H. W. Erbkam*, Gesch. d. protest. Secten im Zeitalter d. Ref. Hamb. 1848. — *J. Hast*, Gesch. d. Wiedertäufer von ihrer Entst. zu Zwickau bis zu ihr. Sturz in Münst. 1835.)—An Augustine monk, Gabriel Didymus, preached in the Church of St. Augustine in glowing terms against vows and private masses. Thirteen of his Order left it together in consequence of his preaching. Two neighboring priests married. *Carlstadt* wrote against celibacy, and followed their example. At a monastery of the Order in Wittenberg it was resolved to abolish mendicancy and the mass. But this was not all. *Didymus*, and still more *Carlstadt*, so inflamed the people and students, that under their guidance they perpetrated the grossest violence. Public worship was wantonly disturbed, under the pretence of exterminating the "idolatry" of the mass; images were cast out of the churches, altars were broken down, and some desired wholly to abolish the clergy and theological learning. A fanatical spirit began to show itself simultaneously in *Zwickau*. At the head of the movement were two weavers, *Nicholas Storch* and *Thomas Marx*, and a literary character, *Marcus Stübner*, who pretended to divine revelations, whilst *Thomas Münzer* proclaimed the new gospel from the pulpit with glowing eloquence. Restrained in their operations by energetic civil interference, the Zwickau prophets went abroad. Münzer went to Prague; Storch, Marx, and Stübner to Wittenberg. There they proclaimed their revelations, and zealously denounced infant baptism as an institution of Satan. The disorder in Wittenberg daily increased. The enemies of the Reformation rejoiced; Melanchthon was at his wits' end; the elector was thunderstruck. Luther could endure it no longer. Against the elector's express command he left the Wartburg

May 3, 1522, wrote a heroic letter to the electors, availed himself of his knightly incognito at a hotel in Jena, and calmly indulged in cheerful fellowship (*John Kessler*), and soon after appeared publicly in Wittenberg. For a whole week he preached night and day against the fanatics, and soon became master of the storm. The Zwickau agitators left Wittenberg; Carlstadt remained, but kept quiet for a few years. Luther and Melanchthon labored steadfastly to lay a positive basis for the Reformation: Melanchthon had already made a beginning in Dec. 1521, by publishing his *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*. In 1522, Luther also published, against the wish of his modest friend, Melanchthon's *Annotationes in Epist. Pauli ad Rom. et Cor.* The same year Luther's translation of the N. T. appeared, besides many defensive and offensive reformatory writings.

2. *Francis of Sickingen* (1522–23). (Cf. *E. J. H. Münch*, Fr. v. Sick. Stuttg. 1827, 2 Bde.) — It was primarily a private feud, like those of the middle ages, which led Francis of Sickingen, with a considerable force, to invade the domain of the elector and Archbishop of Treves. But prospective interests of quite a different character were connected with it, and incited the whole body of knights to take part with Sickingen. Sickingen's opponent was a prelate and an avowed foe of the Reformation; he was also a prince of the empire. Sickingen assailed him in both capacities, and invoked co-operation in the name of religion and political liberty. The knights who thoroughly disliked the state of public affairs, and were dissatisfied with the imperial government and the court, with princes and prelates, joined him in great numbers. Sickingen eagerly desired to have Luther in the league, but Luther could not be moved.—Sickingen's enterprise proved unfortunate. The Elector of the Palatinate, and the young Landgrave of Hesse, hastened to the assistance of their princely neighbor. The knights were singly put down, and Sickingen died of a mortal wound immediately after the storming of Ebernburg (May, 1523). The power of the knights was completely broken. The Reformation thus lost a brave and vigorous protector, but escaped destruction.

3. *Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt* (1524–25). (Cf. *Max Göbel*, Andr. Bodst. v. Karlst.; in the Stud. u. Krit. 1841. — *C. F. Jäger*, Andr. Bodst. v. Karlst. Stuttg. 1856.—*H. W. Erbkam*, l. c., p. 174, etc.) — Even after the suppression of the Wittenberg fanaticism, Carlstadt adhered to his revolutionary tendencies, and with difficulty remained quiet for two years. In 1524, he left Wittenberg and went to Orlamünde. There he violently denounced Luther's popery, again assailed the images, and began to advocate his view of the Lord's Supper, in which he wholly rejected the doctrine of the real presence. (§ 11, 1). To check the disorder, *Luther* went to Jena, by direction of the elector, and there preached in Carlstadt's presence against the iconoclasts and sacramentarians. Carlstadt was greatly enraged. During a visit to

Orlamünde, Luther was greeted with curses and stones. The elector now commanded Carlstadt to quit the country. He first went to Strassburg, and tried to gain *Martin Bucer* and *Wolfgang Capito* to his side. Luther addressed a warning to the Christians of Strassburg, who endeavored to reconcile the two. Carlstadt next went to Basel, and issued still more violent tracts against Luther's "stupid and shallow literal theology." Luther rejoined earnestly, thoroughly, and severely in his "Wider den himmlischen Propheten von den Bildern und Sacrament" (1525). *Carlstadt*, meanwhile, had drawn the Swiss Reformers into his disputes, and they kept up the controversy with Luther. He himself became implicated in the peasants' war; then, through Luther's mediation, obtained permission to return to Saxony, retracted his errors, but soon again revived his old agitations; and, after wandering from place to place, became professor and preacher at Basel, where he died of the plague (1541).

4. *Thomas Münzer* (1523–24). (Cf. *Ph. Melanchthon*, Hist. Th. Müntzer's; in Luther's Works by Walch, XVI.—*G. Th. Strobel*, Leb., Schriften, u. Lehren Th. Müntzer's. Nüremb. 1795.—*J. K. Seidemann*, Th. M. Dresd. 1842.—*L. Köhler*, Th. M. u. s. Genossen. Lpz. 1846, 3 Bde.) — In Wittenberg, fanaticism had, happily, been subdued. But a great portion of Germany began to ferment with a kindred, but more general and dangerous agitation. The prophets driven from Wittenberg had not been idle, and persons of a still more fanatical and factious spirit strove to uproot all order in Church and State. Their leader was *Thomas Münzer*. After his expulsion from Zwickau he had gone to Bohemia, and became an apostle of the Taborite doctrines. In 1523 he returned to Saxony, and took up his abode in *Allstädt*. There he gained many adherents. The Wittenberg Reformation was as vehemently reviled as the papacy. Not the letter of the Holy Scriptures, but the Spirit should be made the principle of this reformation; not only all ecclesiastical but all civil institutions should be abolished, and spiritualized. The doctrine of the evangelical liberty of Christians was grossly abused, the sacraments despised, infant baptism reviled, and all importance attached to the so-called baptism of the Spirit. Princes should be driven away, the foes of the Gospel be extirpated with the sword, and all possessions be held in common. When Luther wrote a letter to the church at Mühlhausen, warning it against these fanatical measures, Münzer became furious, and issued a libellous reply, entitled: "Hochverursachte Schutzrede und Antwort gegen das geistlose sanftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg," in which he heaped upon Luther the most vulgar revilings, and sneered at his "honigsüssen Christum," and "gedichtetes Evangelium." Soon afterwards he was ordered by the elector to leave Saxony (1524). He went to the Upper Rhine districts, where he found a luxuriant soil for his factious schemes.

5. *The Peasants' War* (1525). (Cf. *G. Sartorius*, Berl. 1795.—*F. Fr. Oechsle*, Heilbr. 1830.—*Burkhardt*, Lpz. 1832. 2 Bde.—*S. Bauer*, Ulm, 1836.—*H. W. Bensen*, Erlg. 1840.—*W. Zimmermann*, 2. Aufl. Stuttg. 1856.—*W. Wachsmuth*, Lpz. 1834.—*J. G. Jörg* (Cath.), Deutschl. in d. Revolutionsepoche 1522–25, Freib. 1851; and also *K. Hegel*, in the kieler allg. Monattsschr. für Wsch. u. Kunst 1852, July and August.)—For thirty years the peasantry of the empire had been restive under oppressive political exactions. Twice, already (1502 and 1514), had conspiracies (called "Bundschuh," from their signal,) been formed and quelled. They now seized upon Luther's ideas of Christian liberty, and drew their own inferences from them; and when *Münzer* began to operate among them with his agitating and fanatical sermons, their perverted views tended more and more to decided communism. As early as August, 1524, an insurrection of peasants broke out in the Black Forest; but it was speedily put down. But, in the beginning of 1525, fresh disturbances arose, and assumed a much more dangerous character. The peasants reduced their demands to twelve articles, and compelled princes, nobles, and prelates, to concede them. All Franconia and Swabia soon joined the movement, and even many cities made common cause with the insurgents. Still *Münzer* was not satisfied with the result. The twelve articles were too temperate for him, and the compacts concluded with the nobility and clergy were not at all to his mind. Returning to Thuringia, he took up his abode in *Mühlhausen*, endeavored to stir up fanaticism in the entire country, and organized a general insurrection. Thousands were murdered with unmerciful cruelty; all the monasteries, castles, and courts, were attacked and destroyed.—Boldly as *Luther* had assailed the existing ecclesiastical powers, he just as firmly maintained civil authority, and preached that *the Gospel secured spiritual liberty, but did not subvert civil government and social institutions.* He did indeed sympathize with the peasants in their extreme oppressions, and, whilst their demands were limited to the twelve articles, he hoped the movement might be controlled by the power of the Gospel. The insurgents had declared that, if any of their twelve articles could be proved inconsistent with the Word of God, they would yield. When *Münzer* began his disturbances in Thuringia, Luther himself visited the towns most in danger, and admonished them to quietness and subordination. He was recalled to Wittenberg by the death of the Elector Frederick (who departed in peace, May 5, 1525). From Wittenberg Luther then addressed his "Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die 12 Artikel der Bauerschaft in Schwaben," in which he appealed earnestly to the consciences of the princes as well as the peasants. But as the factious malcontents still gained greater ascendancy, and cruelties were multiplied, he gave vent to his ire in the book entitled, "Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Bauern." In it he warmly called upon the princes to put down the Satanic rebellion by violent and effectual measures.

Philip of Hessen was the first to respond. He was joined by the new Elector of Saxony, *John the Constant* (1525–32), the brother of Frederick, and soon after by *George of Saxony* and *Henry of Brunswick*. On May 15, 1525, the rebels were annihilated at *Frankenhausen*, after a stubborn resistance. Münzer was captured and beheaded. In Southern Germany, also, the princes everywhere almost simultaneously obtained the mastery over the insurrection. A hundred thousand people perished in this war, and the most flourishing districts were laid utterly waste.

§ 5. LUTHER'S FEUDS WITH HENRY VIII. AND WITH ERASMUS. (1523–26.)

Cf. *Chlebus*, *l. c.* § 3, 2. — *Jul. Müller*, Luther. de. predest. et lib. arbitr. doctr. Gottg. 1832. 4to.

Henry VIII., of England, originally destined for the priesthood, always retained a partiality for theological studies, and was ambitious to be thought a learned theologian. This led him to enter the arena of controversy in defence of the Romish doctrine of the seven sacraments, against Luther's "Babylonian Captivity of the Church." In his book he treated the peasant's son with the greatest contempt. Luther paid him back in his own coin, and dealt with his crowned antagonist as though he were an Emser or an Eck (1523). Henry, indeed, obtained what he sought; the pope conferred upon him the honorary title of defensor fidei. But Luther's plain dealing extinguished all desire to prosecute the controversy. He complained to the elector, who consolingly referred him to a general council. But this affair bore heavily upon the relation between *Erasmus* and Luther, who had thus far continued upon tolerably pleasant terms with each other. Erasmus, who was under obligations to Henry for many favors, became bitterly enraged against Luther for his unsparing severity. Hitherto he had declined all solicitations to write against Luther, so that many papists charged him with collusion with the heretic, and others said he was afraid of Luther's pen. All this incited him, at length, to come out against the reformer. He diligently studied Luther's writings, after obtaining papal permission to do so, and seized upon a doctrine, in discussing which he would not be required to defend Romish errors, but which he was least qualified to comprehend.

1. Luther's personal experience, associated with his study of Paul's Epistles and the writings of St. Augustine, had served to convince him that man was incapable of doing good, and therefore *not free*, and that

he could obtain salvation only through the free grace of God, without any personal merit. This persuasion, in his case, as in Augustine's, had led him to embrace the doctrine of absolute predestination. Melanchthon, also, had avowed the same view in the first edition of his Loci communes. It was upon this doctrine *Erasmus* seized in his Διατριβή de libero arbitrio, denouncing it as dangerous and unscriptural, and setting forth in opposition to it his own semi-pelagianism (1524). After the lapse of a year, Luther replied in the work: De servo arbitrio (in German by Justus Jonas: "Daz der freie Wille nichts sei"), exhibiting the power and confidence of personal conviction. Erasmus rejoined in his Hyperaspistes diatribes adv. Lutheri servum arbitrium (1526), in which he gave full vent to his passion, but without adding aught to the argument, wherefore Luther paid no further attention to his attack.

2. Among the most violent opponents and abusive villifiers of Luther and his cause, was the satirist, *Thomas Murner*, a Franciscan monk of Strassburg, subsequently of Luzerne (died about 1536). First of all, he issued a perverted translation of Luther's Babylonian Captivity (1520). To this he added slanderous productions: "Ain new Lied von dem Undergang des christl. Glaubens;" "Von dem Babstenthume wyder Dr. M. L.;" "An den Adal tütscher Nation, das sye den christl. Glauben beschirmen wyder den Zerstörer des Glaubens Christi. M. Luther, einen Verfiehrer der einfeltigen Christen," and many others of the sort. He also translated the book of Henry VIII., concerning the seven sacraments, and defended Henry in a tract entitled: "Ob der König uss Engellant ein Lügner sei oder der Luther." His principal satire against Luther is "Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren, wie ihn Dr. Murner beschworen hat 1522." It is the most important satirical production ever written against the Reformation. The author, it is true, does not take up the real nature of the Reformation; indeed he could not appreciate it; but its revolutionary, fanatical, and rhetorical element which then, already, followed at its heels, is chastised with uncouth but vigorous severity, and with the keenest wit (New ed. by *H. Kurtz*, Zurich, 1848). — Luther allowed the rude satirical reviler to pass unrebuked; but the humanist poured down upon him a very flood of scornful satires and lacerating lampoons.

3. The "Onus ecclesiae," of Bishop *Berthold of Chiem-see*, published anonymously, at Landshut, 1524, bore remarkable *Catholic* testimony in favor of the Reformation. Appealing to the Apocalypse, he unsparingly depicts the corruptions of the Church, and argues for the necessity of a thorough reformation, if the Church should be saved from utter ruin. He does not wish the reformation to be effected in the manner of Luther, whom he reproaches as the leader of a sect, a perverter of the Scriptures, and a seditious person, although he approves of Luther's views concerning indulgences; but he desires the work to proceed

from within the Church, and by its own proper organs. His book is the more remarkable, since the same author published a "Teutsche Theologey," four years later (Munich, 1528. Republished by W. Reithmeier, Munich, 1852), in which he attempts to ignore and conceal the corruptions of the Catholic Church (§ 19, 6), although it still contains traces of his previous views, especially concerning indulgences. (Cf. *Dr. Schwarz*, of Jena, in Galzer's protest. Monatsblätt. I. 210, etc.)

§ 6. DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORK OF THE REFORMATION IN THE EMPIRE. (1522–26).

At the diet of Worms, Charles V., to secure his election, had been compelled to assent to the establishment of an *imperial regency of the estates*, at Nuremberg, which exercised supreme authority during his absence in Spain. Although the Archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, and vicegerent, presided over this board of regents, a decided majority of its members soon became favorable to the new religious movement, and furthered it. Protected by the highest authority of the empire, and even in league with it, the Reformation found, for a time, no obstacles to its spread, and really made rapid progress. The Nuremberg regency, indeed, soon succumbed to the united efforts of its political opponents, among whom were many friends of the evangelical cause; but these only the more energetically sustained, by their personal zeal, the interests of the Reformation, which had lost an important support in the downfall of the regency. And their exertions were so effectual, that measures were vigorously urged for disposing finally of the whole matter, favorably to the Reformation, by a general national assembly of the German States, independent of the pope and council. But, in opposition to this, the papal legate, *Campegius*, induced the Catholic estates to form a league at Regensberg (1524), for the maintenance of the edict of Worms; against this movement, the evangelical party did not form their defensive league of Torgau until 1526. The general national assembly was prevented by the strict prohibition of the emperor, and thus the hoped-for union was not effected. But the decision of the diet of Spires (1526) gave all the estates the right of managing the religious affairs of their respective districts, according to their own judgment.

1. *The Diet of Nuremberg* (1522–23).—The regency of the empire opened its first diet towards the close of 1522. Pope *Hadrian VI.* was

represented in it by his legate, *Chieregati*. Lec X. had died in December, 1521. Hadrian (1522–23), the son of an Utrecht mechanic, after having been a professor at Louvain, tutor of Charles, Bishop of Tortosa, and grand inquisitor of Aragon, succeeded Leo X. He was a pious and learned Dominican, firm in his principles, zealous for the Thomist orthodoxy, anti-hierarchical in his opinions, and deeply lamented the secularization and corruptions of the Church. He ascended the papal chair with the determined purpose of restoring the purity of the Bride of Christ, yet of simultaneously suppressing the Lutheran heresy. At Nuremberg, his legate handed in a papal brief, which admitted and deplored the fallen condition of the Church, and promised a thorough reformation, but likewise earnestly insisted upon the execution of the papal ban, and the edict of Worms. A committee of the regency, selected for the purpose, submitted to the diet an opinion upon the overtures of the pope, in which they urged the immediate convocation of a general council, in some German city, at which the temporal estates should likewise be represented, and liberty guaranteed to utter evangelical sentiments; but they declared the execution of the edict of Worms to be impracticable, mainly on account of the admitted corruptions of the Church. Until the opening of the council, all controversy should be shunned, and the Word of God preached according to its true Christian, evangelical sense. The estates, who, on their part, had submitted a new paper, containing 100 complaints against the Roman court, adopted the report of the committee, with some slight modifications, as the decree of the empire.

2. *Spread of Evangelical Doctrines* (1522–24).—The *monastic orders* furnished the most energetic heralds of the Reformation. Their moral condition had become so corrupt, that purer spirits among them could no longer endure the foul odors of dissolution. All such, glad to catch a breath of the new life, sprang forth, everywhere, as the zealous evangelists of the purified doctrine. Foremost among them were the *Augustine monks*, almost to a man. This order likewise enjoys the honor of having furnished the first martyr to the evangelical cause (§ 8, 1). The Order regarded Luther's honor and reproach as its own. The *Franciscans* came next, by no means so generally, but with all the greater power and energy on the part of those who tore loose from their traditions. A spirit of opposition to secularization and moral corruptions had constantly, from the earliest times, exhibited itself. In numerous cases, this opposition had degenerated into fanaticism (Vol. I. § 98, 4). Now it assumed a true form. The two distinguished preachers, *Eberlin of Günzbury* and *Henry of Kettenbach;* the Hamburg reformer, *Stephen Kempen;* the fiery *Lambert*, the reformer of Hessen; Luther's friend, *Myconius*, and many others, had been Franciscans. But all the other orders yielded their contingents to the martial hosts of the Gospel, not excepting the Dominicans, to whom the Strassburg reformer, *Martin Bucer*, belonged. *Ambrose Blaurer*, the

Würtemberg reformer, was a Benedictine; *Urbanus Rhegius*, once a pupil of Eck, was a Carmelite; *Bugenhagen*, in Pomerania, was a Præmonstrant; *Otto Brunsfels*, a Carthusian, etc. The secular clergy also, in many instances, took part. At least one of the German bishops, *Polenz* of Samland, at once openly joined the movement, preached the Gospel even from the pulpits of Königsberg, and appointed men of like views to the parishes of his diocese. Other bishops, as those of Augsburg, Basel, Bamberg, and Merseburg, participated in the movement, or at least laid no hindrances in its way. The inferior secular clergy, however, furnished multitudes of advocates. In the pulpits of all the larger, and even in many of the smaller towns of Germany, Luther's sentiments were preached with the approbation of the magistrates; and where this was prohibited, the doctrines were proclaimed in the market-place and in the field. When clergymen were wanting to do this, mechanics and knights, even women and virgins, became missionaries. A distinguished lady, *Agnes* (Argula) *of Staufen*, married to *Grumbach*, having compelled a young magister to recant, challenged the whole University of Ingolstadt to discuss the doctrines with her, upon the basis of the Scriptures.—Wittenberg was, and remained, the heart and centre of the entire movement—the gathering-place of all who were persecuted and banished for conscience' sake—the nursery and fountain of new advocates of the cause.

3. *The Diet of Nuremberg* (1524).—On Jan. 14, 1524, a new diet was opened at Nuremberg. Its first business was the continuance of the regency of the empire. As that had become decidedly favorable to the Reformation, the question of its existence seemed to involve that of the continued existence of the Reformation. Among its chief supporters were the arch-Catholic *Ferdinand*, who hoped, through it, to obtain the Roman crown; the Elector of Mayence, the author of the traffic in indulgences (who favored the regency because he hated its foes); the Elector of Saxony, who was really its originator, and the house of the Brandenburg princes. But the opposite party was stronger. It included the Swabian league, the princes of Treves, the Palatinate, and Hessen, who had triumphed over Sickingen, and the states of the empire, who, though agreeing with the reformatory views of the regency, were inimical to it on account of its fiscal measures and projects. The opposition acquired a new confederate in the papal legate Campeggio. Hadrian VI. died in 1523, and was succeeded by *Clement VII.* (1523–34), an illegitimate son of Julian de Medici. Clement was, in all respects, the reverse of his predecessor. A skilful politician, yet regardless of religious interests, he was exceedingly zealous to raise to its highest pitch the temporal power of his chair. Campeggio was the man for his purpose.—The opposition triumphed, the regency fell, and even Ferdinand, after long resistance, consented to its dissolution. A new regency was organized, which was but a shadow of the old one, for it had neither power, influence, nor inde-

pendence. Thus the Reformation lost a second important prop, and the legate, confident of success, insisted upon the execution of the edict of Worms. Then the evangelical party combined all their powers, especially the cities, and once more secured a majority. The states had, indeed, to acknowledge the legal authority of the edict; they also promised to maintain it, with the clause "as far as possible." But, at the same time, they insisted upon the calling of a council, in the sense of the diet of the preceding year, and resolved to hold a *national assembly at Spires*, in November of the current year, which should be exclusively devoted to the careful consideration and disposal of religious and ecclesiastical affairs. Meanwhile, as the preceding diet had enjoined, the Gospel and the Word of God should be preached in all simplicity.

4. *The Convention of Regensburg* (1524). — Whilst the theologians and diplomatists of the evangelically-inclined states of the empire were zealously engaged in preparing for the diet of Spires, a meeting of the adherents of the old order of things was held at *Regensburg* (June and July, 1524). In direct violation of the unity of the empire, partizan resolutions, with reference to religious and ecclesiastical questions, were there adopted, which, according to the decision of the Nuremberg diet, were to be discussed and acted upon by all the states at Spires. This was the work of the legate Campeggio. In the maintenance of the edict of Worms, he was joined, in Regensburg, by the Archduke *Ferdinand*, the *Bavarian* dukes, the Archbishop of *Salzburg*, and most of the bishops of *Southern Germany*. Luther's books were once more prohibited, and all subjects were strictly forbidden to visit the University of Wittenberg. Some external abuses were corrected, ecclesiastical imposts were alleviated, the number of festivals diminished; the four Latin Church fathers, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, were declared standard authorities in matters of faith and doctrine, and public worship was to be conducted in the ancient form. The unity of the empire, thus rent asunder, could never again be restored.—Simultaneously, the emperor was wrought upon by appeals from Rome. The imperial and papal policy were still identical in interest; both the diets of Nuremberg, with their national tendencies, were offensive to the emperor; so that, as early as the end of July, an imperial proclamation was issued, calling the states to an account for their course, and prohibiting the contemplated national assembly, as a crimen læsæ majestatis, on pain of the ban and double ban. The states obeyed, the assembly was abandoned, and with it all hopes of a peaceable and organic development of Germany, as a united political power, vanished.

5. *The Evangelical States* (1524). — The evangelical states still persisted in maintaining their position as constituents of unity of the empire. Several princes, also, who had hitherto been indifferent or

neutral, now became more decided in favor of the evangelical cause This was the case, first of all, with the young landgrave *Philip of Hesse*, who was led, by a conversation with Melanchthon, to devote the whole strength of his youthful energy to the service of the Reformation. The Margrave *Casimir of Brandenburg*, Duke *Ernest of Luneburg*, the *Elector of the Palatinate*, and *Frederick* I. of Denmark (as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein), in their several countries, also promoted the cause with more or less energy and decision. The ejected Duke *Ulric of Würtemberg* was also gained over, and his subjects, groaning under the Austrian oppressions, were already desiring his return. *Albert of Prussia*, the grand-master of the Teutonic Order, returned from the diet of Nuremberg, where he had frequented *Osiander's* preaching, with doubts as to the consistency of his office with the Word of God; and, during a visit to Wittenberg, did not take it amiss when *Luther* advised him to dissolve the Order, to marry, and to raise Prussia to a hereditary duchy. — But the *cities* took the most decided measures. At two large municipal diets, in Spires and Ulm (1524), it was resolved that the clergy should be sustained in preaching the pure Gospel, and that they should mutually aid each other in self-defence against any attempt to execute the edict of Worms.

6. *The Torgau Alliance* (1524). — The friends and foes of the Reformation had unitedly opposed the insurrection of the peasants, and with equal zeal (§ 4, 5). Their religious diversities had, thereupon, displayed themselves all the more decidedly. In July, 1525, Duke George had a conference at Dessau with several Catholic princes, and, soon afterwards, he ordered two citizens of Leipsic, with whom Lutheran books had been found, to be executed. The Elector of Saxony, also, made Casimir of Brandenberg promise, at Saalfeld, that he would adhere to the Word of God under all circumstances, and in the castle of *Grimmenstein* (subsequently called *Friedenstein*), Hesse and the electorate of Saxony pledged themselves to stand by each other as one man, in matters affecting the Gospel. A diet convened at Augsburg in Dec. 1525 could conclude nothing definitely for want of a quorum. A new diet was called at Spires, and all the princes required to be personally present. It seemed that it would bring matters to a point. Both parties zealously prepared for it. Duke George and several Catholic princes met at Leipsic. They agreed to send one of their number (*Henry of Brunswick*) to the emperor in Spain. He arrived most opportunely. Not long before, the emperor had concluded the peace of *Madrid* (Jan. 1526) with the King of France, whom he had captured in the battle of Pavia (1525). Francis I. had agreed to everything, because he did not intend to fulfil any of the conditions proposed; among the rest, also, promised to make common cause against the heretics. Charles believed that his hands were now free, and was resolved, before doing anything else, to exterminate the German heresy. Henry of Brunswick brought back a document from Charles in which

he strenuously avowed his purpose. But before its arrival the landgrave and elector had met at *Torgau* (Feb. 1526) and entered into an alliance to sustain each other in defence of the Gospel in Saxony. Philip undertook to induce the estates of Upper Germany to join the league; but he effected little, most of them having feared the emperor. The elector succeeded better in his mission to the states of Lower Germany. On the 9th of June the princes of electoral Saxony, Luneburg, Grubenhagen, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, met in *Magdeburg*, and all signed the Torgau league. The city of *Magdeburg*, also, which had in 1524 cast off the jurisdiction of its archbishop, Albert of Mayence, and made the Lutheran Confession predominant, was admitted into the alliance.

7. *The Diet of Spires* (1526).—The diet convened on June 26, 1526. The evangelical princes were of good cheer. On their escutcheons was inscribed: Verbum Dei manet in æternum. In spite of the opposition of the prelates, three committees (one of the electors, one of the princes, and one of the states) were appointed to deliberate upon the best means of correcting abuses. Of their three reports, that of the princes insisted upon a rule which should be equally binding on both parties, and thus, with all the existing diversity of evangelical views (Scriptura scripturæ interpres) possessed a conciliatory character (the Communio sub una, ex. gr. was left free, and the seven sacraments were retained). This report was received for further consideration. But just as the debates, the issue of which could be foreseen, were about to begin, the imperial commissaries submitted an imperial order, commanding that no resolution should by any means be passed, which proposed a change of any of the old customs in doctrine or worship, and that provision should be made for ultimate execution of the edict of Worms. At first this produced general consternation among the evangelical members of the diet, and many wished at once to leave, as nothing could be effected. On calmer reflection, however, it was noted how far back the order dated, for it was known at Spires that since its date the political circumstances of the emperor had greatly changed. For some time there had been serious misunderstandings between Charles and the pope. Francis I. had been released of his oath by the pope, and informed the emperor that he would observe none of the conditions of the peace of Madrid. Francis I., the pope, and all the Italian princes, had formed a league at *Cognac*, to which Henry VIII. of England also gave his assent. All Western Europe was leagued together to break the preponderance of power which the Spanish-Burgundy house had gained at Pavia, and the duped emperor found himself in a most difficult position. Could he still hold the views expressed in his instructions? It was probable that at Ferdinand's request the commissaries had kept back the paper, until the cause of Catholicism seemed lost in the diet, and the prelates urged them to present it. Thus at least their strange conduct was interpreted by the evangelical party. Their first

panic over, the states resolved to send an embassy to the emperor. But before they had started Charles anticipated their desires. In a letter to his brother he communicated a plan prepared by his privy-council, for the abrogation of the penalties of the edict of Worms and the adjustment of religious differences by a council. (But he advised his brother to delay the formal abrogation of the edict, lest the Catholic princes should be too much provoked). At the same time he asked for aid against his foes in Italy.—But as neither the repeal nor execution of the edict seemed advisable, nothing remained but to allow each state to do as seemed best in the respective territories. The diet therefore decreed that "each state should act, in matters relating to the edict of Worms, so as to be able to render a good account to God and the emperor." This was the birthday and legitimation of the territorial constitutions.

§ 7. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL EVANGELICAL CHURCHES. (1526–29.)

It was now not only the privilege, but the duty, of the states to arrange ecclesiastical affairs, within their territories, according to their best judgment. The next succeeding three years, therefore, form the period of the founding and organization of the evangelical state churches. Electoral Saxony set a good example. In imitation of her ecclesiastical constitution, the churches of Hesse, Franconia, Luneburg, East Friesland, Schleswig and Holstein, Silesia, Prussia, and a number of cities of lower Germany, were organized.

1. *Organization of the Church in the Electorate of Saxony* (1528–29). (Cf. *Æm. L. Richter*, Die ev. Kirchenordungen d. 16. Jahrh. Weim. 1846. Bd. I.)—Luther advised the elector to order a thorough *Church-visitation* of his entire country, in order thus to gain accurate information of its ecclesiastical condition. To this end, Melanchthon drafted a paper of "Instructions of the Visitors to the Clergy in the Electorate of Saxony," which Luther published early in 1528. In these the ministers were directed what and how to preach and teach. The instructions were moderate, but positive in tone. Controversy with the papacy was not encouraged. Reforms in worship were to be made with extreme forbearance. To guard against an abuse of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the necessity of preaching the law, and the freedom of the human will, in matters of worldly righteousness (justitia civilis), was recognized. This modification of strict Lutheran doctrines exposed Melanchthon to the assault of some zealous adherents of Luther (especially *Amsdorf* and *John Agricola*). But Luther reconciled these difficulties. — Thereupon instructions for the visitors themselves were prepared, in accordance with which they performed

their circuit in 1528–29. The entire territory was divided among four commissions, consisting of secular and clerical members. To Luther the electorate was assigned; to Melanchthon, another district. Ignorant or otherwise unfit clergymen were removed, but provided for. A large number of abuses were corrected; preachers and teachers of schools were carefully instructed how to discharge their duties most efficiently, and their future supervision was entrusted to superintendents, to whom, also, matrimonial questions were referred. Those who adhered to the old order, and would not accept of improvements, were "commended to God," but not disturbed; vacated benefices were protected against avarice, and applied to the improvement of churches and schools; those not yet vacated, were obliged to contribute their portion to the same objects. Various measures were also adopted for the erection of hospitals, the relief of the poor, and the founding of schools. The Constitution of the Church of Saxony, which resulted from this visitation, became the model for the organization of the other evangelical State Churches. The gloomy experience which *Luther* thus acquired of the incredible ignorance of the people and their teachers, led him to prepare his *two catechisms* (1529).

2. *Organization of the Church in Hesse* (1526–28). (Cf. *B. Denhard*, Gesch. d. Entw. d. Christenth. in d. hess. Ländern bis zur Theilung. Frkf. 1847.—*Martin*, Nachr. v. d. Syn. zu Homberg. Cass. 1804.—*W. Bach*, Gesch. d. kurhess. Kirchenverf. Marb. 1832.—*K. A. Credner*, Philipp's hess. K. O. Giess. 1852.—*J. W. Baum*, Franz Lambert v. Avignon. Strassb. 1840.)—As early as Oct. 1526, the Landgrave Philip, of Hesse, had convened the temporal and spiritual states of his territory at *Homberg*, for consultation in regard to ecclesiastical reforms. A reactionary attempt of the Catholic party quailed before the fiery eloquence of the Franciscan, *Francis Lambert*, of Avignon. He was a most remarkable man, and had been awakened by reading Luther's works, in his convent at Avignon. Not fully convinced, he started for Wittenberg, stopped on the way at Zurich, and engaged in a public disputation (1522) against Zwingli's reforms. Converted by his opponent, he left Zurich, passed through Luther's school at Wittenberg, and then, at Melanchthon's recommendation, went to Hesse. Lambert's spirit ruled the Synod. An organization of the Church was drafted, according to Lambert's ideal of a communion of saints, on a democratic basis, and with a strict church discipline, to be administered by the congregations themselves. But the inadequacy of this *Homberg scheme* was soon demonstrated, and, in 1528, the Hessian Church adopted the principles of the Saxon Church visitation. The confiscated benefices were appropriated to the foundation of the University of *Marburg* (1527), as the second nursery of reformed theology. Lambert became one of its first professors.

3. *Organization of other German State Churches* (1528–30). (Cf. *Rhesa*, de primis sacrorum reformataribus in Prussia. Regiom. 1825–27.

—*W. Löhe*, Erinner. aus d. Refgesch. v. Franken. Nürnb. 1847. — *L. Wallis*, Abr. d. Refgesch. Lüneb. Lüneb. 1832).—Margrave *George*, of Franconian-Brandenburg, after the death of his brother *Casimir*, organized the Church of his territory, at the diet of Anspach (1528), upon the model of that in Saxony. Under the direction of its excellent recorder, *Lazarus Spengler*, *Nuremberg* united with George in introducing the organization adopted. The same was done in *Lüneburg*, at the diet of *Scharnebeck* (1527). *Ulric of Dornum* took the matter into his own hands in *East Friesland*, the ruler of the country not venturing to introduce a reformation of the Church there. In *Schleswig* and *Holstein*, the prelates made no opposition, and the civil government favored the change. In *Silesia*, both the princes of Liegnitz, Podiebrad's grandsons, and Margrave *George* of Brandenburg, who had estates there, cheerfully granted the request of the people for an evangelical constitution. In Breslau, the Reformation had long been predominant; and even the archduke, who, as King of Bohemia, possessed feudal supremacy over Silesia, found himself obliged to allow his states there the same rights which the diet of Spires had granted to the imperial states. In *Prussia*, the grand-master *Albert of Brandenburg* (the brother of the Margraves Casimir and George) had, with the approval of the Polish crown, become hereditary duke (1525), and gave to his duchy, with the cordial coöperation of both his bishops, a thoroughly evangelical constitution.

4. *The Reformation in the Cities of Lower Germany* (1524–31).—In the cities of Lower Germany there prevailed, even before the rise of the Reformation, a powerful effort to effect emancipation of episcopal and aristocratic rule. Hence their inhabitants, for the most part, embraced the Reformation with open arms. A characteristic feature of the work, there, is the surprisingly potent influence of Lutheran psalms and hymns. The Reformation was introduced into *Magdeburg* as early as 1524, and the Church there was organized by *Nich. of Amsdorf*, whom Luther sent thither. From 1525, *Martin Scultetus* preached and labored there with great success. In 1526, the city joined the Torgau alliance. In *Brunswick*, at the close of a Catholic controversial sermon (1526), the congregation began to sing: "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein." In 1528, *Bugenhagen* went over from Wittenberg and organized the Church. In *Gosslar*, *Eimbeck*, *Göttingen*, *Rostock*, *Hamburg*, etc., the enthusiasm of the people for Lutheran hymns and doctrines carried the council with them, whether they would or no. In *Bremen*, as early as 1525, all the churches but the cathedral were in the hands of Lutheran preachers; in 1527, the monasteries were converted into schools and hospitals, and the cathedral, with its grounds, taken from the Catholics. Still more violent excitement attended the introduction of the Reformation into *Lübeck* (1529–31). Until then, the nobility, council, and clergy, had suppressed all reformatory movements, and expelled the evangelical

preachers. But financial embarrassments compelled the council (1529) to ask the citizens for extraordinary levies. They appointed a committee of sixty-four citizens, who constrained the council to yield one condition after another. The expelled preachers were to be recalled, the Catholic priests to be removed, the monasteries to be converted into hospitals and schools, and, finally, *Bugenhagen* was called in to frame a Lutheran constitution for the Church.

§ 8. MARTYRS OF THE EVANGELICAL FAITH. (1521–29).

Cf. *L. Volkert* u. *G. W. H. Brock*, d. h. Märtyrer d. evang. K. Erlg 1845. — *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens in d. rhein. westph. K. Cobl. 1849. Bd. I.—*Rudelbach*, chr. Biogr. Bd. I. H. 4.

The lands of the Reformation were early enriched by the blood of martyrs. Persecutions were begun, soon after the issue of the edict of Worms, by some Catholic princes, Duke *George* of Saxony taking the lead. He imprisoned, scourged, and banished Luther's adherents; and, in 1521, had a bookseller, who sold Luther's works, beheaded (cf. § 6, 6). Persecution raged most, however, in the Netherlands, the hereditary territories of the emperor, not connected with the German Empire (where, really, the first martyr's blood was shed, 1523), but also in the Austrian domains, in Bavaria, and in the territory of the Swabian league, especially after the conclusion of the Regensburg confederacy (1524). The peasants' war (1525), added fuel to the persecutions. Under pretence of punishing the insurgents, the executioners of the Regensburg confederates went through the land, and, along with the guilty, put to death many who were innocent of every crime but adherence to the Gospel. The decision of the diet of Spires fanned the flames (1526). The more cheerfully the evangelical states, on the strength of that decision, proceeded to organize evangelical Churches in their territories, so much the more zealously did the foes of the innovations inflict upon their evangelical subjects the most cruel persecutions. The forgeries of *Pack*, moreover, revived, and increased the spirit of persecution. In 1527–28, a church-visitation was instituted in Austria, similar to that in Saxony, but for the purpose of detecting and punishing heretics. In *Bavaria*, the public roads were guarded, to prevent pilgrims from going abroad into other countries; those caught were first fined, then drowned or burned in large numbers.

1. The first martyrs were two young Augustine monks, at Antwerp *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, whose heroic sufferings (1523) Luther celebrated in a beautiful hymn ("Ein neues Lied wir heben an"). Their example was followed by *Lampert Thorn*, the prior of the monastery, who was suffocated in prison. The same year, *George Buchführer* was burnt in Hungary, and, during the next year, a large number of scaffolds and stakes were erected, for Protestants, in Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia. The most notable of these was *Caspar Tauber*, who was beheaded and burnt in Vienna. Instead of the recantation he was expected to announce, he bore powerful testimony, from the pulpit, in favor of evangelical truth. Among later martyrs, *Leonard Käser* (Kaiser) holds a distinguished place. Impelled by filial love to visit his dying father in Passau, he perished there at the stake, with joyful courage, Aug. 16, 1527. A few months previously, *George Carpentarius*, an ecclesiastic, had obtained the honor in Munich.—The Swabian League, after the recess of Spires, revived its cruel executions against all who held evangelical views, under an order for the extermination of Anabaptists. In 1527, the Bishop of Constance had *John Hüglin* (Heuglin) burnt alive, as an opposer of the Holy Mother Church. The Elector of Mayence summoned the cathedral preacher of Halle, *George Winkler*, to Anschaffenburg, for having administered the Communion under both forms. Winkler vindicated himself, and was acquitted, but was murdered on his way home. This led Luther to write his "Tröstungen an die Christen zu Halle über den Tod ihres Predigers."—In *Cologne*, on Sept. 28, 1529, *Adolf Clarenbach* and *Peter Flysteden*, were honored with martyrdom, and the joy and steadfastness of their faith shoné forth amid the flames.—In Northern Germany no blood was shed, but Duke *George* drove those who confessed the evangelical faith out of the land with scourges. The Elector *Joachim of Brandenburg* and his states resolved, 1527, zealously to maintain old doctrines and customs. Nevertheless, the Gospel took continually deeper root in his territory; and his own wife, *Elizabeth*, secretly read and admired Luther's writings, and, in her private chamber, even received the Lord's Supper according to the Lutheran mode. But she was betrayed, and the elector raged and threatened to imprison the offender. Disguised as a peasant, she fled to her relative, the Elector of Saxony.

§ 9. LUTHER'S PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE. (1523–29.)

Cf. *W. F. Walch*, warh. Gesch. d. Frau Kath. v. Bora. Halle, 1751. —*W. Beste*, Kath. v. B. Halle, 1843.—*F. G. Hoffmann*, Luther als Gatte u. Vater. Lpz. 1845.—Apologetisches über Luther's Tischreden in d. Ztschr. für Protestantism u. K. Bd. II. H. 4. 5.

Luther and the prior, the last of its inhabitants, did not leave the monastery until December, 1524. In July, 1525, he married

Catharine v. Bora, of the monastery of Nimptsch. Although Luther was often prostrated by sickness, almost overwhelmed with business, and kept constantly sensible of the uncertainty of his life by the threats of enemies against it, he still preserved a cheerful disposition, and spent many happy hours in the circle of his friends, joining them in simple repasts, in singing, music, religious conversation, and harmless, though often pungent and lively jokes (cf. his *Table-Talk*, subsequently collected by *Aurifaber*). At the same time he cheered and aided, by his counsel and efforts, all who were in straits. By his unremitted literary labors, by personal intercourse with students and strangers who flocked to Wittenberg, and by extensive correspondence, he acquired and retained an extraordinary influence upon the spread and firmer establishment of the Reformation. By his *translations* and *expositions* of the *Scriptures*, by his *sermons* and *didactic writings*, his evangelical views spread among all classes of people. *German hymns* proved a mighty lever of the Reformation; by them a pure knowledge and cheerful confession of the truth were planted deeply in the heart of the nation. By translating or reconstructing older hymns, and by composing new ones of unsurpassed excellence, which he furnished at the same time with remarkably vigorous and beautiful tunes, Luther laid the basis of the incomparably rich and glorious hymnological treasury of the German evangelical Church. He labored, also, with special diligence for the improvement of *instruction* in the churches and schools; urged the establishment of new schools, both for the higher and ordinary branches of education, and insisted upon the importance of philological studies for the Church of the pure word.

The first *collection of spiritual hymns and psalms* appeared in 1524, with a preface by Luther. In the reformation of the *cultus*, Luther proceeded cautiously and with forbearance. In 1523, he issued his "*Deutsches Taufbüchlein*," and his "Weise, christliche *Messe* zu halten und zum Tische Gottes zu gehen," in which all allusions to a sacrifice were avoided, and the communio sub utraque was maintained. In 1524, he sent forth his tract: "Vom Greuel der Stillmesse," in which he directly assailed the *canon of the mass*, the central point of the Romish system. Finally, in 1526, he published his "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes," which was introduced into most of the churches of electoral Saxony. The *system of education* was especially improved by his impressive tract: "An die Bürgermeister und Rathsherren aller Städte Deutschlands, dass sie christliche Schulen

aufrichten und halten sollen." Besides his controversy with Erasmus and Carlstadt, against Münzer and the insurgent peasants, as well as against the sacramentarians of the upper countries (cf. § 11), he had, during this period, his dispute with *Cochlæus*, whose abusive assault Luther parried with his tract: "Wider den gewappneten Mann Cochläus, ein Bescheid vom Glauben und Werken" (1523). A papal bull, canonizing Bishop *Benno of Meissen* (died, 1106), called forth Luther's tract: "Wider den neuen Abgott und alten Teufel, so zu Meissen soll erhoben werden" (1524). In reply to a soldier who had doubts concerning the lawfulness of his profession, he wrote the small volume: "Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können" (1526); and, for sport, had some copies struck off, without the author's name, or that of the place of publication, and sent to Duke *George*. At the persistent request of *Christian II.*, of Denmark, he wrote a very humble letter to *Henry VIII.*, which called forth, from England, an extremely malignant and opprobrious answer. He quieted the triumphant outcry of his foes, that he had recanted, by his tract: "Wider des König's von England Lästerschrift" (1527), in which he again displayed the confident tone and fearlessness of his polemics. He fared no better in an equally humble attempt to reconcile Duke George, to which he was persuaded (1526). He continued to work, untiringly, at the *translation of the Scriptures*. The first edition of the entire Bible was published in 1534, by *Hans Lufft*, Wittenberg.[25]

§ 10. THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND. (1519–31).

Whilst Luther's Reformation in Germany spread more widely every day, and became purer, stronger, and more fully organized, a similar movement was started in the adjacent country of (German) Switzerland. Indeed, its first symptoms were of earlier date (1516); but it did not make decided or comprehensive progress until two years after Luther came forward. The differently constituted peculiarities of its first and chief leader, and the politico-democratic current in which it moved, imparted to it a tendency differing from the Lutheran reform, in various respects. Most strongly did the opposition between them appear in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper (§ 11). As the Swiss view of this doctrine found favor in the cities of Upper Germany, the division spread into the Reformed Church of Germany, and, in spite of common interests and perils, hindered their common progress and co-operation (§ 13, 14).

1. *Ulric Zwingli.* (Cf. Zwingli's Leben von *Osw. Myconius*. Bas. 1536; *J. J. Hess*, Zürich, 1818; *Rotermund*, Bremen, 1818; *Schuler*,

Zürich, 1818; *J. J. Hottinger, Zürich*, 1843 [transl. by *T. C. Porter* Harrisburg, 1857]; *W. Röder*, St. Gall, 1854. [Especially: *R. Christoffel*, Elberfeld, 1857.]—Zwingli's Works: *Gualter*, Tig. 1581, 4 voll., *Schuler* u. *Schulthess*, Zürich, 1829, etc., 8 vols., royal 8vo.; *Usteri* u. *Vögelin*, Zürich, 1819, 2 Bde.). — *Zwingli*, born in Wildhaus, in the Toggenburg, on Jan. 1, 1484, a pupil of the learned humanist, Thomas Wyttenbach, in Basel, arose as a reformer, in German Switzerland, almost simultaneously with Luther. Unlike Luther, he was not led to greater purity and freedom of religious knowledge by any inward experience, but by classical culture, and a scientific study of the Sacred Scriptures. After serving the parish of Glarus as pastor for ten years, he received charge of that at Einsiedeln, in 1516. The miraculous virtues attributed to an image of Mary, there, attracted crowds of pilgrims. This led Zwingli to preach against superstitious reliance on good works. But he took a much more decided stand after *Jan.* 1, 1519, as a public preacher in Zurich, where he first learned of Luther's movements, and defended his course against Rome. But, from the beginning, Zwingli's reformatory measures diverged from those of Luther. He aimed at being not only a religious but political reformer. For several years he had strenuously endeavored to abolish the practice of hiring Swiss youth as mercenary soldiers to foreign powers. He maintained the struggle with this evil during his whole life. His political opponents, the oligarchy, who were anxious to retain this source of revenue, were consequently also his religious enemies, as, reversely, the democracy supported him. A still more fundamental difference was, that Zwingli had been trained for his reformatory work, not by convictions of sin, or spiritual struggles, but by classical studies. Justification by faith, therefore, was by no means so central and vital a matter, in his life and labors, as in Luther's case. He began his work, as a reformer, not so much with the purification of doctrine as the life-blood of all churchliness, but with external improvements in worship, order, and manners. Of the two anti-Romish reformatory principles (*material*, in opposition to Romish work-righteousness: justification by faith; —*formal*, in opposition to an unqualified adherence to all the traditions of the Romish Church: the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures), the *Wittenberg* Reformation gave most prominence to the material, the Zurich Reformation to the formal, principle. The former rejected only such things as were irreconcilable with the Scriptures, the latter every thing not expressly taught by them. The former proceeded cautiously and forbearingly in changing forms of worship and external customs; the latter was destructive, impetuous, and violent. Luther retained images, altars, the ornaments of churches, and the sacerdotal character of public worship, simply pruning off its unevangelical excrescenses and deformities; Zwingli rejected all, unconditionally, as idolatry, and even abolished organs and bells. Despite the one-sided prominence given by Zwingli to his formal principle, he

often did violence to the Scriptures; for he approached them externally, and explained them according to his subjective judgment, and called Luther's real submission to them servitude to their letter! Luther acknowledged no operation of the Spirit, excepting through the Word and the Sacraments; Zwingli severed the influence of the Spirit from those instruments, and held that he could operate immediately upon the heart. He regarded the sacraments as only commemorative signs; in the doctrine of the person of Christ, he verged towards Nestorianism, by denying that the human nature of Christ participated in the divine predicates. For him, justification by the merits of Christ alone was less of positive than of negative (in opposition to Romish work-righteousness) importance, for, in original sin, he saw only a moral disease, which, of itself, did not constitute sin; and his views of the essence of virtue were so superficial, that he ranked even heathen, like Socrates and Cato, without further qualifications, in the communion of saints. Along with this, his speculations led him to adopt a *fatalistic* predestination, which deprives the will of moral freedom, as over against divine *providence*. — Luther was right in subsequently saying to Zwingli: "Ihr habt einen andern Geist, denn wir." — (Cf. *E. Zeller*, das theol. System Zwingli's. Tübg. 1853. — *Chr. Sigwart*, Ulr. Zw. Der Char. sr. Theol. mit bes. Rücks. auf Pic. v. Mirandola. Stuttg. 1855. [See, also, *Ebrard's* Lehre v. heil. Abendm., for a complete refutation of the above, and *Zwingli no Radical*, in the Mercersburg Review, 1849, p. 263, etc. — *Tr.*]

2. *The Reformation in Zurich* (1519–25). (Cf. *Sal. Hess*, Urspr. Gang, etc., der durch Zw. in Z. bewirkt. Ref. Zürich, 1820.)—In Switzerland, also, a seller of indulgences, *Bernard Sampson*, prosecuted his scandalous business. At Zwingli's instigation, the gates of Zurich were closed against him. Soon afterwards (1520) the council granted the priests and preachers of the city and territory the privilege of preaching according to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament alone. All this took place under the eyes of two papal nuncios, then in Zurich—and yet it went unpunished, for the Roman court was then too intent upon procuring troops for a papal army, designed for the conquest of Milan. Nevertheless, a large annuity was offered to Zwingli, if he would cease to preach against the Pope. He rejected the offer, and went forward on his reformatory course. Under the continued forbearance of Rome, the new views took deeper root. During Lent, 1522, the people of Zurich unscrupulously ate meat and eggs. Then first did the bishop (of Constance) adopt corrective measures; the opponents of reform in the city and council also roused themselves. At this time, *Francis Lambert*, of Avignon (§ 7, 2), came to Zurich. He preached against the innovations, had a public debate with Zwingli in July, and declared himself vanquished and convinced. Zwingli's opponents had reckoned confidently upon Lambert's eloquence and dialectic skill. The unexpected result of the disputation produced

the greater effect. The council changed the permission to preach the Gospel into a command to do nothing else. Against this the adherents of Rome protested. A public *disputation* was therefore appointed in Feb., 1523. *John Faber*, a former friend of Zwingli, but who had totally changed his views, after a visit to Rome, and had been made vicar-general of the Bishop of Constance, undertook the defence of old doctrines and customs against Zwingli. Having let himself be drawn into the Scriptural argument, he was defeated. The clergy now began to marry, and the monasteries were forsaken. Violent assaults were made upon the mass, and the worship of images and saints. The council resolved to have the question concerning images decided by another disputation, in Oct., 1523. *Leo Juda*, pastor of St. Peter's, in Zurich, discussed the worship of images; *Zwingli*, the mass; and they met with scarcely any opposition. At Whitsuntide, 1524, the council ordered all images to be removed from the churches, the frescoes to be cut out, and the walls to be painted white. The playing of organs and ringing of bells were likewise to be abolished, because they were connected with superstitions. A new, purely Scriptural formula of baptism was introduced, and, finally, the mass abolished (1525). At Easter, 1525, Zwingli administered a love-feast, at which the bread was carried about in wooden trays, and the wine was drunk from wooden cups. Thus he thought he had restored the Lord's Supper to its apostolic Christian simplicity!

3. *The Reformation in Basel* (1520–25). (Cf. Œcolampad's Leben, by *Grynaeus*, Bas. 1536.—*Sal. Hess*, Zurich, 1793.—*J. J. Herzog*, Bas. 1843, 2 Bde.—[*K. R. Hagenbach*, Elberfeld, 1859.]—*Burckhard*, die Ref. in Basel. Bas. 1818.)—*Wolfgang Fabricius Capito* (Köpflin) and *Caspar Hedio* early began to preach the Gospel in Basel. But, before they could lay a firm foundation, they obeyed a call to Mayence (1520), and soon afterwards went to Strassburg. Their work was carried on with zeal and success by William Röublin. He preached against the mass, purgatory, and the worship of images, often to four thousand hearers. At Corpus Christi, instead of relics, which he ridiculed as dead men's bones, he carried a Bible before him. He was banished, and subsequently joined the Anabaptists. A new epoch for Basel opened with 1523. *John Hausschein* or *Œcolampadius*, of Weinsberg, in Franconia (Zwingli's Melanchthon), preached in Basel, as early as 1516. Then he accepted a call to the cathedral in Augsburg, but, in the course of a year, withdrew to a monastery of St. Bridget, in Augsburg. There he studied Luther's writings, and, being persecuted for this, he took refuge in the castle of Sickingen, where he officiated for a season as chaplain. After Sickingen's overthrow, he fled to Basel (1523), became preacher at St. Martin's, and professor in the university. A circle of young men, awakened by him, soon gathered around him, and energetically sustained him in his reformatory labors. They baptized in German, administered the eucharist in both forms, and

were untiring in their preaching. In 1524, the council gave all monks and nuns liberty to quit the monastery. *William Farel*, of Dauphinè, a refugee from France, whom Œcolampadius kindly received, remained several months in Basel (1524), and rendered important service in furthering the Reformation. In February, he had a public disputation with the opponents of the cause. The university and bishop had forbidden it, but the council was only the more intent upon it. Its result gave a mighty impulse to the Reformation.

4. *The Reformation in other Cantons* (1520–25). (Cf. *Stierlein*, die Ref. in Bern. Bern. 1827.—*S. Fischer*, d. Ref. in Bern. 1827.—*J. Kuhn*, die Reformatoren Berns. Bern. 1828.—*M. Kirchhofer*, B. Haller's Leben. Zürich. 1828.—*C. Grüneisen*, Nicl. Manuel, Leb. u. Wirk. eines Malers, Dichters, Kriegers, Staatsm. u. Ref. Stuttg. 1837.)—From 1518, *Berchtold Haller*, of Rothweil, in Swabia, with *Francis Kolb* and *Sebast. Meyer*, labored in Bern as political and religious reformers, in harmony with Zwingli. As an auxiliary to their preaching, *Nicholas Manuel*, poet and painter, wrote and issued satirical plays for the carnival ("Der Todtenfresser," 1522; "Die Krankheit der Messe," 1526, etc.). In 1523, the council authorized the monks and nuns to leave the monastery; some left and married. The opposite party called upon *John Heim*, a Dominican, to defend their cause in the city (1524). A violent controversy arose between him and the Franciscan, *Sebastian Meyer*, and the council expelled both from the city. Thus *Haller* alone remained. But he was vigilant, and the cause progressed.—In *Mühlhausen*, where Ulric v. Hutten had found refuge in his last days, the council issued an ordinance (1524) which gave free course to the Reformation; in *Biel*, also, it was admitted without restriction. In Eastern Switzerland, *St. Gall* distinguished itself for zeal in the cause, under the lead of its burgomaster, *Vadian*. *John Kessler* (§ 4, 1) preached the Gospel in the corporation hall of Sattlerschurz, and *Balth. Hubmeier* from the pulpit. Hubmeier afterwards went over to the Anabaptists. In *Schaffhausen*, the Catholics put forward *Erasmus Ritter* in a disputation with the Reformed preacher, *Sebast. Hofmeister*. Ritter acknowledged his defeat, and thenceforth coöperated with Hofmeister. In *Valais*, *Thomas Plater*, the original and learned rope-maker (afterwards rector of the high-school of Burg), was active in preparing the way for the Reformation. In *Appenzel* and *Glarus* also, as well as in the confederate cantons, the cause everywhere progressed.—In the interior, on the contrary, the nobility, clinging to their pensions, resisted; the mountain people also, whose idea of religion consisted of pilgrimages, images, and saints, persistently opposed all innovations. *Luzerne*, at the head of the original cantons, and *Freiburg* in the West, were the chief bulwarks of popery in Switzerland.

5. *Anabaptist Disorders.*—Although the Reformers in Switzerland

carried their operations to greater extremes, a multitude of fanatical ultraists sprang up, who thought that far too little was done. Among them, also, *Anabaptism* was the symbol of those fanatical, spiritualistic, communistic movements which first overran Zwickau. Their chief leaders in Switzerland were *Lewis Hetzer*, *Conrad Grebel*, *Felix Manz*, *Balth. Hubmeier*, and *Stephen Stöhr*. They began their disorders in Zoltikon, near Zurich. Hubmeier, on Easter-eve (1525), held a council of Anabaptists at Waldshut. The district of Basel, where Thomas Münzer had been uprooting the soil, now arose in open clamors against the city. In St. Gall, alone, there were 800 Anabaptists. At Zwingli's urgent advice, Zurich adopted thorough measures against them. Many were banished, some were drowned without mercy. Bern, Basel, at St. Gall, followed this example.

6. *The Disputation at Baden* (1526). — At the public assemblies, the anti-reform party of the oligarchs, whose spirit of opposition was sustained by their fear of losing their annuities, was still predominant. *John Faber*, of Constance, was the soul of the party. Zurich was repeatedly required to abstain from the innovations. At the assembly of 1525, it declared itself ready to comply, as soon as they were refuted by the Scriptures. The oligarchs could not evade the demands for a disputation; but, in spite of all protests, they appointed it in the strictly Catholic *Baden*. The contestants and representatives of the cantons, and bishops, met there in May, 1526. *Faber* again stood at the head of the papists, but wisely committed the defence to *Eck* of Ingolstadt, who had offered his services. Opposed to him were *Haller*, of Berne, and *Œcolampadius*, of Basel. The Reformed party was treated most shamefully, whilst every honor and advantage was shown the Catholics. *Eck*, it was said, bathed in Baden, but in wine. *Zwingli* was not there; the council of Zurich had forbid his going; but *Thomas Plater* sent him a daily account of the proceedings. *Eck's* theses were discussed one by one; this took eight days. Eck's boisterousness drowned Œcolampadius' weak voice; but the calm self-possession of the latter had an imposing effect. At the close, *Thomas Murner* (§ 5, 2), the monk of Luzerne, arose and read forty abusive articles against Zwingli. Œcolampadius, and ten of his friends, persevered to the end in rejecting Eck's theses; all the rest subscribed them. The assembly pronounced the Reformers heretics, and called upon the respective cantons to banish them.

7. *The Disputation at Berne* (1528). (Cf. *S. Fischer*, Gesch. d. Disp. zu Berne. Berne, 1828.) — *Berne* and *Basel* were highly offended at the indignity done to their deputies at Baden. The democratic element, which was on the side of the Reformers, was increasing in strength. *Berne* grew weary of the distraction. A *solemn disputation* was therefore instituted, to which deputies were invited from all parts, who should decide the matter. It took place on January 7-27, 1528.

Zwingli was present. On the Catholic side there were no competent debaters, and they were completely defeated. Every trace of Catholicism, in worship and discipline, was then exterminated. The various institutions and monasteries were secularized; preachers made their oath of office to the civil rulers. Some violent measures attended the abolition of images. The valuable organ, in the church of St. Vincent, was stamped to pieces under the rough heels of the iconoclasts. The political reformation progressed simultaneously with that of religion, and all annual stipends were recalled.

8. *Complete Triumph of the Reformation in Basel, St. Gall, and Schaffhausen* (1529).—The burgomaster, *Vadian*, brought back tidings of the triumphant issue of the Berne disputation to *St. Gall*. This was the death-blow to the Catholic party. As early as 1528, though not without some iconoclastic excesses, the Reformation gained sole sway.—In *Basel* the council was divided, hence its measures were partial and wavering. On Good Friday, some citizens (without the knowledge of Œcolampadius) destroyed the images in St. Martin's Church. They were imprisoned for it. But an insurrection of the citizens compelled the council to release them, and to grant the Reformed the unconditional use of several churches, from which, of course, all images were removed. In December, 1528, the guilds presented a petition, couched in the most moderate terms, for the entire abolition of "idolatry." The Catholic party took up arms; the Reformed followed their example; a civil war threatened. The council succeeded in quelling the disturbance by appointing another public disputation, after which the whole matter was to be decided by a vote of the citizens. But the Catholic minority protested so energetically against this, that the council again had recourse to half-way measures. The dissatisfaction of the Reformed exploded in a fearful destruction of images, on Shrove Tuesday, 1529. Great piles of broken images and altars were burnt. The strictly Catholic members of the council fled, and the rest had to yield to the will of the burghers. Erasmus, also (Vol. I., § 120, 3), escaped.—In *Schaffhausen*, likewise, dissensions prevailed until 1529. But the course of things in Berne and Basel hastened the victory of the new measures. Here the drama ended very cheerily with a double marriage. The Abbot of All-Saints married a nun, and Erasmus Ritter married a sister of the abbot. The images were removed without a tumult, and the mass abolished.

9. *The First Peace of Cappel* (1529). — The Catholic party had retained the ascendency in the five primitive cantons. They were as unwilling to lose the annuities, and the right of engaging in foreign military service, as to give up the mass and saints, and sanguinarily punished every attempt to smuggle the new doctrine into their territories. But they wished to have their measures carried out in all the allied bailiwicks. Zurich and Berne resolved no longer to endure this.

As, moreover, Unterwalden had, under these circumstances, been guilty of publicly violating the peace of the confederacy, and was sustained by the other four cantons, the burgher cities threatened serious vengeance against this infraction. The forest cities turned to Austria, the old hereditary foe of Swiss liberty, and, in the beginning of 1529, concluded a formal treaty with King Ferdinand, at Insbrück, pledging reciprocal aid in matters of faith. Emboldened by this treaty, they increased their persecutions of the Reformed, nailed the escutcheons of the burgher cities to the gallows, and burnt alive a Zurich preacher, *Jacob Keyser*, whom they took on the highway, in neutral territory. Then the Zurichers broke out. With their decided preponderance, they might easily have put down the five cantons, and thus have opened all Switzerland to the Reformation; and Zwingli urged this course. But Berne was jealous of Zurich's growing power, and even many Zurichers, fearing war, were inclined to negotiate for peace with their confederated brethren. This led to the *First Peace of Cappel*, Nov. 16, 1529. The five cantons gave up the deed of confederation with Austria, which the mediators immediately tore in pieces; they agreed to pay the costs of the war, and conceded that, in the bailiwicks, each congregation should decide by vote upon matters of faith. In regard to preaching the Gospel, it was agreed that neither party would disturb the faith of the other. The matter of foreign pensions was adroitly evaded. Thus, much was gained, but less than Zwingli desired. On the basis of this peace, Thurgovia, Baden, Schaffhausen, Solothurn, Neuenburg, Toggenburg, etc., did away with the mass, images, and altars.

10. *The Second Peace of Cappel* (1531). — Even after the peace, the five cantons continued stubborn in excluding and persecuting the Reformed, and formed a new alliance with Austria. At the diet, by the old laws of confederacy, they still had the preponderance; a fact which stood in glaring contrast with the actually much greater preponderance of the burgher cities. Zurich, therefore, insisted upon a reorganization of the confederacy. On the other hand, the forest cantons treated the Reformed with greater cruelty. Then Zurich decided, forthwith, to seize arms; but Berne carried a decree to punish the forest cantons by cutting off all intercourse with them. This measure, however, totally failed. It excited, in those cantons, the greatest indignation and anger, not against their stubborn rulers, as the Bernese hoped, but against their unmerciful oppressors, so that the people only clung the more closely to their governments. At the diet of *Luzerne*, the five cantons resolved (Sept., 1531) to save themselves from perishing with hunger, by immediately renewing the war. By carefully guarding the borders, they kept their resolution and preparations so secret, that no tidings thereof reached the burgher cities. These, conscious of their greater strength, were therefore wholly unprepared, when suddenly, Oct. 9, an army of 8000 men, breathing vengeance, invaded the territory of

Zurich. Zurich hastily collected a force of 2000 men, which met the foe at *Cappel*, Oct. 11, and was wellnigh annihilated. *Zwingli was among the slain.* His body was quartered, burned, and his ashes scattered to the winds. Zurich and Berne soon brought to the field an army of 20,000 men; but the courage and audacity of the enemy had increased, whilst the defeat of Cappel had robbed the Reformed of confidence and hope. They attacked the enemy, intrenched at Baar, near the Zug mountain, but were repulsed with great loss. The season was against them, and, what was worse, they were disheartened. Hence, when the forest cantons reassumed the offensive, the other party submitted to the scandalous *Second Peace of Cappel* (1531), which, whilst it guaranteed them liberty to maintain the Reformation in their own territories, gave to the five cantons the right of restoring Catholicism in the bailiwicks. The Reformed had to defray the costs of the war, and to surrender their deed of confederacy with Strassburg, Constance, and Hessen. A restoration of Catholicism was now begun. The Catholic minority, till then kept down, was active on all sides, and carried its measures more or less triumphantly through in many places. Thus in Aargau, Thurgovia, Rheinthal, Sollure, Glarus, Rapperschwyl, St. Gall, etc.

§ 11. THE SACRAMENTARIAN CONTROVERSY. (1525–29).

Cf. (*Selnecker u. Chemintez*), Hist. d. Sacramentstreites. Lpz. 1591. —*V. E. Löscher*, ausf. hist. motuum Zw. Luth. u. Ref. 2. A. Frkf. u. Lpz. 1722, etc.—*M. Göbel*, Luther's Abendmahlslehre vor u. in der Streite mit Karlstadt; in d. Studd. u. Kritt. 1843, III.—Ib., Karlstadt's Abendmahlslehre, id. 1842, II.—*J. H. A. Ebrard*, d. Dogma, v. h. Abdm. u. s. Gesch. Frkf. 1846. Bd. II.; adv.: *K. F. A. Kahnis*, d. Lehre v. Abdm. Lpz. 1851.—*A. W. Dieckhoff*, d. evang. Abendmahlsl. im Reform. Zeitalter. Göttg. 1854, Bd. I.—*C. F. Jager* (§ 4, 3).

Luther, in his work on the Babylonian captivity of the Church (1520), had given rather undue prominence to the subjective aspect of the sacraments, in opposition to the prevailing view, which attributed their efficacy to the mere objective reception of them, independently of subjective faith (opus operatum). Thus, in the first period of his reformatory labors, he was in danger, as he subsequently admitted in his message to the Strassburgers, of erring by a depreciation or denial of the divinely-objective contents of the sacraments. But, whilst he decidedly opposed transubstantiation as a scholastic invention, and was naturally inclined to regard the bread and wine as mere symbols, the words of Holy Writ impressed him so powerfully, that he could not deny the real presence of the body and blood of Christ

The vagaries of fanatics and sacramentarians soon led him to that unconditional submission to the letter of the Scriptures, to that firm and joyful confidence in its import, which thenceforth became the support and guide of his life. Teaching that the true body and blood of Christ were received IN, WITH, and UNDER, the bread and wine — to the benefit of believers, and the judgment of unbelievers — he maintained the true Biblical medium between the unbiblical extremes of papists and sacramentarians.

1. *Carlstadt* had already, in Orlamund (§ 4, 3), advanced his doctrine of the Supper, totally denying the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. He explained away the force of the words of institution by an absurd explanation of τοῦτο. He argued that Christ thereby pointed to his body then present, and designed to say: "*This* is my body, which I will offer in death for you, and, in remembrance of the fact, eat this bread." When Carlstadt, driven from Saxony, went to Strassburg, he interested the ministers of that city, *Martin Bucer* and *Wolfgang Capito*, in favor of his views. Their efforts to effect a reconciliation were, of course, unavailing with Luther. *Zwingli*, also, sympathized with Carlstadt. Agreeing with him, essentially, though on different grounds, Zwingli explained the words of institution, "*This is*" by "*this signifies*," and reduced the entire significance of the sacrament to a symbolical commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ. In a letter to *Matthew Alber*, in Reutlingen (1524), who held Luther's view, he expressed this opinion, and defended Carlstadt against Luther. He developed the same opinion more fully in his "Commentarius de vera et falsa religione," 1525, in which he designates Luther's view as an opinio non solum rustica sed etiam impia et frivola. *Œcolampadius* also took part in the controversy, and vindicated his friend Zwingli against *Bugenhagen's* attack, in his "De genuina verborum Domini: Hoc est corpus meum, expotione," 1525. In this work, Œcolampadius attempts to show that σῶμα, in the words of institution, signify as much as "*sign of the body*." He submitted the work to the Swabian reformers, *John Brenz* and *Erhard Schnepf*, who, in conjunction with twelve other Swabian preachers, replied to it in accordance with Luther's view. The controversy spread, disputants multiplied, each eagerly replying to his opponent. Luther issued two more powerful works upon the subject: one in 1527, "Das die Worte: das ist mein Leib, noch fest stehen;" the other in 1526, "Bekenntniss vom Abendmahle." The struggle progressed, in spite of the conciliatory efforts of the Strassburg divines. Zwingli's view became the shibboleth of the Swiss Reformation, and was approved in many cities of Upper Germany. Strassburg, Lindau, Memmingen, and Constance adopted it; it even found favor in Ulm, Augsburg, Reutlingen, etc.

§ 12. THE PROTEST AND CONFESSION OF THE EVANGELICAL STATES. (1529–30.)

After the diet of Spires, public action upon religious matters was suspended for three years. But, incited by the growing strength and the progress of the Reformation during this time, embittered by intervening mistakes, and encouraged by the improvement of the emperor's political position, the Catholic party obtained the preponderance again at the next diet of Spires (1529), and secured the passage of a decision designed to put a full end to the evangelical cause. The evangelical party entered a formal protest (thenceforth they were called *Protestants*), and made every effort to give it effect. The attempted union with the Swiss and cities of Upper Germany failed; but, in the Augsburg Confession, they raised, at Augsburg (1530), a banner in the presence of the emperor and empire, around which they thenceforth confidently rallied.

1. *The Affair of Pack* (1527–28). — In 1527, gloomy reports were spread of some imminent peril to the evangelical cause. The landgrave suspected a conspiracy of the Catholic princes in Germany. He, therefore, pressed *Otto v. Pack*, the chancellor of Duke George, to reveal what he knew of the matter. Pack, at length, confessed that a league was already formed against the Lutherans. The landgrave offered him 10,000 guilders for the original document. Pack brought a copy with the ducal seal affixed. According to this paper, the Catholic princes of Germany had bound themselves to fall upon electoral Saxony and Hesse with their united forces, to exterminate the Reformation, and divide the country among them, etc. The landgrave was fired with indignation, and even Elector John allowed himself to be drawn into a league, by virtue of which both were to make energetic demonstrations against the impending assault. But *Luther* and *Melanchthon* reminded the elector of the words of the Lord: "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword;" and persuaded him to await the attack, and confine himself to a simple defence against attack. The landgrave, greatly provoked by the loss of his ally, sent a copy of Pack's document to Duke George, who pronounced it a shameful falsehood and forgery. Meanwhile, Philip had entered the territory of his ecclesiastical neighbor. At Wittenberg, bitter tears were shed at this violent infraction of the peace of the country. The landgrave, also, on calmer reflection after his return, was ashamed of his course. Pack was examined; he contradicted himself, and was soon found to be a bad character, who had been guilty of other frauds. The landgrave banished him. For a long time he wandered about,

and, finally at the instigation of Duke George, was beheaded in the Netherlands. This affair greatly damaged the evangelical cause. Mutual confidence was irretrievably lost; the Catholic princes now seemed to be the injured party, and they were highly exasperated.

2. *The Emperor's Position* (1527–29). — The treachery of the King of France, and the consummation of the league of Cognac, had placed the emperor in a most trying position. Old *Freundsberg* gathered an army in Germany; and the German soldiery, burning with a desire to vex the pope, marched over the Alps without hire or pay. On May 6, 1527, they stormed Rome; the pope yielded himself a captive. But once more Germany's hope in her emperor failed. Regard for the sentiments prevailing in his Spanish hereditary domains, and his own antipathy against the Saxon heresy, together with other political combinations, caused him to forget that he had been rescued by *Lutherans*. In June, 1528, he concluded a peace with the pope at *Barcelona*, and pledged his entire strength for the extermination of the heresy. The *Peace of Cambray* (July, 1529) finally terminated the war with France. In the articles of peace, both sovereigns promised to support the dignity of the papal chair, and *Francis I.* renewed the pledge to furnish aid against heretics and the Turks. Charles then hastened to Italy, to be crowned by the pope, intending, after that, to go to Germany in person, and adjust existing difficulties there.

3. *The Diet of Spires* (1529). (Cf. *J. J. Müller*, Hist. v. d. ev. Stände Protestation. Jena, 1705, 4to. — *J. A. H. Tittmann*, d. Protest. d. ev. Stände, Lpz. 1829.) — In the latter part of 1528, an imperial message was sent from Spain, appointing a diet at Spires, on Feb. 21, 1529, for the purpose of devising measures in regard to the war with the Turks, and to religious innovations. The existing state of affairs differed widely from that in 1526 (§ 6, 7). The Catholic princes were irritated by the frauds of Pack; the wavering states were controlled by fear of the emperor; the prelates were present in full numbers; and the Catholic party had, for the first time since the diet of Worms, a decided majority. The proposition of the imperial commissaries, to annul the decision of the diet of 1526, was approved by a committee, adopted by a majority, and engrossed, by Ferdinand's orders, as a decision of the diet. Thus all who had hitherto observed the edict of Worms were still to maintain it, and others were forbidden to introduce further innovations, at least until a council should be held; the mass was to be tolerated, and the jurisdiction and revenues of the bishops were to be every where restored. It was the death-sentence of the Reformation; for the last point, especially, gave bishops full power arbitrarily to punish or depose offensive ministers. As no remonstrances availed with the stubborn Ferdinand, the evangelical party entered a solemn *protest* against the decision, and demanded its incorporation with the decision. But Ferdinand declined accepting it

The Protestants at once prepared and published a document legally drawn up, and containing all the acts, in which they stated their grievances, and appealed to the emperor, a free council, and a German national convention. The document was signed by the *Elector of Saxony*, *Landgrave of Hesse*, Margrave *George of Brandenburg*, the two Dukes of *Lüneberg*, and Prince *Wolfgang of Anhalt*. Fourteen cities of Upper Germany subscribed it.

4. *The Marburg Colloquy* (1529). (Cf. *Rudelbach*, Ref. Lutherth. u. Union, p. 345, etc.—*H. Heppe*, d. 15 Marb. Artikel. With a fac-simile of the autographs. 2 Aufl. Kass. 1854.)—Before leaving Spires, electoral *Saxony* and *Hesse* united with *Strassburg*, *Ulm*, and *Nuremberg*, in a defensive alliance. The theologians present strongly opposed the admission of Strassburg to this league, on account of its Zwinglian views. At the same time the landgrave formed a compact with Zurich, and Zurich applied to Francis I. of France. Thus a coalition was forming which might have become more dangerous to the house of Austria than any preceding one. But *one* point was ignored which soon frustrated all these plans, the diversity between the Lutheran and Zwinglian confessions. Melanchthon returned to Wittenberg with severe chidings of conscience. Luther was opposed to any confederacy —most of all, to fraternization with sacramentarians—and the elector half agreed with him. The Nuremberg theologians had the same scruples. The league was to be ratified at *Rotach*, in June. The parties met, but effected nothing. The landgrave was distracted, but the elector remained firm. *Philip* then invited the leading theologians of both sides to hold a colloquy at his castle in *Marburg*. It lasted from Oct. 1–3, 1529. On the one side were *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Justus Jonas*, from Wittenberg, *John Brenz*, from Swabian Hall, and *Andrew Osiander*, from Nuremberg; on the other side were *Zwingli*, from Zurich, *Œcolampadius*, from Basel, and *Bucer* and *Hedio*, from Strassburg. After private interviews between Zwingli and Melanchthon, and Luther and Œcolampadius, according to the well-considered arrangement of the landgrave, the public colloquy commenced on the second day. In the first place, several points were discussed touching the divinity of Christ, original sin, baptism, the Word of God, etc., regarding which the Wittenbergers suspected the orthodoxy of Zwingli. These were all secondary matters with Zwingli, in reference to which he dropped his unchurchly views, and declared his agreement with the views of the œcumenical councils. But, in regard to the article of the Lord's Supper, he was the more persistent. Appealing to John, 6 : 33, "*The flesh profiteth nothing*," he showed the supposed absurdity of Luther's view. Luther had written, with chalk, on the table: "This is my body," and insisted that these were words of God, which should not be perverted. Agreement was out of the question. Zwingli, nevertheless, declared himself ready to maintain fraternal fellowship, but Luther and his party rejected the offer. Luther said: "Ihr habt

einen andern Geist denn wir." Still Luther found that his opponents did not hold as offensive views as he supposed; and the Swiss, also, that Luther's doctrine was not so gross and Capernaitic as they thought. They united, therefore, in a mutual promise to drop disputes, and to earnestly pray God to lead them all to a right understanding of the truth. They adopted and subscribed fifteen articles. In the first fourteen they declared unanimous consent to the œcumenical faith of the Church against the errors of Papists and Anabaptists. In the fifteenth, the Swiss conceded that the body and blood of Christ were present in the *sacrament*, but they could not agree to his *corporeal presence in the bread and wine.*

5. *The Convention of Schwabach* (1529).—Whilst the theologians were conferring at Marburg, the Elector John and Margrave George were in consultation at *Schleiz*. They agreed that unanimity in faith was the indispensable condition of fraternity. In October following, a convention was held at *Schwabach*, in accordance with the agreement at Rotach. On the basis of the Marburg articles, Luther had drawn up a confession (*the seventeen articles of Schwabach*), which the delegates from Upper Germany were required to subscribe before proceeding further. They declined doing this, and the convention was adjourned. Meanwhile, the imperial orders with regard to the recess of the diet, which arrived from Spain, contained very ungracious expressions against the Protestants. The evangelical States sent an embassy to the emperor, then in Italy; but he, also, refused to receive their protest, and wellnigh treated the commissioners as prisoners. But they escaped, and brought back bad news. Hitherto the only question had been about a defensive and offensive league against the apprehended assaults of the Swabian league, or other Catholic princes. Luther's hope that the emperor would still examine the matter was now destroyed. The question could not be shunned, what to do if the assault upon their faith came from the emperor himself. The jurists, indeed, thought that the German princes were not in a relation of unconditional subjection to the emperor, but that they themselves were rulers by the grace of God, and, as such, bound to protect their subjects. But Luther did not hesitate, for a moment, to compare the relation of his elector to the emperor with that of the burgomaster of Targau to the elector, for he clung to the idea of the empire as firmly as to that of the Church. He entreated the princes not to resist the emperor, and for God's sake to suffer every thing for themselves and their countries. Only, if the emperor should require them to persecute, banish, or put to death their own subjects for conscience' sake, they were not bound to obey. Under such circumstances, the *Convention of Smalcald*, agreed upon at Schwabach, took place, but without result.

6. *The Diet of Augsburg* (1530). (Cf. die Jubelschr. v. *Pfaff*, Nuremb. 1830; *Veesenmeyer*, Nuremb. 1830; *Facius*, Lpz. 1830, and

Förstemann, Urkundenb. z. Gesch. d. Reichst. zu Augsb. Lpz. 1830-35 2 Bde.) — From Bologna, where the Pope crowned him, the emperor issued a call for a diet *at Augsburg*, which, after being absent from Germany nine years, he promised to attend in person. The removal of religious errors was to be the chief business. He wished, first of all, to try, by peaceable means, to win back the Protestants to the old faith. Hence his proclamation was conciliatory in its tone. But before his arrival in Augsburg, new disorders arose. The Elector *John* had brought *Melanchthon*, *Jonas*, and *Spalatin*, with him to Augsburg, and had them preach there. The emperor heard of this with great displeasure, and dispatched a message requiring him to have this stopped. The admonition was not heeded. On June 15, he, accompanied by the papal legate, *Campegius*, entered the city in great pomp; the Protestants (according to 2 Chr. 5: 18, 19) participated, without opposition, in all the religious and civil ceremonies of reception. The emperor then the more confidently demanded the preaching to be stopped. But the Protestants were firm. Margrave George broke the fury of the emperor's rage by his equally decided and humble declaration: before he would renounce the Word of God, he would kneel down on the spot, and let his head be cut off. With like firmness did they refuse to participate in the procession of Corpus Christi, because it was announced to be "in honor of Almighty God." In regard to preaching, they finally consented to impose silence on their clergy during the emperor's stay, since the opposite party was also required to abstain from controversial discourses. The diet was opened on June 20. The matter of the Turkish war, which the emperor first introduced, was postponed until the religious questions should be settled.

7. *The Augsburg Confession* (*June* 25, 1530). (Cf. *D. Chyträus*, Hist. d. Augsb. Conf. Rost. 1576, 4to.—*E. Sal. Cyprian*, Hist. d. A. C. Gotha, 1730. — *Chr. A. Salig*, vollst. Hist. d. A. C. Halle, 1730, 4to. — *G. G. Weber*, krit. Gesch. d. A. C. Frkf. 1784, 2 Bde. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, hist.-krit. Einl. in d. A. C. Lpz. 1841. [*G. J. Planck*, Gesch. d. prot. Lehrbegr. III.]—When the imperial proclamation announced the purpose of settling religious dissensions amicably, the elector requested his theologians to prepare a brief and lucid statement of the evangelical faith. They presented him, accordingly, a revised copy of the seventeen Articles of Schwabach (the *Torgau Articles*). As the emperor's arrival was delayed, Melanchthon improved the interval in preparing the *Augsburg Confession* (Confessio Augustana) on the basis of the Torgau Articles. This compact, lucid document, as decided as it was mild, received the full approval of Luther, whom the elector had left in Coburg, because he was still under sentence of excommunication and proscription. It contained twenty-one articuli fidei præcipui, and seven articuli in quibus recensentur abusus mutati. On June 24, the Protestants desired to read their confession; but it was

only with great difficulty that the emperor consented to its being *read on June* 25—and then not in the great hall of the public sessions, but in the much smaller chamber of the episcopal chapter, to which only the members of the diet were admitted. The chancellors of electoral Saxony, Doctors *Baier* and *Brück*, each came forward with a copy of the Confession, the former in German, the latter in Latin. Charles wished the latter to be read, but the elector carried the point of having the German copy read on German soil. This done, Brück handed both copies to Charles, who kept the Latin copy and gave the other to the Elector of Mayence. The former was subsequently placed in the archives of Brussels, but was taken thence by the Duke of Alba, and lost; the other was deposited in the archives of Mayence, but only a copy of it was afterwards found there. Both were signed by the Elector John, the Margrave George, Duke Ernest of Luneburg, the Landgrave Philip, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The Confession made a favorable impression upon many of the assembled princes, and scattered many prejudices against the faith of the Protestants, whilst the evangelical confessors felt themselves greatly strengthened by the unanimous confession of their faith before the emperor and nation. Charles now directed the Catholic theologians, *John Faber*, *Eck*, and *Cochlæus*, to refute the Confession. They prepared a so-called *Confutation*, which was read Aug. 3. Charles declared that their document contained the views by which he would abide; that he would expect the princes to do the same; otherwise, he was the protector of the Church, and was not disposed to tolerate a schism in Germany. The Protestants requested a copy of the Confutation, that they might examine it more closely; this was denied them. Then the landgrave left the diet. He told the elector that he placed person and property, country and people, at his disposal; and to the delegates of the cities he wrote: "Tell the cities not to be women, but men. You need not fear; God is on our side." The Zwinglian cities of Strassburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau, handed in their own confession (*Confessio tetrapolitana*), the 18th article of which declares: Christ, in the sacrament, gives his *true* body and *true* blood, to be eaten and drunk *for the nourishment* of the soul. Charles directed a Catholic refutation of this also to be read, as a settlement of the matter. — Meanwhile *Luther*, at Coburg, had, by his earnest prayers, counsel, and encouragement (Exod. 7 : 11), sustained his friends in their conflicts at Augsburg. He preached often, wrote numerous letters, negotiated with Bucer (§ 13, 7), labored at the translation of the Prophets, and wrote several works for edification. Probably the powerful hymn: "Eine veste Burg," etc., and its tune, were not composed here.

8. *Recess of the Augsburg Diet* (1530.) — The hopeful firmness with which the Protestant minority maintained their position, caused the Catholic majority to hesitate about a public rupture. They therefore

resolved to attempt a mediation once more. For this purpose the emperor appointed a commission of two princes, two doctors of canon law, and three theologians, from each party. The 21 doctrinal articles of the Confession were assented to, without altering a single fundamental point; on the other hand the Protestants were to give up everything relating to constitution and customs. So the measure failed. Five imperial cities took sides with the emperor, the others attached themselves to the protesting princes. At the close the Protestants desired to read and present an *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, drawn up by Melanchthon, as an offset to the Catholic confutation, but the Emperor inflexibly refused permission. (After the adjournment of the diet, Melanchthon obtained a full copy of the confutation, and revised his admirable apology; — it is among the most decided productions of his pen, and was translated into German by Justus Jonas.) On Sept. 22, the Protestant states were notified by the recess of the diet, that time would be given them until April 15 following, to consider the matter; but meanwhile no new work should be published, and confession and the mass should be tolerated in their dominions. A promise was also given that a general council should be called within six months. The spiritual princes were confirmed anew in all their prerogatives. The emperor declared that it was his fixed purpose strictly to maintain the edict of Worms, and enjoined his fiscal to prosecute all violations, even to passing sentence of proscription. The supreme court of judicature itself was formally and expressly bound to maintain the recess of the diet. Finally, Charles expressed the desire that, in view of his frequent absence, his brother Ferdinand might be chosen King of the Romans. This was soon afterwards done at Frankfurt; but electoral Saxony entered a protest against it.

§ 13. EVENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS DURING 1531–36.

The Protestants had not yet been able to effect a permanent alliance. Now, however, it became necessary to set themselves earnestly about it. Thus arose the *Smalcaldic league*, 1531, for six years. To this energetic measure, and the simultaneous political exigency of the emperor, the Protestants owed the concession of the first or *Nuremberg Religious Peace*. The bold progress of the landgrave released *Würtemberg* from the Austrian yoke, and popish coercion. At the same time the Reformation triumphed in *Anhalt*, *Pomerania*, and several cities of *Westphalia*. But for the *Anabaptist disorders of Münster*, all Westphalia would have become Protestant. The untiring assiduity of *Bucer*, also, secured the northern countries for the Smalcaldic league, by means of the *Wittenberg concord*. The league now presented an imposing and powerful front.

1. *The Formation of the Smalcaldic League* (1530–31). — The obligation of the imperial chamber to carry out the Augsburg recess, threatened most danger to the Protestants. To ward off this danger the evangelical states unanimously resolved, at a *convention in Smalcald* (Dec. 1530), to sustain each other against every attack of the chamber. But when the question arose whether, in any extremity, they would be justified in taking arms against the emperor himself, their views were divided. The legal opinions of the jurists finally prevailed over all religious scruples, and the Elector of Saxony demanded the formation of a league against *every* assailant, even should it be the emperor himself. At a second convention in Smalcald, March, 1531, such a league was formally concluded, for six years. The parties to it were: Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Lüneburg, Anhalt, Mansfeld, and eleven cities.

2. *The Religious Peace of Nuremberg* (1532). — The energetic combination of the Protestants made an impression; its effect was also increased by a threatened attack of the Sultan *Soliman*, who seemed determined to enforce his pretensions to imperial power and universal dominion. In order to subdue the Protestants, it would be necessary to make terms with the Turks; or, if these were to be humbled, a peaceable union with the Protestants was indispensable. *Ferdinand* decided upon the latter policy, and by his advice the emperor ordered a *diet at Regensburg*, and directed his fiscal of the chamber to stay all proceedings, instituted by virtue of the Augsburg recess, until the diet should convene. But the catastrophe in Switzerland, soon after, (§ 10, 10,) changed Ferdinand's policy. This seemed to him the best time for inflicting the same fate upon the evangelical party in Germany which befell the Swiss. He therefore sent an embassy to the Sultan, which was authorized to propose the most ignominious terms of peace. But Soliman spurned every offer, and, in April, 1532, marched forward with an army of 300,000 men. In the meantime the diet was opened at Regensburg, April 17, 1532. Here the Protestants were not, as two years previously, the suppliants, but the entreated party. They would no longer listen to a compromise, but demanded peace in religious matters, the annulling of all religious processes in the chamber, and a free general council, where matters at issue should be decided alone according to the Word of God. As long as Ferdinand could hope that his ambassadors to the Turks would obtain a favorable answer, he did not seriously entertain negotiations for peace. But when this hope was destroyed, and he saw the terrible army of Soliman rolling onward, there was no time to be lost. To be nearer the emperor, (in Brussels,) the diet's further proceedings were transferred to Nuremberg, where the first, or *Nuremberg Religious Peace*, was concluded (July 23. 1532). On account of the Catholic majority, and the papal legate, the demand regarding the imperial chamber could not be engrossed in the public records; hence the emperor granted it in a separate pledge, but

only in favor of the then existing states. It was permitted the *Elector John*, as a reward for his fidelity, to see this peace concluded. He died soon after (1532) of apoplexy, and was succeeded by his son, *John Frederick the Magnanimous.* — A considerable army was soon gathered. Soliman was defeated by land and sea, and returned home discomfited. The emperor then went to Italy, and urged the pope to call a general council. The pope, however, thought the measure premature. The other condition of the peace, the staying of processes before the chamber, was also disregarded for a time. Charles had indeed at Mantua directed his fiscal to delay all religious suits until further orders. But the chamber declared that the pending processes (mostly relating to the restitution of ecclesiastical property and immunities) were not of a religious nature, but involved violations of public peace and confiscations. Then the Protestants entered (Jan., 1534) a formal recusation of the chamber, which, nevertheless, did not stay its proceedings, and was about to pass sentence of ban upon some states, when occurrences in Würtemberg changed the aspect of things.

3. *The Evangelization of Würtemberg* (1534–35).—(Cf. *J. C. Schmidt* u. *F. E. Pfister*, Denkw. d. württb. Ref. Gesch. Tübg. 1817.—*J. Hartmann*, Gesch. d. Ref. in W. Stuttg. 1835.—*K. Mann*, Jubelbüchl. d. ev. Ref. in W. Stuttg. 1836.—*C. Römer*, K. G. Ws. Stuttg. 1848; *K. Th. Keim*, schwäb. Ref. Gesch. Tübg. 1855.—*L. F. Heyd*, Herz. Ulr. v. W. Tübg. 1841, etc., u. 3 Bde.—*J. Hartmann* u. *K. Jäger*, Leb. u. Wirk. d. Joh. Brenz. Hamb. 1840, 2 Bde.—*J. G. Vaihinger*, Leb. u. Wirk. d. Joh. Brentz. Stuttg. 1841.) — After the expulsion of Duke *Ulrich*, by virtue of the Swabian league (1528) Würtemberg was under Austrian rule. The fanaticism with which every reformatory movement was put down, had long awakened in the breast of the people a desire for the return of their hereditary prince, and this desire was increased by his adoption of the evangelical faith in his Swiss exile. But the vigilance of the Swabian league had thus far frustrated all the attempts of Ulrich to regain the inheritance of his fathers. His son *Christopher* was educated at the court of Ferdinand, and was to accompany (1532) the emperor to Spain. Whilst crossing the Alps he fled, and openly reclaimed his inheritance in Germany. The Landgrave *Philip*, Ulrich's personal friend, had long resolved to seize the first opportunity of recovering Würtemberg for him. At length, in the spring of 1534, he carried out his plan, with the aid of French gold. At *Laufen*, Ferdinand's army was well-nigh destroyed, and he was compelled, at the Peace of *Kadan* (1534) to cede Würtemberg to Ulrich as a mesne fief, granting him, however, a seat and vote at the diet, and allowing him full liberty to introduce the Reformation into his territory. The Elector of Saxony, also, participated in this Peace, by acknowledging Ferdinand as King of the Romans, and for this receiving the assurance that the chamber should definitively arrest all proceedings against existing members of the Smalcald league. From the beginning, *Luther's views*

nad met with a warm response in Würtemberg; but all expressions of sympathy therewith had been suppressed by Ferdinand's bloody rule. Now the Reformation spread all the more rapidly over the land. *Ulrich* committed the reformation of the district above the Staig to *Ambrose Blaurer*, a respectable theologian of that section, a pupil of Zwingli, and a friend of Bucer, approving of Bucer's conciliatory measures (n. 7). The reformation of the countries below the Staig was undertaken by *Erhard Schnepf*, a professor at Marburg, and a decided adherent of Luther. Both agreed upon a doctrinal formula ("*Corpus et sanguinem Christi vere*, i. e. *substantialiter et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel localiter præsentia esse et exhiberi in cœna.*") Ulrich merits special praise for the establishment of the university at *Tübingen*, modelled after that at Marburg, and which became one of the most important nurseries of Protestant learning. The example of Würtemberg encouraged many of the neighboring courts of the empire and imperial cities to follow its course, and among them the powerful city of *Augsburg*.

4. *The Reformation in Anhalt and Pomerania* (1532–34).—(Cf. *F. L. B. v. Medem*, Gesch. d. Einf. d. ev. Lehre in Pommer. Greifsw. 1837.)—Prince *Wolfgang* of *Anhalt*, one of the evangelical confessors at Spires and Augsburg, had previously introduced the Reformation into the district along the Saale and into Zerbst. In 1532, another Anhalt prince, *George*, cathedral provost of Magdeburg and Merseburg, at first an opponent of Luther, but afterwards won over by his writings, began the work in the district east of the Elbe, not so much by his authority as a temporal prince as by virtue of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in exercising which he did not allow the opposition of the archbishop cardinal Albrecht to hinder him. At his right hand stood *Nicholas Hausmann*, a friend of Luther; and when the Bishop of Brandenburg refused to consecrate his married priests, he had them ordained by Luther in Wittenberg. In *Pomerania*, however, the cause was introduced amid more violent agitations. The nobility and clergy endeavored to restrain by force the inclinations of the people. Prince *Barnim* had been an admirer of Luther ever since the Leipsic disputation, whilst his brother *George* united with the clergy in their opposition. But George died, and his son *Philip* coöperated with *Barnim* in introducing the Reformation into the entire territory. At the diet of *Treptow* (Dec., 1534) they submitted a plan for carrying on the work, which the cities hailed with joy, and which *Bugenhagen* executed by a visitation of the churches like that pursued in Saxony.

5. *The Reformation in Westphalia* (1532–34).—(Cf. *C. A. Cornelius*, Gesch. d. Münster. Aufruhrs. Bd. I. Die Reformation. Lpz. 1855.—*H. Jochmus*, Gesch. d. Kirchenref. zu Münster. Münst. 1825.—*Max. Göbel*, Gesch. d. Chr. Lebens in d. rhein. Westphal. K. Cobl. 1849. Bd. I.)—In the cities of Westphalia, the Reformation assumed the

same character as in those of Lower Germany, Lutheran hymns doing the chief work. *Pideritz*, a pastor in *Lemgo*, was an adherent of Eck In order to see the nature of Lutheranism with his own eyes, he visited Brunswick, and returned with wholly altered views. He then reformed the city without opposition.—In *Sœst*, the Catholic council resolved to inspire terror by condemning to death *Schlachtorp*, a tanner, who had severely denounced the council. The Lutheran citizens, following Luther's example, endured the violence of the authorities without resistance. But the executioner, missing the neck of his victim, dealt him a terrible wound in the back. Another executioner came forward to finish the work, when Schlachtorp, reviving, wrested the sword from his hand, and was borne home in triumph by the crowd. S. died the next day. The council left the city, and thus Catholicism lost its last footing there (July, 1533). — In *Paderborn*, the people had defiantly claimed the freedom of the pulpit; and when the Elector *Hermann of Cologne* visited the place to receive allegiance (§ 15, 7), the refractoriness of the Lutherans was reported to him in so glaring a light, that he ordered some of the leaders to be seized. By means of the torture he wrung from them a confession of a treasonable combination with the Landgrave of Hesse, of which they had been falsely accused, and for this he condemned them to death. But when they reached the scaffold, the request of an old man to be beheaded with them, and the entreaties of the women and maidens, so wrought upon Hermann, that he spared their lives. The nobility and clergy, however, managed to maintain Catholicism. — In *Münster*, the doctrine of Luther was early preached by *Bernh. Rottmann*. The council had to open St. Lambert church to him, and the friends of the new cause soon became ascendant. The council and priests left the city. The new bishop, *Francis of Waldeck*, cut off all communication with the city, but during Christmas, 1532, 900 armed citizens of Münster fell upon *Telgt*, by night, where the diet was then convened, to take the oath of allegiance. The bishop, who had just departed, escaped the assailants, but the most noted leaders among the nobility and priests were captured and taken to Münster. The bishop was then compelled to grant the city unconditional religious liberty. Neighboring cities had already begun to follow this example, when a catastrophe occurred, which resulted in the full restoration of Catholicism.

6. *The Münster Faction.*—(Cf. *Jochmus*, l. c. *J. C. Wallmann*, John v. Leyden. Quedlb. 1844.—*K. Hase*, neue Propheten. Lpz. 1851.—*C. A. Cornelius*, Berichte d. Augenzeugen üb. d. Münster. Wiedertäuferreich. Münst. 1853). — *Rottmann* had for some time embraced the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper; his next step was to reject infant baptism. In a disputation with some theologians of Hesse, he was defeated. Nevertheless, he managed to remain in the city, and to strengthen his party by gathering in Anabaptist elements from other places. On the festival of the Three Kings, 1534, the prophet *John Mathys*, a baker

of Harlem, and his ardent apostle, *John Bockelson*, a tailor of Leyden, came to Münster. The populace, especially women, crowded to their preaching. *Rottmann*, and a few other preachers, at once joined them Their adherents soon multiplied to such an extent, that they thought they might bid defiance to the council. During an insurrection, the council was so weak and forbearing, that it made a treaty which secured to them legal recognition. Anabaptist fanatics then poured into Münster from all directions. After a few weeks they had the preponderance in the council. Mathys, the prophet, announced it as the will of God, that all unbelievers should be driven from the city. This was done, Feb. 27, 1534. Seven deacons divided the effects they left behind, among the believers. In May, the bishop laid siege to the city. By this means the disorder was at least confined to Münster. After having destroyed all the images, organs, and books, (only saving the Bible,) the fanatics introduced a community of goods. *Mathys*, who imagined himself called to slay the besieging foe, fell during a sally by their sword. *Bockelson* took the prophet's place. In accordance with his revelations the council was deposed, and a theocratic government of twelve elders, who let themselves be inspired by the prophet, was established. That he might marry the beautiful widow of Mathys, Bockelson introduced polygamy. The still surviving moral sense of the citizens in vain resisted this enormity. Those who were dissatisfied rallied around *Mollenhök*, a blacksmith, were defeated, and all condemned to death. Bockelson, proclaimed king of the whole earth by one of his co-prophets, set up a splendid court, and introduced the most heinous abominations. He claimed authority to inaugurate the Millennium, sent out twenty-eight apostles to spread his kingdom, and appointed twelve dukes, to govern the earth as his vicegerents. Meanwhile the besieging army failed in an attempt to storm the city (Aug., 1534); had not help arrived from Hesse, Treves, Cleve, Mayence, and Cologne, they would have been compelled to raise the siege. All they could do was to starve out the city, and this plan was succeeding well. But on St. John's eve, 1535, a deserter led the soldiers to scale the walls After a stubborn struggle, the Anabaptists were overpowered. Rottmann plunged into the thickest part of the fight, and perished. King John, with his governor, *Knipperdolling*, and chancellor, *Krechting*, were captured, pinched to death with red-hot tongs, and then hung up at the tower of St. Lambert's church in iron cages. Catholicism, in an absolutely exclusive form, was restored.

7. *Extension of the Smalcaldic League* (1536).—In the summer of 1534, the emperor determined to chastise those German princes who had sundered Würtemburg from the possessions of his house. But he was hindered from executing this purpose by fear of the bold pirate *Chaireddin* (Barbarossa), who had established himself in Tunis, and constantly threatened the coasts of his Italian and Spanish States. In the summer of 1535, the corsair was defeated, but a war which then

broke out with France (1536) engaged all the emperor's powers. The danger was increased by a formal league which Francis I. concluded with Soliman for a united attack upon the *emperor*. Instead, therefore, of chastising the Protestant princes, Charles had to use all means to secure their friendship, and especially as Francis offered them great inducements to engage them on his side. Accordingly, from the summer of 1535, *Ferdinand* made advances towards the Protestants. In November, the elector visited him in Vienna, conferred upon him the electoral dignity, and guaranteed the extension of the Nuremberg Peace to all the States that had since then gone over to Protestantism. From Vienna the elector went to a convention at Smalcald, where the Smalcaldic League was extended to ten years, whilst the overtures of the French ambassadors were declined, and the hostile position towards Austria was abandoned. On the basis of the Vienna compact, Würtemberg, Pomerania, Anhalt, and several cities, were admitted to the League; but subscription to the Augsburg Confession was the indispensable condition. Bucer has the credit of having induced the cities to do this.

8. *The Wittenberg Concord* (1536). (Cf. *Rudelbach*, Ref. Lutherth. u. Union, p. 363, etc.)—The study of Luther's works upon the Lord's Supper, and the colloquy at Marburg, had led *Bucer* to a deeper appreciation of the views of Luther upon that subject. This fact exerted an important influence upon the *Confessio tetrapolitana* (§ 12, 7), in preparing which he took a prominent part. But Bucer desired to effect a union, and conferred with Luther on the subject (1530) at Coburg. As he confessed in his own name, and that of his colleagues, that Christ was present in the *bread* and to *the mouth* in the sacrament, and admitted, at least on his own part, that the *ungodly also* really partook of the body of Christ, Luther declared himself satisfied, and willing to concede the nice distinctions by which Bucer sought to reconcile a spiritual participation with the real presence, and a symbolical with a sacramental significance of the elements. The cities actually assented to this accommodation, and even Œcolampadius was not wholly averse to it. But *Zwingli* utterly rejected it. *Bucer*, therefore, exerted himself the more to persuade the Churches of Upper Germany to adhere to it. In December, 1535, he and Melanchthon had a *colloquy at Cassel*. They there agreed upon a fuller conference at *Eisenach*, which, however, was held at *Wittenberg*, on account of Luther's bad health. *Bucer* and *Capito*, with eight of the most distinguished theologians of Upper Germany, were present. And as they assented, in advance, to the real presence of the body of Christ in the bread, and its *oral* reception, as well as to the formula *in, with, and under*, the only question discussed related to the participation of *unbelievers*. The theologians from Upper Germany at length conceded this in regard to *unworthy* communicants, but not to *ungodly* persons, and Luther declared himself satisfied. Accordingly, on May 25, the so-called *Wit-*

tenberg Concord was signed by all, and further confirmed by their common celebration of the Lord's Supper.—In consequence of this union, the most influential theologians of Switzerland met in *Basel*, and appointed three of their number (*Henry Bullinger* of Zurich, *Oswald Myconius* and *Simon Grynäeus* of Basel) to prepare a confession of faith distinctly setting forth Zwingli's doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper. This originated the *Confessio Helvetica prior*, which *Leo Juda* translated into German.

§ 14. EVENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS DURING 1537–39.

Pope *Clement VII.* endeavored, by various excuses, to evade the emperor's increasingly urgent demand for a council. At length, in 1533, he promised to convoke a council at *Mantua*, within a year, but insisted, in advance, that the Protestants should pledge unconditional submission to its decrees; a pledge which, of course, they would not make. His successor, PAUL III. (1534–49), actually summoned a council at *Mantua*, in 1537. Luther prepared the *Smalcald Articles* for presentation, but the Protestants finally forbade the transmission of them, as they resolved to renew their demand for a *free* council in a *German* city. Hence the summoned council never convened. On the contrary, the Catholic States concluded, at *Nuremberg*, the so-called *Holy League* (1538), for the strict maintenance of the recess of Augsburg; but political exigencies compelled the emperor to make new concessions to the Protestants in the *Frankfort Suspension* (1539). During the same year, the Duchy of Saxony and the Electorate of Brandenburg embraced the Reformation. At the commencement of 1540, almost the whole of Northern Germany was Protestant. Duke Henry of Brunswick, alone, remained in the tottering citadel of the old faith.

1. *The Smalcald Articles* (1537). (Cf. *M. Meurer*, d. Tag zu Schmalk. u. d. schm. Artt. Lpz. 1837.— *Chr. Ziemssen*, d. welthist. Bedeut. d. Schmalk. Convents im J. 1537; in d. hist. theol. Ztschr. 1840, III.— *Chr. H. Sixt*, Petr. Paul. Vergerius, päpstl. Nuntius, kath. Bischof. u. Vorkämpfer d. Evang. Braunschw. 1855).—*Paul III.* sent (1535) his legate, *Vergerius* (cf. § 19, 13), mainly to secure definite agreement as to the place for holding the council. He visited Wittenberg, where Luther, in company with Bugenhagen, called upon him. Luther did not expect much from a council, and therefore was indifferent as to the place of holding it; the elector was of the same mind. Hence, in the fall of 1536, a general council was, in due form, convoked to meet in *Mantua*, May 23, 1537. The call was written with care and modera-

tion, but expressions made by the Pope, in other places, showed clearly what Protestants had to expect. The matter was discussed at a diet in Smalcald, Feb. 1537. At the request of the elector, Luther had previously drawn up articles, which would be immovably adhered to at the council. These articles, written in German, and known as the *Smalcald Articles*, Luther brought with him to Smalcald. In accordance with the circumstances, their character is predominantly polemic. They boldly break through the limits of cautious forbearance towards the papal hierarchy, within which all the official declarations of the evangelical party had thus far been kept. The first part, concerning the Majesty of God, briefly set forth four undisputed articles concerning the Trinity and the person of Christ; — the second part treats of the office and work of Christ, or our redemption, and definitely lays down points of difference between the two parties, from which there would be no retraction;—the third part states those points which were open for discussion by the Council.—In the second part, Luther unconditionally rejected the primacy of the pope, as unsupported by the Word of God, and incompatible with the character of a truly evangelical Church. When the theologians subscribed the paper, Melanchthon added to his name this statement: "Concerning the pope, I hold that, if he would grant a free Gospel, he might be allowed, for the sake of peace and unity among Christians now, or who may hereafter be, subject to him, to exercise a jure humano superiority over the bishops." At the request of the meeting, Melanchthon further prepared a historical paper: "Concerning the Power and Authority of the Pope," and "Concerning the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops," which was likewise subscribed by the theologians, and added to the Articles of Smalcald. — They then debated the question of attending the council, and on what conditions to do so. They finally agreed to decline attending it, but once more to ask the emperor to convene a truly free Christian council, in a German city. The elector boldly proposed that Dr. M. Luther and his co-bishops should call a council (at Augsburg, if they pleased) in opposition to that of the pope; but, as this measure was directly at variance with the entire policy of the Protestants thus far, it was rejected.

2. *The Nuremberg League* (1538). — Near the close of the Convention of Smalcald (1537), the imperial orator (vice-chancellor), Dr. Held, appeared. The Protestant princes had good reason to suppose that they stood on the best of terms with the emperor. They were, therefore, no little astonished when the orator declared to them, avowedly in the emperor's name, that the court was fully justified in prosecuting the pending suits, nay, even bound to do so; but he seemed to know nothing of the Peace of Kadan and the Treaty of Vienna. They immediately reassumed their posture of opposition. But *Held* visited all the Catholic courts, and sought—avowedly by the emperor's authority—to effect a confederation of Catholics, for the complete sup-

pression of the Protestants, on the basis of ban edicts of the imperial chamber. *Ferdinand*, who well knew that Held had gone beyond his instructions, or even against them, was very indignant, for the emperor was placed in a very critical position. But matters had been carried so far that it was impossible to recede without greatly offending the Catholic princes. Hence a confederacy, called the *Holy League*, was formed at *Nuremberg*, July 10, 1538, by *George* of Saxony, *Albert* of Brandenburg, *Henry* and *Erick* of Brunswick, King *Ferdinand*, and the Archbishop of Salzburg; its object was to sustain the imperial chamber in its official acts, and in the immediate execution of the ban edicts. On the other side, the Smalcald States prepared to meet violence with violence. A general sanguinary war seemed inevitable.

3. *The Frankfort Suspension* (1539).—At this juncture, however, the emperor needed the vigorous support of the empire against the threatening advances of *Soliman*. It was highly important for him, therefore, to assuage the anger of the Protestants. *Held* was recalled, and *John v. Veeze*, former Archbishop of Leyden, took his place. The Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate offered to act as mediators. They went, with the new orator, to Frankfort on the M., and opened negotiations with the Protestants then there. These demanded an unconditional, permanent, indisputable peace, which should, under no circumstances, be disturbed, and that the chamber should be constituted of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. Though the orator was disposed to concession, he could not yield this point. But the danger from the Turks daily increased, and compelled him to renew the negotiations, which had been suspended. He adopted another course, proposing that, at the diet to be held during the following summer, a committee of learned theologians, and discerning, peaceable laymen, should meet, and endeavor to effect a final arrangement in regard to doctrines and usages. He also agreed to a suspension of all proceedings against Protestant States for eighteen months. Thus the Protestants gained a prospect of securing, finally, what they had in vain sought after since the diets of Nuremberg (1523, 1524). They consented, therefore, to this compromise (the *Frankfort Suspension*). It was a triumph of the Smalcald League over that of Nuremberg (which was really not represented at Frankfort). Confidence in Protestantism grew mightily, and an important extension of its territory was the consequence.

4. *The Reformation in Albertinian Saxony* (1539). (Cf. *H. G. Hasse*, Abr. d. meissnisch-albertinisch-sächs. K. G. Bd. II. Lpz. 1847.)—Duke *George of Saxony* (1500–39) had endeavored, with extreme severity, to suppress the Reformation, for which no country, probably, showed stronger sympathy than his own. Only one of his four sons was still living, and he was imbecile. Nevertheless he had him married, but he died a few months after his wedding. The old duke was in great

perplexity, his only heir being his brother *Henry*, whose small territory (with its capital, *Freiburg*) had long before embraced the Reformation, and become a refuge for all whom George persecuted and banished for conscience' sake. He could not endure the thought that all the painful toils of his life should be frustrated in a single night. On the day of his last son's death, therefore, he submitted a plan of succession to his States, by which his brother *Henry* should not be allowed to succeed him, unless he would bind himself to stand by and immovably maintain the League of Nuremberg. If he refused to do this, the duchy should pass over to the emperor or the king. *Henry*, of course, rejected this proposal, and *George* died before other measures could be devised. The country received its new prince with great rejoicings; and, whilst he was receiving homage in Leipsic, *Luther* once more visited the city (the first time for twenty years), and preached with the greatest acceptance. The reformation of the entire duchy was now rapidly carried forward. Ferdinand desired, indeed, to carry George's will into effect, but the Smalcald League declared that they would defend the new duke against all opposition, and Ferdinand prudently abstained from further measures.

5. *The Reformation in Mark Brandenburg, and some adjacent Districts* (1539). (Cf. *A. Müller*, Gesch. d. Ref. in d. M. Br. Berl. 1839.—*C. W. Spieker*, K. u. Ref. Gesch. d. M. Br. Berl. 1839. Bd. I. — *H. v. Müller*, Gesch. d. ev. K. Verf. in d. M. Br. Weim. 1846.—*Jul. Wiggers*, K. G. Mecklenb. Parch. 1840.) — The Elector *Joachim* I. (*ob.* 1535), on his death-bed, bound both his sons to maintain the old faith. *Henry*, the younger, who inherited the new Mark, had for some time embraced evangelical views. He joined the Smalcald League, and reformed his territory. But the older, Elector *Joachim* II. (1535–71), adhered for several years to the old faith and usages, but nowhere prevented the preaching of the pure Gospel, which was quietly gaining influence over his own mind. Finally, at the beginning of 1539, his mind was fully convinced, probably under the influence of the negotiations at Frankfort. At the same time his States became desirous to introduce evangelical doctrines. Berlin requested permission to have the *communio sub utraque*, and a large number of the nobility earnestly begged *Matthias of Janow*, the Bishop of Brandenburg, "to embrace and steadfastly confess the pure doctrines of God." On Nov. 1, 1539, *Joachim* assembled all the preachers of his country in the church of St. Nicholas in Spandau; the Bishop of Brandenburg celebrated the first evangelical mass, and the entire court, together with many knights, received the communion in both forms. The country followed the example of the princes. Joachim prepared a liturgy which retained more of the old ceremonies than those of other countries, but set forth justification by faith as a central doctrine, and adopted the *communio sub utraque* as the basis of Christian worship. *Ferdinand* was displeased at the elector's course, but seemed contented with the assurance that he had not joined

the Smalcald League. The Duchess *Elizabeth of Calenberg-Brunswick* (sister of the Elector of Brandenburg) followed the example of her brother. After the death of her husband, *Erich*, who held other views, she used her authority as regent to reform the duchy. On the other hand, *Albert of Brandenburg*, cardinal-archbishop, endeavored in every way to prevent the defection of his territory, but in order to secure compliance with his constant demands for money, he had to grant the cities the free preaching of the Gospel. He opposed the innovations more earnestly in *Halle*, but the citizens only insisted more determinedly upon being allowed the same privileges with other cities. *Justus Jonas*, of Wittenberg, introduced the reformation into the city under his very eyes; the only vengeance he could take was to leave Halle, and remove his court to Mayence. About the same time the *Mecklenburg* countries obtained an evangelical constitution, in establishing which, *Magnus*, one of the princes, and also Bishop of Schwerin, was particularly active. *Anna of Stolberg*, abbess of *Quedlinburg*, did not venture publicly to avow her evangelical views during the lifetime of George of Saxony; but now she introduced the reform into her convent and the city without opposition.

§ 15. THE PERIOD OF UNION EFFORTS. (1540–46).

The Frankfort Suspension revived the idea of a *free* union on the basis of a common faith and worship, which had been dropped since the Nuremberg diet of 1524, and awakened hopes of its speedy realization. And as the embarrassment of the emperor continued, a series of *religious conferences* with reference to this object was really held. But although the desired result seemed, several times, to be almost achieved, the negotiations as often failed in the end, because the emperor would not recognize them unless a papal legate had taken part in them. And just at the time when the imposing power of the Protestant States justified the most brilliant hopes, the Protestant princes themselves laid the root of their extreme subsequent humiliation —the Landgrave Philip, by his *bigamy*, and the elector by his quarrel with the court of ducal Saxony.

1. *The Landgrave's Bigamy* (1540). (Cf. *H. Heppe*, urkundl. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Doppelehe, etc.; in d. Hist. Theol. Ztschr. 1853. III.) — Landgrave *Philip of Hesse* had married Christina, a daughter of the deceased Duke George of Saxony. Bodily disorders and offensive habits had alienated him from her; and gross sensuality, which had gained a mastery over him, had led him to frequent acts of infidelity. For this his conscience so troubled him, that he thought himself unworthy to commune, ardently as he desired to do so, and he was harassed with

doubts of his salvation. Regard for his wife, however, deterred him from seeking a divorce. Assuming, therefore, the toleration of polygamy in the Old Testament, as nowhere abolished in the New Testament, it occurred to him that, *with his wife's consent*, he might formally contract a second marriage with *Margaret v. d. Saale*, a court lady of his sister. In Nov., 1539, he sent *Bucer*, one of his spiritual advisers, to Wittenberg, to obtain the advice of Luther and Melanchthon. According to Bucer's account, the only question discussed was the alternative of Philip's continuance in adultery, and so incurring temporal and eternal ruin, or his being allowed, with his wife's consent, to have another wife, and thus live within the due restraints of lawful marriage. Luther and Melanchthon both strove, in their reply, to dissuade Philip from his proposed course, as well for his own, as for the Gospel's sake, on which his conduct would bring great scandal; but, in conclusion, half conceded that bigamy would be more advisable, as doing less violence to the conscience, than to live in adultery. But, to avoid causing public offence, they required that he should be secretly married, and that their answer should not be taken as a theological opinion, but only as private counsel. Thereupon, Philip took a second wife in May, 1540. But the matter was soon rumored abroad. The Albertine Saxon court became greatly enraged, the elector furious, the theologians fearfully perplexed. About this time Melanchthon started for the religious conference at Hagenau, but anxiety about the case, and the conviction that he had done wrong with the rest, prostrated him with disease when he reached Weimar. He was on the brink of death when Luther hastened to him, and rescued him by the omnipotence of Christian prayer. At Eisenach the Hessian and Saxon theologians discussed the propriety of publicly justifying the step taken by Philip. *Luther* opposed it with all his might. But *Bucer* went so far as to publish an apology under the assumed name of *Ulrich Neobulus*, for doing which Luther called him a villain and a *nebulo*. Even the landgrave endeavored to suppress Bucer's tract. This affair, besides bringing reproach upon the Gospel, proved sorely detrimental to the Reformation, as it resulted in a temporary alienation of Philip from his confederates, and led him, as a security against the capital penalty to which his bigamy exposed him, to attach himself more closely to the emperor's interests. This did the cause of Protestantism more harm, probably, than if he had wholly abandoned it.

2. *The Religious Conference at Worms* (1540). The Pope did all in his power to frustrate the union measures of the Frankfort Suspension. To remove all obstacles out of the emperor's way, he endeavored to restore peace with France, and secured an armistice with the Turks. But his negotiations with France proved abortive, so that Charles could not risk an open rupture with the Protestants. The emperor, therefore, summoned the States to meet at *Spires* for consultation with reference to the prospective compact at Frankfort (June,

1540). A contagious disease, however, led him to transfer the meeting to *Hagenau*. There, in spite of the stubborn opposition of the Catholic majority, it was resolved that *a religious conference* should be convoked *at Worms*, in ten weeks from that date, for the purpose of effecting a Christian settlement of their differences, on the basis of the Holy Scriptures. *Ferdinand* himself designated to the *Catholic* States what theologians to select, and showed by his choice how anxious he was that the measure should succeed. In Nov., 1540, the delegates met at Worms, the imperial orator *Granvella* presiding. On the Protestant side were: *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Brenz*, and *Calvin* (from Strassburg); on the other side: *Eck*, the Spaniard *Malvenda*, etc. But Charles insisted upon having the papal nuncio *Morrone* allowed to take part, and thus, contrary to his intention, frustrated the entire measure. For *Morrone* first placed a number of obstacles in the way, and when at length the conference fairly began, Jan., 1541, and aroused threatening fears for the papacy, he did not rest until *Granvella* dissolved the conference, in the emperor's name, before they had finished discussing the first article, concerning original sin. But the emperor did not relinquish the scheme; he convoked a diet at Regensburg, where the interrupted negotiations should be resumed.

3. *The Conference at Regensburg* (1541). (Cf. *A. Jansen*, de *Julio* Pflugio ejusque sociis. Berl. 1858.)—The *diet of Regensburg* was opened April 5, 1541. The imperial address insisted earnestly upon the adoption of a common Christian platform, and, in spite of the resistance of the Catholic States, he would not relinquish the right of appointing collocutors. He appointed *Eck*, *John Gropper*, canon of Cologne, and *Julius v. Pflugk*, cathedral dean of Meissen, on the Catholic side (excepting Eck, the most conciliatory to be found); and on the Protestant side, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, and *John Pistorius*, a pastor from Nidda in Hesse. *Granvella* and Count Palatine *Frederick* were to preside; the nuncio *Contarini* was to represent the court of Rome. From parties so well chosen there was reason to hope for the desired issue. A party of men versed in the Scriptures had sprung up in Italy, who, starting from the principle of justification by faith, hoped, on this basis, to regenerate the Church, without disturbing the papal primacy, or the hierarchical system. Contarini was one of the leaders of this party. He agreed with the emperor, that the doctrine of justification by faith, the cup for the laity, and the marriage of priests, should be yielded to Germany, and that the Protestants, on their part, should acknowledge the primacy of the Pope. *Bucer* had already drawn up a plan of agreement, which after being circulated among those interested, was adopted as a basis of negotiations. The doctrine of man's original state, and of original sin, passed without difficulty, in an essentially Protestant form. In regard to justification, a justitia imputativa, in the evangelical sense, was admitted; but Contarini insisted upon affirming, also, a justitia inhærens (i. e. a virtue wrought in man

by his acceptance of Christ's merits, so that he was thus not only pronounced righteous, but was really made righteous). But as he solemnly acknowledged the former to be the marrow of the entire system of faith, and the latter only a consequence of the former, and based wholly upon the grace of God, to the exclusion of all personal merit, the Protestants yielded. Upon the article concerning the Church, however, such diversities of opinion were expressed, that it was postponed for subsequent consideration. Then the sacrament of the altar was taken up. The Communio sub utraque was readily conceded. But on the margin of Bucer's concord, the word transubstantio was written by some unknown hand. On this rock the whole measure was dashed into pieces. *Contarini*, who had received admonitions from Rome, would yield nothing more, and the Protestants were equally firm. The colloquy closed. Nevertheless, the emperor desired that the articles, so far agreed upon, should be made a common basis for both parties, and that, in reference to other points, they should exercise mutual toleration; but he could not prevail upon the Catholic majority to assent to this. Wherefore the recess of the diet confirmed the Peace of Nuremberg, extended it to all then connected with the Smalcald League, and bound the Protestants alone by the articles agreed upon (*Regensburg Interim*).

4. *The Regensburg Declaration* (1541).—The Protestants, naturally enough, were not pleased with the recess. To pacify them, the emperor granted them a special declaration, which, whilst not obligatory upon the imperial States, still bound him their supreme head. The declaration conceded that the assessors of the imperial chamber should no longer be sworn to execute the Augsburg Recess, and that the adherents of the Augsburg Confession should be allowed a representation in the chamber, and not be excluded. It was further granted that religious institutions and monasteries should adhere to the Reformation, and should teach, in addition to the articles agreed upon, the additions of the Protestant members of the Conference. The decision of the recess, that no one should deprive the clergy of their rents, was likewise extended to Protestant clergy. — But on the very day when the emperor signed this declaration, he had a separate meeting with the Catholic majority, at which the *Nuremberg League* was renewed, and the pope admitted as a member of it. In this way he hoped to secure aid from both parties, and to delay a warlike conflict between them, until a more favorable season for resuming his scheme of reconciliation. Moreover, he concluded separate treaties with the Landgrave *Philip*, and the Elector *Joachim* II. Both obligated themselves to adhere firmly to the emperor in all *political* divisions. The elector also promised not to join the Smalcald League, and in return the constitution of his Church was confirmed. The landgrave obligated himself to oppose, not only every alliance of the Smalcald League with foreign powers (England and France), but also with the Duke of Cleves, with

whom the emperor was then in dispute about a hereditary claim to Guelderland. The landgrave on his part obtained an amnesty for all he had done, and a promise that he should be left undisturbed in religious matters. The emperor had, also, special negotiations with the Elector of Saxony, but they failed on account of the claims of Charles to Guelderland, for Cleves was the elector's brother-in-law.

5. *The See of Naumburg and the Wurzen Quarrel* (1541–42). (Cf. *Lepsius*, Bericht üb. d. Wahl u. Einführ. Nik. v. Amsd. Norah. 1835.) — Lutheran doctrines had gained the ascendancy in the See of *Naumburg-Zeitz*, from 1520, notwithstanding the constant opposition of the papal chapter. On the death of the bishop (1541), the chapter hastened to elect the learned and gentle provost, *Julius v. Pflugk*, to the vacancy. But the elector thought it his duty to furnish a Lutheran country with a Lutheran bishop; and having been displeased by the deceitful conduct of the chapter, which first concealed the death of the bishop for a long time, then secretly held an election, without regard to the rights of the prince, and finally paid no attention to his protest, he persistently refused to confirm their choice. He still hoped that Pflugk, who asked six months' time for considering the matter, would decline the election. But this expectation was disappointed. Indeed Pflugk, supported by the emperor, maintained his claims. Then the elector, not without some violent means, placed *Nich. v. Amsdorf*, superintendent of Magdeburg, in the See. *Luther* ordained him on Jan. 20, 1542, "without chrism, and also without butter, lard, fat, grease, incense, or coals." The temporal jurisdiction of the See devolved upon an electoral officer. *Amsdorf* was satisfied with the scanty salary of 600 guilders; the remaining revenues were applied to pious uses. After the battle of Mühlberg, 1547, Amsdorf was driven off, and Pflugk restored. Pflugk died in 1564. The chapter then became Lutheran, but Amsdorf was not restored; the administration was transferred to a Saxon prince.— The violent course of the elector in *this* case, caused great displeasure at the Albertine court. But a much more threatening difficulty occurred in the same year. On the occasion of collecting the Turkish tax (1542), the elector sought to exercise his supremacy over the district of *Wurzen*, in the See of Meissen. But when the bishop refused to submit to his demands, he ordered his soldiers forthwith to occupy the district. The Albertine court, however, also claimed sovereignty over Wurzen. Duke Henry died in 1541. *Maurice*, his son and successor, at once placed an army in the field; the elector, also, prepared for war. It was with difficulty that Luther and the landgrave succeeded in amicably adjusting the quarrel. But the mutual estrangement and rivalry of the two courts from that time burned like a hidden fire, and after a few years broke out in a devastating conflagration.

6. *The Reformation in Brunswick and the Palatinate* (1542–43). (Cf. *G. H. Lenz*, braunschw. K.-Ref. Wolfb. 1828. — *G W. H. Brock*, Gesch d. ev. luth. K. d. Pfalsgrafsch. Neuburg. Nördl. 1847. — *F*

Blaul, d. Reformationsw. in d. Pfalz. Speier. 1846.) — Duke *Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel* entered complaint against the city of *Goslar*, before the imperial chamber, because it had torn down two monasteries, from which the duke might easily have assailed the city. In spite of all the concessions of the emperor and king to the Protestants, the court proscribed the city (at the end of 1540), and *Henry* resolved to execute the ban. But the Smalcald League espoused the cause of the city, and substituting offensive for defensive measures, the landgrave and the Elector of Saxony invaded Henry's territory and subdued it (1542). *Brunswick* now obtained the long-desired preaching of the Gospel, and *Bugenhagen* introduced into it an evangelical organization and agenda. Thus the whole of northern Germany became a trophy of the Gospel, whilst in the south and west of Germany it also spread. In Oct., 1542, *Regensburg* adopted the Reformation. Bavaria forbade its subjects having any intercourse with the heretical city, but did not venture an open assault upon it; King Ferdinand would not have tolerated in a rival such an attempt to extend its power. In the upper Palatinate, evangelical preachers had long been tolerated by the territorial diet. Next in turn came the *Neuburg-Palatinate*. Its young prince, *Ottheinrich*, called *Osiander* from Nuremberg, who introduced the Reformation. The prince joined the Smalcald League (1543). In 1543, the Elector *Lewis*, of the Palatinate, died. His brother, Frederic II., though not averse to the Reformation, did not formally introduce it into the Electoral Palatinate until 1546. In Austria, also, considering the circumstances of the times, the new religious movement made daily progress. *Ferdinand* was neither able nor disposed to hinder its progress with the determined and bloody measures with which he had previously opposed it.

7. *The Reformation in the Electoral Principality of Cologne* (1542–44). (Cf. *L. Ennen* (Catholic), Gesch. d. Ref. in d. Erzdiöc, Köln. Köln 1849.—*M. Decker's* (Cath.), Herm. v. Wied. Köln, 1840.) — *Hermann v. Weid* (§ 13, 5), Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, had studied Luther's version of the Bible, and become fully convinced that the Augsburg Confession harmonized with its doctrines. After much hesitation he resolved to introduce the Reformation into his territory, supposing that the recess of the Regensburg diet, which recommended a Christian reformation of their several institutions to the prelates, obligated him to such a course. At the next diet, held in Bonn, March, 1542, he reported what he had done, and received the most cordial approval of his States. The elector hoped to realize in his domain the plan of union, which it was expected the Regensburg diet would secure for the whole country, but which was there frustrated. To accomplish this he summoned *Bucer* to his aid; *Gropper* was to cöoperate, but his contracted popish views soon led him to withdraw. Melanchthon took his place. Already in July, 1543, the elector was enabled to lay before his States a Reformed constitution, to which they fully assented. But

meantime an opposition party was formed. The cathedral chapter and university resisted from regard for the papacy; the Council of Cologne objected because it feared lest by the change its authority would be curtailed. The movement, however, steadily progressed, and it was hoped that the opposition would be gradually weakened, or at least prove harmless. In other respects the Cologne Reformation took a peculiar course; the chapter was not secularized, but continued an ecclesiastical principality, only in an evangelical form. The Bishop of Münster at once prepared to follow this example; and had the work in Cologne proved permanent, a number of other chapters would doubtless have adopted the same measures. (Cf. § 16, 2).

8. *Embarrassments of the Emperor* (1543–44).—Soon after the Regensburg diet (1541), which had granted but inconsiderable aid against the Turks, *Soliman* had taken Hungary without opposition. He converted the principal church at Ofen into a mosque, and appointed a pasha with three tails over the whole country, which he proclaimed a Turkish province. Early in 1852, a *diet met in Spires*. Though there was much wrangling about religious matters, large aids were voted against the Turks, for which the Protestants obtained an armistice of five years after the termination of the war. The campaign against the Turks, however, commanded by *Joachim* II., accomplished nothing. Meanwhile new disputes arose with France, and *Soliman* prepared for another campaign. In this strait Charles summoned a *diet at Nuremberg* (Jan., 1543). The Protestants demanded that the Regensburg declaration should be included in the recess of the diet, and the dissolution of the existing imperial chamber. Ferdinand consented, but *William of Bavaria* declared that he would rather see the world perish, or the crescent rule over all Germany. The recess postponed the Brunswick affair until the emperor should be present, and guaranteed anew to the Protestants a five years' armistice; but these demanded an indisputable, permanent peace, and rejected the recess. A grant of aid against the Turks was out of the question. With the summer of 1543, apprehended dangers broke in upon the emperor from all sides; France seized upon the Netherlands, Soliman conquered Gran, the Danes barred the Sund against the emperor's subjects, a Turkish-French fleet held mastery over the Mediterranean, and had already taken Nizza, and the Protestants also assumed a threatening posture. Christian III. of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, sought admission to the Smalcald League (which, of course, could not be allowed, unless the landgrave, by his separate compact with Charles, would withdraw from it). The Duke of Cleves, also, broke the stipulated armistice. This provoked the emperor most of all. He hastened forth, and subdued Cleve and Geldern; the Smalcald League had to allow it, on the landgrave's account (1543). Both countries were restored to Catholicism. The position of the emperor then somewhat improved. Cleve was disposed of; England and Denmark made peace with him. But his most

dangerous foes, *Solimán* and *Francis* I., were still in arms. He still needed the most vigorous support of the empire, *i. e.* of the Protestants.

9. *The Diet of Spires* (1544).— *The diet of Spires* was opened by the emperor in Feb., 1544. He knew well that he could obtain help against the French or Turks only by making important religious concessions. And he yielded to this necessity. The recess allowed the Protestants to use the ecclesiastical property for the improvement of their churches and schools; earlier unfavorable recesses were annulled; Lutherans likewise were admitted as advisory members of the imperial chamber. The territory of Brunswick was ceded to the emperor for temporary sequestration, only its religion was to remain in statu quo. The adjustment of religious dissensions was referred to a "general, *free*, Christian" council; and if it could not succeed, matters should be fully and finally settled by a national convention, to be held the following fall, independently of the pope or a council. The emperor promised to bring a plan of reformation with him then, and allowed the other States to do the same. After such concessions the Protestants entered with spirit upon the consideration of the emperor's political propositions. First of all, he desired aid against the French. It was granted, and the same year yet he marched, with an army composed chiefly of Protestants, into France, and forced upon the king the *Peace of Crespy* (Sept., 1544). This would have been the time to prepare for the war against the Turks, according to the agreement at Spires. The Protestants burned with a desire to give the emperor proof of their zeal and devotion. Having confidence in the success of the national convention promised at Spires, the Elector of Saxony directed his theologians to draw up a plan of reformation, to be laid before the convention. This document, known as the *Wittenberg Reformation*, is remarkable for having proposed a new measure; it guaranteed the prelates their spiritual and temporal prerogatives, their dignities, domains, and jurisdictions, as well as the right of ordination, visitation, and excommunication; though, of course, on the condition that all this should be understood in an evangelical sense.

10. *Quarrels of the Emperor with the Evangelical States* (1545–46). The recess of Spires, with its promise of a national convention, finally induced the pope to order the long-called-for *Council at Trent*. He trusted that its decisions would sever the emperor from the Protestants —but the very appointment of it, already, produced this result. After the Protestants had conquered the *Peace of Crespy* for the emperor, and thus cleared the way for his general policy, he desired to carry out his earlier scheme of a complete reformation of the whole Church, the execution of which had been checked by the premature death of Hadrian VI. But, to effect this, he could not exempt the Protestants from subjection to the council. At the *diet of Worms* (May, 1545), however, they decidedly refused consent. Charles assured them that

he had no thought of using violence against them in matters of religion, but insisted on his demand, and began to make secret preparations. The Cologne affair (n. 7) also estranged him from them. The agitations which the reformation of the archbishopric excited in the Netherlands, were of the most threatening character for the system of government which obtained there. Hence the emperor took part with the opposition, and admitted a complaint of the chapter against the elector. An energetic intercession of the Smalcald League aggravated his antipathies. The growing power of the league filled him with apprehensions. *Henry* of Brunswick had just made an attempt to recover his domain, but was defeated by the united forces of Hesse and the two Saxonies, and taken prisoner. Simultaneously *Frederick* II. commenced the reformation of the Palatinate, and negotiated for admission to the Smalcald League. Thus four of the six electors had already defected, and the fifth, *Sebastian of Heusenstamm*, who, after the death of Cardinal Albert (1545), had been made Elector of Mayence, through the influence of Hesse and the Palatinate, had promised to do the same. Charles became alarmed. He concluded an armistice with the Turks (Oct., 1545), and negotiated with the pope, who pledged all his possessions and his triple crown for the overthrow of the heretics. On Dec. 13, 1545, he opened the *Council of Trent*, and did not conceal that its purpose was to suppress the Protestants. Charles once more endeavored to induce the Protestants to take part, and once more he instituted a *colloquy at Regensburg* (Jan., 1546). The zealous papists, *Malvenda*, *Cochlæus*, and *Billik*, and a little later, *Jul. v. Pflugk*, were opposed by *Bucer*, *Brenz*, and *Major*. The former would not yield a hair-breadth, and demanded a promise that no one should be told what transpired. Hence the colloquy failed. The horrible fratricide perpetrated during that time upon a young Spaniard, *John Diaz*, in Neuburg (whose brother Alphonso preferred his death to his joining the heretics), went unpunished, and furnished Protestants an instance of the way in which good Catholics thought heretics should be treated.

11. *Luther's Last Days* (1546). (Cf. *K. E. Förstemann*, Denkm. d. Dr. M. L. errichtet. Nordh. 1846, and the Jubelschrr. v. *Pasig*, Lpz. 1846; *Köthe*, Jen. 1846; *John*, Magd. 1846). — Whilst the storm was gathering which should soon burst upon the heads of the evangelical party, the mercy of God hastened the man, who had laid the immovable basis of a renovation of the Church, away from the struggles and trials of his completed labors. *Luther died at Eisleben, Feb.* 18, 1546, *at the age of* 63 *years*. His last years were burdened with manifold tribulations. The thoroughly political character forced upon the Reformation after the diet of Augsburg, was repugnant to him, but he could not alter it. Many things occurred in Wittenberg, also, of which he disapproved, and which caused him much anxiety and sorrow. Weary of his arduous labors, suffering violent bodily pains, and with increasing debility, he often longed to die in peace, and his prayer was

answered. Early in 1546, the counts of Mansfeld called him to Eisleben, to settle the disputes then existing between them. Thus engaged, he spent the last three weeks of his life in the place of his birth, and without any particular previous illness, fell peacefully and happily asleep in the Lord, during the night of Feb. 18. His corpse was taken to Wittenberg, and there deposited in the chapel of the castle.

§ 16. THE SMALCALD WAR AND THE INTERIM. (1546–51.)

All attempts at reconciliation in religious matters had failed. The pope, on the contrary, had ultimately consented to order a general council in some German city. The emperor turned towards it with his conciliatory schemes, and hoped that, as his hands were again free, since the conclusion of peace with France, he might carry out his idea of a reformation, *i. e.*, thoroughly correct all hierarchical abuses, allow priests to marry, grant the cup to the laity, and yield the doctrine of justification by faith. But on this subject he quarrelled with the Protestants, and war broke out before the Smalcald confederates were ready for it. Still their strength far exceeded the emperor's; but, through useless scruples, delays, and indecision, they allowed victory to escape them, when they had several certain opportunities of securing it. The power of the league was completely annihilated; that of the emperor reached its highest point. The whole of southern Germany was compelled to submit to the odious Augsburg Interim; and even in northern Germany, despised Magdeburg alone maintained pure Protestantism, in spite of the emperor and empire.

1. *Preparations for the Smalcald War* (1546). (Cf. *Hortleder*, Handl. u. Auschr. v. d. Ursachen d. deutsch. Krieg. Frkf. 1617. 2 Bde. f. *J. G. Jahn*, Gesch. d. schm. Kr. Lpz. 1837.—*F. A. v. Langenn*, Moritz, Herz. u. Kurf. v. Sachsen. Lpz. 1841, 2 Bde.)—After the emperor had concluded a league with the pope against the Protestants, he tried to find confederates in Germany also. To the *Duke of Bavaria* he held out the prospect of the electoral dignity, to which he had long aspired. This succeeded, but to guard against unfortunate issues, the duke promised only secret pecuniary aid. Charles next attempted to gain allies from among the Protestants themselves, whose mutual discords gave him hope of success. Margrave *Hans of Kustrin* and Duke *Eric of Brunswick-Calenberg*, the former a son-in-law, the latter an uncle of the expelled and captured Prince of Wolfenbüttel, offered their services in the contest against the robbers of that invaded country But Charles was more concerned to gain the young Duke *Maurice of Saxony*. The

continued rivalry and variance between him and his uncle, the elector, gave ground to hope that he also might be won over. The attempt succeeded. For the electoral dignity of Saxony, and the greater part of the lands belonging to electoral Saxony, Maurice turned traitor. The emperor could, indeed, no more exempt him than the other two princes from a formal subjection to the council, but he promised them forbearance in the application of the decree of the council, and that in any case, the doctrine of justification, the cups for the laity, and the marriage of priests, should be guaranteed to their countries. Having thus secured Maurice, the emperor prosecuted his preparations quite openly, and made no secret of his intention to chastise some princes who had shown contempt for his imperial dignity, and violently seized possessions not belonging to them, under the cloak of religion. The Smalcald confederates could no longer deceive themselves. They also made preparations for war. With this open rupture ended the *diet of Regensburg* (June, 1546).

2. *The Campaign along the Danube* (1546).—The northern cities were most zealous in their preparations. Uniting with Würtemberg, they sent a respectable army into the field, under the command of the vigilant *Schärtlin*, before the emperor had matured his preparations. Had the Protestant council of war in Ulm permitted, Schärtlin would have marched forthwith to Regensburg, where the emperor was surrounded by an excited Protestant population, and without protection. But the council thought nothing should be done to irritate *William of Bavaria*, who was playing a neutral part. Then Schärtlin wished to take Tyrol, and pay a visit to the Council of Trent. He had already started, when the council commanded him to return, in the foolish hope that King *Ferdinand* would remain neutral. Thus Charles gained time to collect his forces. Under date of June 20, 1546, he issued from Regensburg a ban edict against the Landgrave *Philip* and the Elector *John Frederick*, as vassals who had violated their duty and oath. Both published proclamations in defence of their course, entered the field with considerable forces, and joined *Schärtlin* at Donawert. There papal despatches to the Catholic cantons of Switzerland fell into their hands, in which the pope informed them that he had made a league with the emperor for the extermination of heretics, and promised plenary indulgence to all who would aid the crusade against them with prayers or money. Even after all the delays, the issue of the war would hardly have been doubtful, had the Protestants carried out their plans with unity, decision, and vigor. But in this they failed. The winter was approaching without their coming to a battle. Meanwhile, however, *Maurice*, (to whom the emperor had transferred the Saxon electorate, by a formal decree of Oct. 27, 1546), on pretence of friendly concern, took possession of the domain of the dishonored elector, and received the oath of allegiance. Tidings of these events constrained the landgrave and ex-elector to return to their countries, and *Schärtlin*, in want

of money and munitions, was unable even to establish permanent winter quarters in Franconia, for the protection of northern Germany. The whole country, therefore, was exposed to the emperor. One city after another capitulated, on more or less severe terms. Würtemberg and the Palatinate had also to yield. In regard to religious matters, the emperor wisely granted to all the same privileges he had promised before the campaign to his allied princes. At the beginning of 1547, he was master of the whole of southern Germany. He then disposed, also, of the *Cologne affair* (§ 15, 7). In April, 1546, the pope had pronounced the ban against its archbishop, and authorized Charles to execute it. But the emperor prudently delayed, lest the elector should attach himself to the enemy. Now, however, Charles published the ban. His commissaries called a meeting of the States at Cologne, and made the coadjutor archbishop and elector, in spite of the opposition of the States. *Hermann* was ready to purchase the religious freedom of the country by a voluntary resignation; but this was rejected, and having no power to resist, he resigned unconditionally. Thus the Rhine country was hopelessly lost to Protestantism.

3. *The Campaign of the Elbe* (1547).—*John-Frederick* entered Thuringia about the middle of Dec., 1546. He was received warmly and with rejoicings, and in a short time conquered not only his own domain, but the greater part of the Albertine district. The cities of lower Germany formed a league with him. The Bohemians, also, refused Ferdinand's demand that they should fight against their brethren in the faith, and on their own responsibility confederated with the ex-elector. *John Frederick* once more assumed a highly important position, the danger of which the emperor fully appreciated. Hastily gathering a considerable army, Charles joined Ferdinand and Maurice in Eger, and by rapid marches moved towards the Elbe. At *Mühlberg*, he overtook his enemy. There was hardly a battle. *John Frederick's* troops were overpowered by the imperial army, of whose approach he had no knowledge, and he was taken prisoner (April 24, 1547). Sentence of death was pronounced upon him, as a rebel and heretic. But the council of war thought it more prudent to force from him by treaty the surrender of his fortress, than to waste time in uncertain attempts at conquest. In matters of religion the pious prince would not yield, but he resigned his electoral dignity, and consented to the surrender of his fortress, the transfer of the greater portion of his domain to Maurice, and imprisonment for life. The Landgrave *Philip*, meanwhile, had been able to do nothing, for want of munitions, money, and troops. The tidings of John Frederick's misfortune filled him with dismay. Unable to offer any resistance, he surrendered unconditionally to the emperor. His son-in-law *Maurice*, and the Elector *Joachim* II., offered to act as mediators. In a document, which was immediately accepted in the case, the emperor vowed that "solche Ergebung weder zu Leibesstrafe noch zu *ewigem* (al. *einigem*) Gefängniss gereichen solle," for

the landgrave. *Ranke's* careful investigations have shown that the first version is undoubtedly the correct one. But in the further transactions in the matter, this compact, with its document, was so far lost sight of, that both the mediators must have considered it set aside, and even feared they would offend the emperor by asking for its formal annulment. An imprisonment was not named in any of the subsequent transactions, nor in the final capitulation; indeed the latter, in most of its conditions, assumed the personal freedom of the landgrave. In conformity with it, the *landgrave*, of course, surrendered himself at discretion, but the emperor promised an amnesty in advance. The landgrave was required to prostrate himself before him, to demolish all his fortresses but one, to give up all his arms, never to tolerate an enemy of the emperor in his territory, to enter into no leagues, to liberate Duke Henry of Brunswick, and restore him to his domain. The ceremony of prostration took place on July 19, at the residence in Halle. Both the electors, with the landgrave, then went unsuspiciously to sup, by invitation, with the Duke of *Alba*. After supper, the duke declared that the landgrave was his prisoner. The electors remonstrated in vain with the duke, and the next day with the imperial councillors, who coolly produced the earlier document. The emperor was also entreated without avail.

4. *The Council of Trent* (1545–47).—The *Council of Trent* was opened in Dec., 1545. At the very beginning, the pope, against the express will of the emperor, introduced resolutions which precluded the participation of the Protestants. The Scriptures and tradition were first discussed. The same authority was ascribed to the Apocrypha as to the other books of the Bible, and the *Vulgate* was acknowledged as the authentic version and only basis of all theological transactions, discussions, and sermons. *Tradition* was declared fully coördinate with the sacred Scriptures, only care was taken for once to settle and fix the limits of its contents. The total extermination of *original sin* by baptism was affirmed, the remaining concupiscence being pronounced no sin; after baptism there were none but actual sins. The scholastic view of *justification* was, substantially, reasserted, although it was purged of its worst excrescences, and conformed as much as possible to scriptural modes of expression. Justification was made to consist in the actual conversion of a sinner into a righteous person—not only in the forgiveness of sin, but the sanctification and renewal of the inner man. It is effected not by an imputation of Christ's merits, but by an infusion of habitual righteousness, which enables man to secure eternal life by his own good works. It is not an *actus Dei forensis*, but an *actus physicus*, is effected not at once, and through faith alone, but gradually, under the training of the Church, through those means which it offers, and by man's free coöperation. The emperor, who saw his own conciliatory schemes set aside by these decisions, was greatly displeased, and peremptorily demanded that their promulgation should

be postponed. The pope listened for a time, but as the interference of the victorious emperor in the affairs of the council assumed a more threatening character, he directed his legates forthwith to publish the suspended decisions (Jan., 1547), and a few weeks later, on pretence of a dangerous pestilence, transferred the council to Bologna (March, 1547), where, however, it did no additional business.

5. *The Augsburg Interim* (1548). (Cf. *J. E. Biek*, das dreifache Int. Lpz. 1721. *J. A. Schmid*, hist. interimistica. Helmst. 1750.)—Early in Sept., 1547, the emperor opened a *diet at Augsburg*. The humbled Protestants promised, almost unresistingly, to submit to the council, if it were restored to Trent, and its proceedings begun afresh. Charles energetically urged the pope to concede these unavoidable demands. The refusal of the pope compelled him once more to attempt effecting a religious union without the pope or council, and to institute an interim which should be the law for both parties until the action of a proper council could be obtained. King Ferdinand proposed Bishop *Julius v. Pflugk* and the suffragan Bishop *Michael Helding* of Mayence; the Elector *Joachim* II., his court-preacher *John Agricola* of Eisleben, as a committee to prepare the interim. Charles consented. Agricola's boasts of his influence in the committee were as vain as his magniloquent promises that large concessions would be granted were proven to be falsehoods. Joachim had enjoined it upon him to adhere to four points (justification, the cup for the laity, the marriage of the clergy, and the setting aside of the opus operatum), but Agricola could not even, unqualifiedly, secure them. The second and third were granted, but in regard to the doctrine of *justification*, the Bishop of Naumburg could not go directly in the face of the decrees of Trent, whilst the Protestants on their part could make no concessions on this point. They agreed, therefore, to reject the inanis fiducia of faith without works, as well as the false confidence of resting in works without true faith, and to acknowledge both an inherent and imputed righteousness; — and if, on the one hand, they declared that God justifies men not on account of works, but of his mercy, and without any merit of man, they affirmed on the other that there might be works which *transcended* the divine commands, and that *such* were meritorious. Upon the *mass* they agreed more readily. Pflugk, indeed, clung to the idea of a sacrifice, but not in the sense of an atonement, but of a memorial or thank-offering; not as a repetition of the death of Christ, but as an appropriation of its fruits. In the doctrine of the Church, the power of the pope was essentially limited; he was acknowledged only as the supreme bishop, in the sense of a primus inter pares, in whom the unity of the Church was visibly represented. On the other hand, the right of interpreting the Scriptures, and to ordain doctrines and usages according to it, was claimed exclusively for the Church. The *seven sacraments* were confirmed, including chrism and extreme unction, and special stress was laid upon transubstantiation. The duty of fast-

ing and of praying to the Virgin and saints for their intercessions, all the ceremonies of Catholic worship, the pomp of processions, the festivals of saints, of Mary, and especially Corpus Christi, remained in full force. — This compromise received the emperor's entire approval, and even several Protestant princes believed that any wrong thus done to pure doctrine was richly compensated by the prospect of having some of their views legally introduced into Catholic countries. The Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate at once assented to the measure. *Maurice* found it more difficult to do so; he could not shut his eyes to the impossibility of getting the consent of his States. Finally he half consented, and the emperor took it as a full approval. *Hans*, of Küstrin, and *Wolfgang*, of Zweibrücken, decidedly opposed the plan, but Charles took no further notice of them than to say to them that in a short time a few thousand Spaniards would be sent into their districts. Then it came to the turn of the Catholic princes. *William of Bavaria* irritated, apart from this, on account of supposed neglect on the part of the emperor, had consulted the pope, and decidedly rejected the Interim. The other Catholic States followed his example. The emperor did not think himself powerful enough to compel their approval, and the recess of the diet made the Interim binding only on the Protestant States. The Landgrave *Philip*, whose power was completely broken, assented, but nothing could induce the brave-hearted *John Frederick* to do it. Even the pope persistently declined acknowledging the Interim, until in Aug., 1549, he authorized his bishops to tolerate the concessions it made for the Protestants.

6. *The Introduction of the Interim* (1548).—Everywhere the Interim had to be introduced by violence. This was first done in the cities of northern Germany. People and preachers steadfastly resisted it, but the magistrates let themselves be overawed by the threats and demonstrations of the emperor, and thus it was admitted by one city after another—by *Nuremberg*, *Augsburg*, and *Ulm*. *Constance* made a show of resistance, but it was proscribed, lost all its privileges, and instead of the Interim, popery was restored, and evangelical preaching prohibited on pain of death. Intimidated by this example, the other cities submitted to what was unavoidable. The Palatinate yielded at once. Würtemberg soon followed its example. All the ministers who refused to accept the Interim were banished and persecuted. About 400 faithful preachers of the Gospel, with their wives and children, wandered without food or shelter through southern Germany. *Frecht*, of Ulm, was loaded with chains, and dragged after the imperial camp. *John Brenz*, of Swabian-Hall, one of the most decided opponents of the Interim, more than once, in his wanderings, miraculously escaped being captured. In *northern Germany*, the opposition was more persistent. The example of John Frederick encouraged others to imitate him. The opposition was concentrated in the cities of lower Germany, especially in *Magdeburg*, which had been under the imperial ban since the Smal

cald war. The fugitive opponents of the Interim gathered there from all parts; there alone, (in "God's chancery,") the press was still free to combat the Interim. A flood of tracts, satires, and caricatures issued thence, spread over all Germany, and fanned the inextinguishable hatred. The Landgrave Philip advised his sons to accept the Interim, but the people would not consent. Even the Elector of Brandenburg could not carry it out in his domain, still less the Elector *Maurice*.

7. *The Leipsic or Small Interim* (1548). (Cf. *H. Rossel*, Melanchth. u. d. Int., in his theol. works. Berl. 1847).—The Elector *Maurice* was surrounded by peculiar difficulties. Pressed by his States, whom he had promised to protect in maintaining pure doctrines, and no less pressed by the emperor, who expected him at once to adopt the Interim, he resolved to prepare a compromise of these adverse demands, with which both parties might be satisfied. To effect this he needed the consent and aid of the Wittenberg theologians, above all of *Melanchthon*. Melanchthon had for several years been greatly restrained in his theological views by Luther, and by the strictly Lutheran court of John Frederick; but since Luther's death, and the change of dynasty, he felt more at liberty, but was also less decided. He was compliant beyond all expectations. His timid spirit feared that unconditional opposition would utterly destroy Protestantism, whilst obedience and concession would at least save the essentials of the Gospel as seed-corn for better times. In a letter to *Carlowitz*, he spoke in very moderate terms of a sketch of the Interim, approved of the restoration of old usages, and revelled in the remembrance of the powerful impressions which they had made on him in his youth. In his pliancy he so far forgot himself as to complain to this man, the most bitter enemy of Luther and of the noble John Frederick, of Luther's obstinacy and controversial spirit, and to utter odious insinuations against the former government. In an official opinion which he was requested to give, he said that it was necessary to adapt one'self to the sad times, and to approve and obey the will of the emperor, as far as it could be done in harmony with the essentials of evangelical faith. At Meissen, Torgau, Monkscell, and Jüterbock, the States had shown a more unmanageable and firm spirit than the theologians, and the subject of their conventions was extensively discussed. At length, at the diet of Leipsic, Dec. 22, 1548, the Interim prepared by the Wittenberg theologians (*Melanchthon, G. Major, P. Eber, Bugenhagen*, and *Cruciger*), according to Melanchthon's modified views, was adopted as the law of religious worship and usages for the countries of Saxony, and the theologians were directed to prepare a liturgy corresponding with the new Interim, which was accordingly published in July, 1549. *Julius v. Pflugk* was very well satisfied with this *Leipsic Interim*, and offered to recommend it to the emperor; *Agricola* triumphed, the preachers of the Margravite naively wrote to the Wittenbergers, asking whether the incredible news was true, the letters of *Calvin* and *Brenz* lacerated Melanchthon's

heart, zealous Lutherans everywhere were enraged, and denounced the measure, and the Protestants generally hated the Leipsic more than the Augsburg Interim. Its introduction was aided by imprisonment and exile, but hostility to it daily increased. The Leipsic Interim restored Catholic customs and ceremonies, almost without exception, as adiaphora, took no notice of less essential doctrinal differences, and set forth fundamental articles in such terms, that they might accord either with pure evangelical tenets or at the same time with the Augsburg Interim. The evangelical doctrine of justification was, indeed, not essentially altered, but it was not expressed in decided and unequivocal terms, and still less were Catholic errors distinctly and unambiguously rejected. Good works were declared to be useful and necessary, though not as meritorious of salvation. It was not said whether good works could be done *beyond* the requirements of the divine law. Concerning the Church and the hierarchy, the definitions of the Augsburg Interim were retained; all the clergy should be subject and obedient to the pope, as the supreme bishop, and to other bishops who discharged their office according to the will of God, to edification and not injuriously. The seven sacraments were recognized, but not in the Romish sense of them. In the mass, the Latin language was restored. Saints' images were allowed, but not to be worshipped, and also the festivals of Mary and Corpus Christi, but without processions, etc.

8. *Resumption of the Council of Trent* (1551).—In Sept., 1549, Paul III. dissolved the council at Bologna, the nullity of which had long been apparent. His successor, *Julius* III. (1550–55), who had been elevated by the imperial party, resolved at once to reopen the council at Trent, in accordance with the emperor's desire. The Protestant States declared themselves ready to take part in it, but demanded the reconsideration of its previous proceedings, as well as a seat and vote for their delegates. These demands the emperor was willing to grant, but the pope and prelates demurred. The council was opened on May 1, 1551, with the discussion of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Meanwhile, the Protestants equipped themselves for it by drawing up new confessions of faith which should be made the basis of their transactions with the Council. *Melanchthon*, whose courage began to revive, prepared the *Confessio Saxonica* (or, as he could properly call it, the Repetitio Conf. Augustanæ), in which we discover no further trace of the vacillation and duplicity of the Leipsic Interim. On the contrary, the true doctrine is set forth positively and polemically, with firmness and confidence, though in moderate and conciliatory terms. *Brenz*, also, who had so far remained in concealment, drew up the *Würtemberg Confession*, by direction of his ruler, Duke *Christopher*. Both confessions were subscribed, likewise, by other States. The first Protestants arrived in Trent in Nov., 1551. They were the temporal delegates of Würtemberg and Strassburg. In Jan., 1552, the delegates of electoral Saxony. On Jan. 24, they presented their demands to the Council,

but despite the support of the imperial commissary, they were unable to carry them through. In March, the theologians of Würtemberg and Strassburg arrived, with *Brenz* at their head. Melanchthon, and two Leipsic preachers, were on the way. Suddenly, *Maurice* put an end to the inextricable perplexities of the council.

§ 17. THE ELECTOR MAURICE AND THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG. (1550–55).

In 1550, the affairs of the Reformation were in a worse condition than at any previous time. Bound by the fetters of the Interim, it seemed like a culprit on whom sentence of death was about to be passed. But in this extremity there arose a man who burst the fetters, and restored strength and honor to the cause. He was the Elector *Maurice*. By betraying the Protestant cause, he had brought it to the verge of ruin; by treachery towards the emperor, he rescued it. The *treaty of Passau* guaranteed full religious liberty to the Protestant States, and equal rights with the Catholics, until a new council could be convened. The *Religious Peace of Augsburg* finally removed this restriction also, and terminated the history of the German Reformation.

1. *The State of Affairs in* 1550. — It was a dark and perilous period for Germany. The emperor had reached the summit of his power, the end of all his desires and efforts. He now openly avowed his cherished plan of securing to his son, *Don Philip of Spain*, the succession in his imperial dignity. In the affairs of the empire he publicly assumed autocratic power, regardless of the rights of the States. In violation of treaties and capitulations, he retained the Spanish troops, who daily became more exacting, insolent, and oppressive. Although all the conditions were long fulfilled, on which the landgrave was promised freedom, Charles obstinately refused to liberate him. Protestant Germany was groaning under bondage to the Interim. The most that could be expected of the Council was the confirmation of the hated Interim; and even this was uncertain. But *one* bulwark of evangelical liberty still stood in the emperor's way, the enthusiasm of the brave, outlawed city of Magdeburg. How long it might hold out, no one knew. Until the fall of 1550, all attempts to storm it had failed. Then *Maurice* undertook to execute the ban, by the emperor's direction, and at the cost of the empire.

2. *The Elector Maurice* (1551). — Maurice had wholly alienated the hearts of his subjects. Many of his States were directing their attention to his brother Augustus, whilst others thought of a restoration of the old electoral house. Throughout Protestant Germany he was re-

garded with aversion. Had the smothered hatred exploded, he might easily have lost Germany, in spite of imperial aid. On the other hand, Maurice was still too much of a German and Protestant prince to give his unconditional approval to the emperor's dynastic and compromise measures, whilst, at the same time, he was personally aggrieved by the continued imprisonment of his father-in-law. Under these circumstances he resolved to make amends, by treachery against the emperor, for the wrong he had done by treachery against his evangelical confederates. Skilful in dissimulation, he vigorously prosecuted the siege of Magdeburg, but at the same time made a secret compact with the Margrave *Hans* of Küstrin, *Albert* of Franconian-Brandenburg, and the sons of the landgrave, for the restoration of the liberty of religion and of the States. He also opened negotiations with *Henry* II. of France, who gladly promised pecuniary aid. At length, Magdeburg capitulated, and Maurice entered the city on Nov. 4, 1551. The arrearages still due served as a pretext for not discharging the troops of the empire, and strengthened by the possession of Magdeburg, and by the subsidies which his confederates furnished, he threw off the mask, and issued public proclamations, in which he set forth a long list of accusations and complaints against the emperor, and declared that he would no longer submit to be trampled upon by priests and Spaniards. All the interests of the emperor were once more at stake. In vain he looked to the Catholic princes for help. Without men or money, he was shut up in Innspruck, which could not endure a siege, and every way of escape to his hereditary domains seemed closed against him; for, independently of his exposure to the confederated German princes, the Turks were watching him by sea, and the French by land. Maurice was on his way to Innspruck, in order, as he irreverently said, "to catch the fox in his hole." But the refractoriness of his troops demanding their pay, detained him, and Charles gained time to flee from Innspruck. During a cold rainy night, suffering with severe illness, he fled over the mountains covered with snow, and found refuge in *Villach*. Three days later, Maurice entered Innspruck;—the council had long been scattered.

3. *The Treaty of Passau* (1552).—Before the flight of the emperor from Innspruck, Maurice had met King Ferdinand at *Linz*. He there demanded, not only the liberation of the landgrave, but also the abrogation of the Interim, a German national assembly for the purpose of effecting religious union, and, in case this could not be brought about, permanent and unconditional religious liberty. Ferdinand was not averse to these demands, but the emperor, in spite of his embarrassment, indignantly rejected them. The negotiations at Linz, therefore, failed; but their early resumption at *Passau* was agreed upon. Meanwhile the flight of Charles from Innspruck, and the entrance of Maurice into the city, occurred. At the appointed time, delegates from most of the States arrived at Passau. The Protestants had once more a decided majority

and the Catholic States, by no means favorable to the dynastic schemes of the emperor, were more yielding than ever. Maurice resumed his Linz demands, and the States in the main assented to them. Ferdinand, also, agreed to them; but not the emperor. Ferdinand went personally to Villach, and used all his eloquence to persuade Charles; but in regard to the chief point, the demand of a permanent, unconditional peace, even if the States should succeed in establishing religious concord, the emperor would not yield. Ferdinand had to return to Passau without having accomplished his purpose, and the perseverance of Charles triumphed. The majority bowed to his firmness, and a treaty was concluded, which secured to the Protestants complete amnesty, universal peace, and equal rights, until a national assembly or general council could be held, to effect a religious union. Provision for such a council or assembly was to be made by the next diet. In the meantime the emperor had made great preparations for war. Frankford was the place of rendezvous. Maurice hastened to the city, and besieged it, but a sally of the besieged inflicted a heavy loss upon him, and a speedy conquest of the city was out of the question. At this juncture the Passau delegates arrived in his camp with the projected treaty. Had he refused to sign it, he would doubtless have been put under the ban, and his relative restored to the electoral dignity. He therefore signed it. Ferdinand had great difficulty in obtaining the emperor's signature, who now thought himself able to maintain the conflict. The captive princes were thus, at length, set at liberty, and preachers who had been banished by the Interim returned to their homes.

4. *The Death of Maurice* (1553).—Domestic and foreign disturbances occurred the following years. Of chief moment was the death of the Elector Maurice, whilst involved in a contest with his early friend and confederate, the Margrave *Albert of Brandenburg*, the son of the Margrave Casimir. Although a Protestant, Albert had stood with Maurice, in the Smalcald war, on the emperor's side; with Maurice he also took part in opposition to the emperor. Whilst Maurice attacked Charles personally, Albert laid the spiritual principalities and Sees under tribute, and compelled them to make the most disadvantageous treaties. After the treaty of Passau, which he did not sign, he continued the war against the spiritual princes on his own responsibility. Thus he fell out with Maurice. But Charles enlisted his services, and not only granted him full amnesty for all his pillages and infractions of the peace of the country, but even promised the recognition of all the treaties which had been forced from the bishops. In return, Albert assisted the emperor against the French, and then, on his own responsibility, prosecuted his invasions of German territories. Ere long he and Maurice were involved in an open war. In the battle of *Sievershausen*, July 11, 1553, *Maurice* gained a brilliant victory, but also received a fatal wound, of which he died after two days. Albert fled to France. His misfortune subdued his warlike spirit; the religious

impressions of his youth revived; and the composition of the beautiful hymn: "Was mein Gott will, das gescheh allzeit," exhibits the great change which now took place in him. He died in 1557. The year 1554 was wholly occupied with the gradual settlement of the internal distractions of the empire. There was a predominant desire for final and permanent peace. In the dissensions of the last year, Protestants and Catholics were leagued together on both sides. In this way Maurice and Henry of Brunswick were closely united, and the latter now voluntarily tolerated Protestantism in his territory.

5. *The Religious Peace of Augsburg* (1555). (Cf. *Lehmann,* Acta publ. de pace rel. d. i. Reichverhandll. u. Protokk. d. Rel. Fr. Frkf. 1707–9, fol. — *G. Litzel,* Gesch. d. Rel. Fr. Frkf. 1755, 4to. — *Chr. W. Spieker,* Gesch. d. A. Rel. Fr. Schleiz, 1854.)—It happened, fortunately for Protestantism, that the next diet, which by the treaty of Passau should have been held within a half year, did not convene for two and a half years; for the intervening political distractions and embarrassments so far mellowed the temper of Charles, that he consented to what he had no power to alter. The diet of Augsburg was opened in Feb., 1555. The emperor could not shut his eyes against the fact that the aim and results of all his past endeavors were about to perish; but his pride and his conscience would not allow him personally to approve and sanction what was unavoidable. He therefore disclaimed all participation in the transactions — his brother might see to it, how to reconcile his course with his conscience, and settle the matter with his States. After a long and violent struggle, the Protestants carried the point of having the subject of a religious peace first taken up. Then followed a controversy about the official designation of both parties. The Protestants had to allow their opponents to be styled—adherents of the ancient Catholic religion: themselves—*adherents of the Augsburg confession.* The decree of perpetual, unconditional religious peace, then passed the electoral college without difficulty; but in the council of the princes it met with violent opposition. There the papal legate *Morrone* (§ 15, 2), unexpectedly made fanatical use of his influence, and *Otto v. Truchsess,* Bishop of Augsburg, solemnly declared that he could consent to no part of the plan proposed, and affirmed that he would rather forfeit property and life than take part in such negotiations. This firmness made a great impression upon the Catholic States; but the Protestants, also, united more closely, and refused to yield. Ferdinand inclined to their side. Nevertheless, the severest conflict was yet to be passed through, and it might even result in the hostile dissolution of the diet. Then the condition of affairs suddenly changed. *Julius* III. died. *Morrone* and *Truchsess,* both cardinals, hastened to Rome, to take part in the election of a new pope. Thus the power of the fanatical papal opposition was broken in the diet. The plan of a peace was now carried; but new disputes arose concerning the details of the peace. The Protestant States demanded that all should enjoy

its advantages who, in the future, might embrace their confession. In the electoral college Cologne opposed this, but Treves turned the scale in favor of the demand. In the council of the princes the demand aroused a new storm. Finally, they united upon the simple, general statement, that "no one should be assailed for adhering to the Augsburg confession." But the contest about this question merely formed the transition to another of infinitely greater importance, as to what should be done, if, in future, spiritual princes themselves should join that confession. This was the proper life-question of German Catholicism; to decide that, as the Protestants desired, would have dealt a death-blow to it. This the spiritual States full well understood, and struggled pro aris et focis. They urged the claims of the reservatum ecclesiasticum, by which every defecting prelate lost not only his ecclesiastical dignity and prerogatives, but also, unavoidably, his temporal power and dominion. In this instance, the Protestants did not carry their point, not even in the electoral college. *Daniel Brendel* had just been appointed successor of the recently deceased *Heusenstamm*, as Archbishop of *Mayence*, which, thus far, had always voted for the Protestants, and Brendel had now to act with reference to the pope's confirmation of his appointment. Both parties were obstinate. Two opposite drafts were submitted to Ferdinand, who hesitated to decide. Meanwhile, the States proceeded to the consideration of the peace of the country. This brought up the affairs of the imperial chamber. The Protestants obtained an enactment, requiring associate members to be sworn to maintain the Religious Peace, and to be selected equally from both parties. At length, on Aug. 30, Ferdinand reported his decision. It was to be expected that he would support the opinion of the Catholic States in regard to ecclesiastical reservations; but contrary to all expectation, he went still further, and refused to confirm a perpetual unconditional peace. But, in regard to the latter point, he was evidently not in earnest. On Sept. 6, he declared himself ready to yield, provided the Protestants would do the same in regard to ecclesiastical reservations. His affirmation that he would never give that up, was so decided and solemn, that the Protestants abandoned all hope of changing his mind. But they determined to sell their concession as dearly as possible, by requiring legislative assurance that evangelical subjects of Catholic States should be forever protected in the free enjoyment of their religion. But the Catholic prelates were unwilling to surrender the advantages of the territorial system which the Protestants themselves had introduced (§ 6, 7). The subject led to the most violent debates, and the excitement hourly increased. Ferdinand settled the dispute by a medium measure. It was decided that in matters of religion the States should have territorial power, but that subjects of a different faith, if refused the free enjoyment of their religion, should be allowed to leave the territory without impediment, or loss of honor, property, or liberty. On *Sept.* 25, 1555, the recess was

published. The hope of effecting a reconciliation in religious matters at some future time was by no means abandoned, but the Religious Peace was not made contingent thereon. The maintenance of the peace was devolved upon the Corpus Catholicorum et Evangelicorum. The *Reformed* were not admitted to the Peace. In Germany, the political strength and extent of the Protestant and Catholic Churches were almost equal. Over against the three spiritual electors of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, stood the three Protestant electors of Saxony, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg; and the power of the Protestant cities of the empire, as well as of most of the smaller princes, nearly balanced that of Austria and Bavaria.

6. *Second Attempt to introduce the Reformation into the Electorate of Cologne* (1582). — Ecclesiastical reservation was a mighty obstacle tc the progress of Protestantism; in fact it prevented its further territorial spread. The only attempt made to extend it, failed. In 1582, *Gebhard Truchsess*, of Waldenberg, the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, joined the Protestant Church, married the Countess *Agnes of Mansfield*, proclaimed unqualified religious liberty, and intended to convert his spiritual into a temporal electorate. His plan was highly approved by the people and the nobility, but the cathedral chapter opposed it with all its might. The pope fulminated a ban against him, and the Emperor, *Rudolph* II., declared him deposed. The Protestant princes ultimately deserted him, and the newly elected Archbishop, Duke *Ernest of Bavaria*, overcame him by force of arms (1584). The issue of Gebhard's attempt deterred several other spiritual princes who had contemplated a similar movement. (Cf. § 31, 2.)

§ 18. THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

Cf. *G. Weber*, gesch. Darst. d. Calvinism, im Verhältniss zum Staate in Genf. u. Frankr. Heidelb. 1836.

The Reformation penetrated *French Switzerland* somewhat later than German Switzerland, and assumed a peculiar form. It is primarily associated with the names of *Farel* and *Viret*, the forerunners of *Calvin*, who completed its organization. Calvin's powerful mind gained, for the system he adopted, a victory over Zwinglianism in Switzerland, in his lifetime already, and from Switzerland it spread triumphantly through the Reformed Churches of other countries.

1. *Calvin's Forerunners.* (Cf. *M. Kirchhofer*, Farel's Leben. Zür. 1831, 2 Bde. — *Ch. Schmidt*, Études sur Farel. Strassb. 1836. — *Chenevière*, Farel, Froment, Viret. Strassb. 1836. — *Jaquemot*, Viret, réformateur de Lausanne. Strassb. 1836. — [*Schmidt*, Farel u. Viret, in ths Leben, etc., d. Väter, etc., d. Ref. K. Elberf. 1860].) — *William Farel*

a pupil and friend of the liberal exegete and critic Faber Stapulensis, (vol. i. § 120, 4), was born at Gap, Dauphiné, in 1482. When the Sorbonne, in 1521, condemned Luther's doctrines and writings, Farel, who was known as a zealous adherent of Luther, had to leave Paris. He withdrew to Meaux, where Bishop *Briçonnet* kindly received him, and where he, and his friend *Le Clerc*, founded a Reformed congregation. But, in 1523, the authorities took measures against the movement. Farel fled to Basel, where he labored as a champion of reform (§ 10, 3). Next he went to Montbeliard. His reckless zeal often endangered his life. At length he had to flee. He first gained a firm footing in *Neufchatel*, where he succeeded in getting the Reformation introduced in Nov., 1530. In 1532, he left Neufchatel to labor in Geneva. But the civil authorities of the city could not protect him against the power of the bishop and clergy. He had to leave the city, and *Anthony Froment* and *Robert Olivetanus* carried on the work. Violent agitations followed, the bishop withdrew, and fulminated the ban against the rebellious metropolis. Farel then returned to Geneva (1534), accompanied by *Peter Viret*, the subsequent reformer of Lausanne. Viret was born at Orbe, in 1511, and during his studies at Paris had imbibed the principles of the Reformation. On this account he too had to shun Paris. He went to Orbe, and toiled zealously there for the spread of evangelical knowledge. There Farel learned to know him. The arrival of both these reformers, glowing with zeal, caused a struggle for life in Geneva, in which the Reformation triumphed. After a public disputation in 1535, the magistracy declared itself in favor of the new cause, to which Farel imparted doctrinal firmness by preparing a confession of faith. In 1536, *Calvin* passed through Geneva. Farel adjured him in the name of God to remain. Indeed Farel needed a co-laborer of Calvin's spirit and power, for severe struggles still awaited them.

2. *Calvin prior to his Labors in Geneva.* (Cf. *Theod. de Bèze*, hist. de la vie et mort de J. Calvin. Gen. 1564, 4to.)—(In opposition a libel by *Bolsec*, hist. de la vie de Calv. Par. 1577). *P. Henry* Leb. Calv. Hamb., 1836–45, 4 Bde. [transl. by *Stebbing*, N. York, 1854].—*J. J. Herzog*, J. Calv. eine biogr. Skizze. Bas. 1843.—*J. M. Audin* (Catholic), Gesch. d. Leb. d. Lehre u. Schriften Calvin's, aus d. Franz. v. *Egger*, Augsb., 1843.)—*John Calvin*, a son of the episcopal procureur Gerard Caulvin, was born, 1509, in Noyon, Picardy. Intended for the priesthood, he held a benefice so early as his twelfth year. Intercourse with his relative, *Rob. Olivetan*, awakened doubts in his mind as to the truth of the Catholic system. This, together with a special preference for politics, led him to relinquish his benefice, and engage in the study of law, which he prosecuted at Orleans and Bourges with zealous assiduity. In Bourges, however, a German, *Melchior Wolmar*, professor of Greek, exerted so powerful an influence upon him, especially through the study of the Scriptures, that he resolved thenceforth to devote himself exclusively to theology. To this end he went to Paris, 1532 There

he zealously embraced the principles of the Reformation. A remarkable occurrence soon caused his hasty departure from the city. The recently appointed rector of the Sorbonne, *Nicholas Cop*, had, according to custom, to deliver a discourse on All-Saint's day, 1533. Calvin wrote it for him, and gave utterance to views which had never before been preached there. Cop read it all, and escaped imprisonment by timely flight. Calvin also found it advisable to leave Paris. The bloody persecutions of Protestants under Francis I. led Calvin, at length, to resolve to leave France. In 1535, he went to Basel, where he became intimate with Capito and Grynæus. During the same year he issued the first edition of his Institutio Relig. Christianæ. It was designed as a vindication of the Protestants in France, whom Francis I. was persecuting, under the pretence of quelling Anabaptist and insurrectionary movements; hence it was dedicated to the king in an earnest and candid preface. Not long afterwards he left Basel, and went to the court of the Duchess *Renata* of Ferrara, a sister-in-law of the French king, and a warm friend of the Reformation, to solicit her interference on behalf of his oppressed brethren. But having failed in this attempt, he set out on his return. In Geneva, Farel and Viret detained him (1536), and succeeded in having him appointed preacher and teacher of theology. On Oct. 1, 1536, the three reformers, in a public disputation at Lausanne, vindicated the principles of the Reformation. *Viret* remained in Lausanne, and completed the work of the Reformation there.

3. *Calvin's First Period of Labor in Geneva* (1536–38).—In Geneva, as elsewhere, there sprung up a movement simultaneously with the Reformation, and in opposition to it, which aimed at tearing down existing institutions, and emancipating itself from all law and order. The doctrines of these Geneva *Spirituels* and *Libertins* were thoroughly pantheistic; they made God and man identical, sin a mere conceit, marriage a hateful infringement on personal liberty, the Scriptures nothing, and the so-called spirit everything. In his conflict with this dangerous party, which found much favor with the aristocratic youth of Geneva, Calvin displayed the full power of his consistent and determined mind, and he sought to subdue it by an inexorably severe Church discipline. He instituted an ecclesiastical consistory, which had the power of inflicting heavy civil penalties, as well as of excommunication. This not only roused the Libertine party to violent opposition, but excited the jealousy of the magistrates. Both conspired for the overthrow of the consistory, which placed the city under ban and interdict. The magistrates banished the preachers (April, 1538). Farel went to Neufchatel, and remained there until his death (1565). Calvin went to *Strassburg*, where Bucer, Capito, and Hedio procured him a post as professor and preacher. During his three years' residence there, he often officiated as the delegate of Strassburg, and was thus brought into intimate relations with the German reformers, especially with Melanchthon.

(Frankford, Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg (Cf. § 14, 15). Bu he still kept up close correspondence with Geneva, and his friends there did all in their power to turn the minds of the council and citizens in his favor. In this they found it easier to succeed, as the Libertine party had carried its disorders to the furthest extreme since the overthrow of the theocratic consistory. By a decree of the council, Oct. 20, 1540, Calvin was most honorably recalled. After protracted consideration he returned in Sept., 1541, and now prosecuted his work, with increased vigor and energy, to its legitimate completion.

4. *Calvin's Second Residence in Geneva* (1541–64). — Immediately after his return, *Calvin* restored the consistory, and through it exercised almost unlimited authority. It was a thoroughly organized inquisitorial tribunal, which kept strict watch over the moral and religious conduct of the citizens, called them to account for every suspicious expression, banished the incorrigible, and put dangerous persons to death. The Ciceronian translator of the Bible, *Sebastian Castellio*, promoted by Calvin to the rectorship of the Genevan school, fell out with the severe moral discipline and the rigidly maintained orthodoxy of the Calvinistic rule, charged the clergy with arrogance and pride, and controverted, in Pelagian style, the doctrine of predestination. Calvin assailed him with such violence, that Castellio thought it prudent to get out of the way of further proceedings, by fleeing to Basel. A Genevan physician, *Jerome Bolsec* (previously a Carmelite monk in Paris), was put in prison for speaking rather freely of Calvin's doctrine of predestination, and then banished (1551). Subsequently he avenged himself by writing a biography of Calvin, which teemed with bitter invectives. *Michael Servetus* (§ 28, 2), a Spaniard, fared still worse, for denying the doctrine of the Trinity. Bucer, Melanchthon, and Beza, approved of his execution. Calvin died, May 25, 1564, and committed the prosecution of his work to his milder friend, *Theodore Beza* (died 1605), the learned critic, translator, and expounder of the New Testament.

5. *Calvin's Works.*—Of the numerous works of Calvin, the *Institutio christ. relig.* is the most important; it corresponds with Melanchthon's *loci*, but is more complete in its formal scientific construction (1535). It exhibits Calvin's religious depth of thought, the speculative power and copiousness of his mind, the bold consistency of his thoughts in pursuing a theory to its last results, combined with a clear and beautiful style, and surprising massiveness of conception. Next to the Institutes, his *expositions* of nearly all the books of the Bible are most distinguished. In these, also, he proves himself to be a man of brilliant acuteness, religious geniality, profound Christian sentiment, and considerable exegetical talent; but, at the same time, he betrays a hypercritical disposition, and a defiant adherence to doctrinal prejudices. Moreover, we do not find in his exegetical works the genial warmth and childlike devotion to the text, which so eminently distinguished

Luther, whilst they are formally more scientific and pregnant. On the *pulpit*, Calvin was the same strict and consistent logician, as in his theological and polemic writings. He had not a particle of Luther's popular eloquence. The best edition of his works is that of Amsterdam, in 9 folio volumes.

6. *Calvin's Doctrinal System.* — *Calvin* thought Zwingli far inferior to Luther, and did not hesitate to pronounce the doctrine of the former concerning the Lord's Supper, profane. He never stood in any close personal relation with Luther (who highly esteemed him), but was intimate with Melanchthon, and exerted some influence over him. Far as he surpassed Zwingli in religious depth and fervor, and decidedly as his views approximated those of Luther, he stood, in the fundamental *principle* of his system, on the same basis with Zwingli, and not with Luther. Fundamentally, he sustains the same relation as Zwingli to the principles of the Reformation. His expositions of the Scriptures are incomparably more profound than Zwingli's, and often more thorough, acute, and scientific than Luther's; but he could not enter into the inmost sense of the text with the childlike freedom from prejudice and simplicity of Luther, and exhibit its meaning with the same boldness and ease. He was as decidedly hostile to ecclesiastical tradition as Zwingli. On the doctrine of the person of Christ, he, like Zwingli, inclined to Nestorianism, and therefore could not apprehend the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the fullness of Luther's faith. He taught, as Berengar had done previously, that the believer was, through faith, fed only spiritually, but in a real way, by the body and blood of Christ in the supper (through a virtue issuing from the glorified body of Christ, seated at the right hand of God), but that unbelievers receive mere bread and wine. In regard to justification, he agreed formally with Luther, but differed fundamentally in maintaining a rigid legality, almost like that of the Old Testament. The inexorable consistency with which he carried out his views of predestination, made them exceed Augustine's doctrine in inflexible rigidity and severity.

7. *Triumph of Calvinism over Zwinglianism.*—After Zwingli's death, *Henry Bullinger* stood at the head of the clergy of Zurich. Calvin opened a theological correspondence with him, and they soon came to a mutual understanding with regard to their views. In the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549), prepared by Calvin, German Switzerland embraced Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper; and by the *Consensus Genevensis* (1554), his doctrine of predestination secured a victory. By means of extensive correspondence, and his numerous works, his influence reached far beyond the limits of Switzerland. Geneva became the refuge of all religious fugitives; and the university which Calvin founded there, furnished almost all foreign Reformed congregations with pastors trained in the strictly Calvinistic spirit. The *Second Helvetic Confession* (Conf Helv. posterior), prepared in Zurich by *Bullinger*, at the

request of *Frederic* III. of the Palatinate, by far the most important of all the Reformed confessions,* was published in 1566, was acknowledged by all the Reformed countries (last of all by Basel), and is decidedly Calvinistic.

§ 19. THE REFORMATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A religious movement so powerful as the Reformation, could not be confined to the countries in which it originated (Germany and Switzerland). Its mighty waves soon rolled beyond the parent countries, and spread to the utmost boundaries of Europe. And the conscious or unconscious sense of the need of ecclesiastical improvement was so deep and general, that the movement was everywhere welcomed. Opposition was, indeed, also made to it on all sides, but it is indubitably certain, that it would have triumphed, even to the remotest corners of Europe, if the contest had been conducted on that field alone, where all such contests should be settled, and with those weapons which alone should be employed. But the champions of the Catholic Church checked the steady progress of the Reformation by means of armies, stakes, and scaffolds, and thus succeeded in wholly suppressing the cause in some countries, and in having it restricted in others to the limits of a merely tolerated sect. In general, the German Lutheran confession was received with more favor in the North; the Swiss reformed in the South and West; the former prevailed in Scandinavian, the latter in Roman countries; whilst both were received, side by side, by Slavonians and Magyars. That Lutheranism, which first struck root in Roman countries also, was subsequently supplanted by the Reformed faith, was owing to various external causes. The first of these was the powerful ascendency and wide-spread influence acquired by Geneva through Calvin's illustrious labors, by its active intercourse with other countries, through countless fugitives, travellers, and students, and partly, also, by affinity of language and nationality, geographical proximity (at least in the case of France and Italy), etc. But these external reasons furnish only a partial explanation of the fact, indeed they indicate, already, the existence of internal causes.

* This is one among several misstatements concerning the Reformed Church, into which the author's strong Lutheran prejudices have betrayed him. The *Heidelberg Catechism* (§ 24, 1), published three years before (1563), has the preëminence even over the Helvetic Confession. — TR.

And these lie, as it seems, in the fact that their national peculiarities were more strongly attracted by the Genevan than the Wittenberg plan and method of effecting a Reformation. Two things especially led to this: the tendency of the Romanic national character to extremes, which found fuller satisfaction in the more thorough and radical measures of the Genevan Reformation, than in the more moderate and mediating cours of the Wittenbergers; and a preference for a democratic republican form of government, which the former favored.

Beyond the German confederated States, the LUTHERAN Reformation first took root (1525) in *Prussia*, the seat of the Teutonic knights (§ 7, 3), then in Scandinavian domains. It acquired complete and exclusive predominance in *Sweden* (1527), *Denmark* and *Norway* (1537). It penetrated the countries along the Baltic within the first twenty years. In *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, all opposition was overcome as early as 1539. In *Courland*, it was not fully organized until some twenty years later. The REFORMED Church was exclusively established in *England* (1562), *Scotland* (1560), and in the *Netherlands* (1579). Mere *toleration* was secured for the Reformed Church in France (1598), for the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in *Poland* (1573), in *Bohemia* and *Moravia* (1609), in *Hungary* (1606), and in *Transylvania* (1557). In *Spain* and *Italy* alone could the Catholic Church completely master the Reformed movement. A few attempts to enlist the *Greek* Church in favor of the cause, proved fruitless.

1. *The Reformation in Sweden.* (Cf. *J. A. Schinmeyer*, Lebensbeschr. d. drei schwed. Reformatoren. Lüb. 1783.—*P. E. Thyselius*, Einführ. d. Ref. in Schw.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1846. II.) — *Sweden* had freed itself of the Danish yoke, which, for fifty years, had been imposed upon it by the Calmar union (1397). But the higher clergy was constantly conspiring with Denmark. *Gustavus Trolle* had an open rupture with the regent, *Sten Sture*, and was deposed. Leo X. placed Sweden under ban and interdict, and *Christian* II. of Denmark subdued the country (1520), and during the coronation ceremonies, commanded 600 of the first men of Sweden, whom the archbishop had pointed out as enemies of the Danes, to be executed by the *massacre of Stockholm*. But Christian had scarcely reached home, when *Gustavus Vasa* returned from Lübeck, whither he had fled, drove out the Danes, and was chosen king (1521). During his exile, indeed, he had become inclined to the Reformation; he now adopted it as a confederate against the predominance of the resisting clergy. Two brothers, *Olaus* and *Lawrence Peterson*, who had studied in Wittenberg, had labored

for the spread of evangelical doctrines in their native country since 1519, in connection with *Lawrence Anderson*, episcopal vicar at Strengnäs. Gustavus Vasa appointed Anderson his chancellor; Olaus was chosen preacher at Stockholm; his brother, professor of theology at Upsala. But during the king's absence two Anabaptists, *Melchior Ring* and *Knipperdolling* (§ 13, 6), arrived in Stockholm, gained adherents, and began to tear down images, altars, and organs. Even the impetuous Olaus allowed himself to be shaken by them. Fortunately the king soon returned, and by energetic measures speedily put an end to the disorders. In 1524, he instituted a *disputation at Upsala*, in which *Olaus Petri* and *Peter Galle* opposed each other. Galle used decretals and councils as his weapons; Olaus used only the Bible. The king declared Olaus victorious. Meanwhile Anderson translated the New Testament, and Olaus, aided by his learned brother, undertook the translation of the Old Testament. But notwithstanding all this, the Reformation made but slow progress, for the people clung tenaciously to the ancient faith. Moreover, the overbearing bishops caused the king much trouble. Wherefore, at the *diet of Westerås* (1527), he earnestly submitted to the States the alternative of his abdication, or the Reformation. The clergy violently opposed the latter, and Gustavus went away from the assembly in tears, firmly resolved to lay down his sceptre. Then the love of the people for their king burst the fetters by which the clergy held them bound. They did not rest until Gustavus, after much opposition, resumed his abandoned crown. The States had now to yield to his wishes. The Reformation was introduced into the whole country without resistance or force, and the *diet of Œrebro* (1529, 1537), and *Westerås* (1544), completed the work. Episcopacy was transferred to the new organization, and in worship many Catholic ceremonies were still retained (exorcism, the elevation of the host, prayers for the dead, sacerdotal robes), from connivance at the prejudices of the people. Gustavus died in 1560. Under his son *Eric*, a Catholic reaction sprung up, and his brother, *John* III., secretly confessed Catholicism to the Jesuit *Possevin;* he was prompted to this by his Catholic wife, and the prospect of obtaining the crown of Poland. John's son *Sigismund*, King of Poland, publicly professed the Catholic faith. But his uncle, *Charles* of Sudermania, a zealous Protestant, having been appointed regent after John's death, immediately assembled the States at *Upsala*, 1593, where the Latin missal imposed upon the country was prohibited, and the Augsburg Confession was reinstated. But as Sigismund continued to favor Catholicism, the States declared (1604) that he had forfeited his throne; and his uncle, *Charles* IX., was made king. From Sweden the Reformation had long before spread into *Finland*.

2. *The Reformation in Denmark.* (Cf. *E. Pontoppidan*, kurzgef. Ref. Gesch. d. dän. K. Koph. 1734.—*F. Münter*, K. G. v. D. Bd. III.—*C. H. Clauss*, Christian III Ein biogr. Beitrag zur Gesch. d. 16.

Jahrh. Dessau, 1859.)—Although *Christian* II., nephew of the Elector of Saxony, and brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V., had leagued with the Catholic hierarchy for the suppression of the national party in Sweden, he took sides in Denmark with the friends of the Reformation, against the predominant clergy. At his request, *Martin Reinhard* was sent to him from Wittenberg (1520). Reinhard's preaching met with great favor, and was supported by the Carmelite provost, *Paul Eliä*. But the clergy compelled the former to flee, and Eliä, fearing a violent outbreak, withdrew. Christian now (1521) endeavored to secure the services of *Luther*, or at least of *Carlstadt*. The latter went, but as the affairs of Christian grew worse, he had soon to leave again. At length the clergy and nobility renounced allegiance to the king, and transferred the crown to his uncle, Duke *Frederick* I. of Schleswig and Holstein. Christian fled to Saxony, was there led fully by Luther to embrace the Reformation, even converted his wife, the emperor's sister, and had the first Danish translation of the New Testament printed at Leipsic, and circulated in Denmark. But in order to secure the emperor's aid, he abjured the evangelical faith at Augsburg (1530). In 1531, he conquered Norway, and on receiving the oath of allegiance, he had to pledge himself to protect the Catholic Church. In 1532, however, he had to surrender himself to Frederick I., and spent his last years (*ob.* 1536) in prison, where he enjoyed leisure to repent of his apostacy, and to confirm his views of truth by studying the Danish Bible. But *Frederick* I., also, was from the first favorable to the Reformation. His hands were tied, however, by the terms of his election. His son *Christian* carried forward the work all the more vigorously in the duchies, and by this course encouraged his father. In 1526, he publicly confessed the evangelical faith, and called *John Tausen*, the Danish reformer, a pupil of Luther, who had labored for the Gospel amid much persecution since 1524, as preacher to Copenhagen. He laid the basis of a general reformation for the country, at the *diet of Odense* (1527), by limiting episcopal jurisdiction, proclaiming universal religious liberty, allowing priests to marry, and monks to forsake their cloisters. At the same diet, *Tausen* submitted to the States a separate confession (*Confessio Hafnica*). From that time the cause spread rapidly, and the considerate monarch directed his attention to check, by timely measures, violent disorders which broke out in different places. He died in 1533. The States refused to acknowledge his son, Christian III. But when *George Wullenweber*, burgomaster of Lübeck, sought to avail himself of the prevailing anarchy, and bring Denmark under the dominion of the proud commercial city, the States of Jutland hastily recognized *Christian* III. He expelled the Lübeck foes, and by 1536 subdued the whole country. Then he resolved to put an end to the machinations of the clergy. In August, 1536, he ordered all the bishops to be seized in one day, and at the *diet of Copenhagen* they were formally deposed. Their property was cast into the royal trea-

sury; all the monasteries were secularized; in part bestowed upon the nobility, and in part converted into hospitals and schools. *John Bugenhagen* was called over to complete the organization of the Church. He crowned the royal couple, drew up a liturgy, which the DIET OF ODENSE adopted, taught at the university of the capital until 1542, and then returned to Wittenberg. Lutheran superintendents were substituted for the bishops, though this latter title was afterwards restored. The Augsburg Confession became the standard of doctrine. Simultaneously the Reformation was introduced into NORWAY, which took the oath of allegiance to the king in 1536. *Olaus Engelbrechtsen*, Archbishop of Drontheim, fled to the Netherlands with the treasures of the Church. ICELAND resisted the movement for some time, but yielded in 1551, when the power of the insurrectionary priests was broken.

3. *The Reformation in Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.* (Cf. *Brachmann*, d. Ref. in Livl., — in the "Mittheill. aus d. livl. Gesch." V. I. Riga, 1849. — *Th. Kallmeyer*, d. Begründ. d. ev. luth. K. in Kurl. [do. VI. 1, 2.] Riga, 1851.)—Livonia was under the dominion of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, but had its own Grand-Master, who then was *Walter v. Plettenberg*, who, in 1521, dissolved his connection with the Grand-Master *Albert*, and was recognized as an independent prince of the German empire. Soon after this, *Andrew Knöpken*, a school-teacher, driven from Pomerania as a Lutheran heretic, arrived in *Riga* (1521). He was appointed archdeacon, and in a moderate way preached evangelical doctrines. Ere long, *Sylv. Tegetmeir*, of Rostock, became his assistant, and preached so violently against image-worship, that the excited populace forced open the churches, and destroyed the images. Nevertheless, he was protected by the council and General. *John Lohmüller*, city clerk in Riga, coöperated with them, with untiring zeal, for the establishment and spread of the Reformation in the city and country. As early as 1522, he opened a correspondence with Luther. *Melchior Hoffmann*, a furrier from Swabia, whose Lutheranism, however, had already degenerated into Anabaptist fanaticism, labored in Dorpat. The monastery of *Œsel* passed over to the evangelical Church without opposition, and at the same time a Lutheran congregation was formed in *Reval*. In 1523, *Plettenberg* sent his chancellor to Luther, who took that occasion to address an earnest letter of instruction and admonition to the Christians of Livonia. In spite of constant collisions and conflicts with the archbishop, but supported by the Grand-Master, Riga maintained its evangelical confession, and joined the Smalcald League in 1538. When *William of Brandenburg*, the brother of the Duke of Prussia, became archbishop (1539), he favored the evangelical cause, and all opposition to it ceased, so that in a short time all Livonia and Esthonia embraced the Augsburg Confession. But political difficulties (caused especially by the Russians), compelled the last Grand-Master, *Gotthard Kettler*, to cede Livonia to Sigismund Augustus of Poland, though with a formal guarantee of the evangelical faith (1561).

Kettler received *Courland* and *Semgallia* as a hereditary duchy, under Polish supremacy, and devoted his untiring care to the evangelical organization of his country, in which he was energetically aided by *Stephen Bülau*, the first superintendent of Courland.

4. *The Reformation in England.* (Cf. *A. W. Böhme*, Acht Bücher v. d. Ref. d. K. in Engl. Altona, 1734. — *C. Fr. Stäudlin*, K. G. v Grossbrit. Göttg. 1849. Bd. I.—*G. Weber*, Gesch. d. akath. Kirchen u. Secten. v. Grossbrit. Lpz. 1845, etc. 2 Bde.—*J. v. Gumpach*, Gesch. d. Trennung d. engl. K. v. Rom. Darmst. 1845.—[For English lit. on this subject see: *Herzog's* Theol. and Eccl. Encycl., Philad. 1860, art. *England*, etc. Also: *Short's* Hist. of the Ch. of England, etc. Philad. 1843. — *Massingberd*, the Engl. Ref.; *Southey's* Book of the Church; and *D'Aubigne's* Ref. vol. V.—Tr.].)—*Henry* VIII. (1509–47), King of England, after his literary feud with Luther (§ 5), preferred prosecuting his vocation as "defender of the faith," by means of the gallows and the sword. But his adulterous love for *Anna Boleyn* impelled him to renounce the pope (1532), who refused to annul his marriage with *Catharine* of Aragon, his brother's widow, for fear of offending her nephew, the emperor. Nevertheless, Henry wished to continue a good Catholic in doctrine, and so raved both against Lutherans and Papists. Luther's works were diligently read in England, and two noble Englishmen, *John Frith* and *William Tyndale*, furnished their native country with a translation of the New Testament, published as early as 1526, at Antwerp. [Two Gospels were published at Hamburg in 1524. Tr.] *Frith* was rewarded by being burnt at the stake, 1533, and *Tyndale* by being beheaded in the Netherlands, 1535. The Catholic bishop, Fisher, also suffered martyrdom, and the former chancellor, Sir *Thomas More* (Vol. I., § 120, 4). *Thomas Cranmer* was chosen to carry out the king's plan of reform, and to this end he was elevated to the archbishopric of Canterbury; but at heart Cranmer was a zealous friend of the Swiss Reformation, and secretly did all he could to introduce it. Under the youthful *Edward* VI. (1547–53), he could act with less restraint. At his solicitation, many foreign theologians were called to England, among whom were *Martin Bucer* (*ob.* 1551), *Paul Fagius* of Strassburg, *Peter Martyr Vermillio*, *Bernard Ochino*, *John a Lasco*, (see below, 8, 13), and others, who, as professors and preachers, proclaimed pure doctrine, mostly according to the Reformed system. In unison with the noble Bishop *Ridley*, Cranmer prepared (1549) a liturgy for the English Church, and in 1552 drew up 42 articles of faith. The former was a medium between the Catholic and Protestant form of worship, the latter a medium between Lutheranism and Calvinism. After Edward's early death, the fanatical Catholic *Mary*, Catharine's daughter, obtained the crown (1553–58). *Ridley* and *Cranmer* were burnt (1556), and the devout Mary raved with unsparing cruelty against all who confessed the Gospel. Two hundred and seventy-seven persons, bishops, preachers, and laymen, women, children, and aged persons,

perished in the flames, and measures were already adopted to establish a permanent inquisition, when Mary was called away from her bloody work. She was followed by *Elizabeth* (1558–1603), the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Educated by Cranmer in the Protestant faith, she triumphantly established the Reformation in England. On the basis of the previous labors of Cranmer and Ridley, the *Convocation of London* (1562), adopted *XXXIX Articles* as a confession of faith, and a liturgical directory for the Anglican Church Both were combined, for more general use, in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The XXXIX Articles, which were incorporated into the English statutes by an act of Parliament (13 Eliz. c. II., April, 1571), adopted Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper, but not his dogma of predestination [see *Herzog's* Encycl., art. Anglican Church]. In the organization and worship of the Church, many catholicizing elements were retained (the episcopacy, apostolical succession, a copious ceremonial). In opposition to this, the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians* introduced a presbyterial constitution, modelled after that of Geneva, with a strict discipline, and a rigid, one-sided predominance of the formal principle, touching the sole authority of the Scriptures (extermination of the Apocrypha), a zealous adherence to Calvinism, an extremely bald form of worship, which scrupulously excluded the leaven of popery (clerical vestments, altars, candles, crucifixes, the sign of the cross, forms of prayer, sponsors in baptism, confirmation, kneeling at the sacrament, bowing the head at the name of Jesus, bells, organs, and all festivals, retaining only the Sabbath). To restore ecclesiastical unity, the queen directed the passage of the *Act of Uniformity* (1563), and punished all *non-conformists* with fines, imprisonment, and banishment. This increased the evil. A party of non-conformists, called *Independents* (also *Congregationalists*, and *Brownists*, after their founder *Robert Browne*), carried their opposition to all ecclesiastical courts so far that they rejected synods and presbyteries, and made their preachers amenable to the arbitrary vote of single congregations, though they established a *Congregational Board* at London, as a central point of union, which was a synod formed of delegates sent by the respective congregations. Persecuted by the government, they fled to Holland, but returned under Cromwell, and subsequently emigrated to North America.—Elizabeth introduced the Anglican Church into *Ireland*, also, and gave it all the church property there. But in spite of constant oppression, the mass of the Irish adhered to the Catholic Church. (Cf. § 33, 3; 34, 3.)

5. *The Reformation in Scotland.* (Cf. *Stäudlin* and *G. Weber*, l. c. *K. G. v. Rudloff*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Schottl. Berl. 1847. 2 Bde.—*K. H. Sack*, d. K. v. Schottland. Heidelb. 1844. 2 Bde.—*J. Köstlin*, d. Schott. K. seit d. Ref. Hamb., 1852. — *A. H. Niemeyer*, J. Knox and the two Marys. Lpz., 1824.—[*M'Crie's* Life of John Knox. Edinb., 1814.—*F. Tytler*, Hist. of Scotl., vols. VI. VII.—Tr.].)—In Scotland, the Gospel was early preached by *Patrick Hamilton*, who had studied in Wittenberg,

and perished at the stake (1528) at the age of 24 years. His martyrdom was followed by many others. But amid all the political disorders, the Reformation took deeper root in the hearts of the people and no bility, in spite of the hostility of the Stuarts and the bishops. *John Knox* (*ob.* 1572), however, was the proper reformer in Scotland. Educated at Geneva, he impressed the most severe and rigid Calvinism upon the constitution and doctrines of the Scotch Church. Having, as a galley slave, acquired an iron inflexibility of character, he set at defiance both the anger and tears of the young queen, *Mary Stuart*, and with glowing zeal, and by a revolutionary storm, urged the Reformation to a triumphant issue. (*Confessio Scotica*, 1560.) To the unfortunate queen there was nothing left at last but to throw herself into the arms of her deadly foe Elizabeth. In 1587, she suffered death on an English scaffold. Her son *James* VI., still a child, was crowned, and the reformers exercised the regency. After Elizabeth's death, he assumed the united crowns of England and Scotland.

6. *The Reformation in the Netherlands.* (Cf. *H. Leo*, Zwölf Bb. niederl. Gesch. Halle, 1835. 2 Bde.—*J. L. Motley*, Hist. of the Dutch Republ. [*Herzog*, Encycl., art. Holland].)—*Charles* V. held the Netherlands as an inheritance from his grandmother, Maria of Burgundy. So much had happened in the period preceding the Reformation (see Vol. I., § 119, 6) to prepare the way for it, that it was now received with very great favor by the people, who had independent and active minds. Luther's writings were early circulated, and the first martyrs of the Lutheran faith (§ 8, 1) perished at Antwerp (1523). Connections with France and Switzerland, however, subsequently led to the predominance of the Reformed Confession. Here the emperor commanded the edict of Worms to be executed in all its severity, and thousands perished by the sword and at the stake as martyrs to the evangelical faith. Under Charles's son and successor, *Philip* II. of Spain, the Inquisition perpetrated still more terrible cruelties, with the purpose of suppressing the spirit of both political and religious liberty (from 1555). The *Belgic Confession* (1562), maintained Calvinistic tenets. The *Compromise* (1566), a confederacy of nobles for the overthrow of the Spanish rule, and which adopted the name of *Guyses* (gueux-beggars), which the Spaniards applied to them in ridicule, daily grew stronger, and the maddened populace tore down churches, images, and altars. The *Duke of Alba* was sent with an army to put down the insurrection, which *Margaret of Parma* was unable to control, notwithstanding the bloody measures she was compelled to adopt (1567). By unexampled cruelties he temporarily succeeded. But the seven northern provinces combined in the *Utrecht Union* (1579), and *William of Orange* and, after his murder (1584), his son *Maurice*, secured civil and religious liberty for the northern Netherlands, after a tedious and sanguinary struggle. The southern Belgic provinces were held by Alexander of Parma, under Spanish rule, and in the Catholic faith.

7. *The Reformation in France.* (Cf. *Th. Beza*, Hist. ecclst. des égl. reformées du royaume de France. Anv. 1580. — *A. L. Heermann*, Frankr. Rel. u. Bürgerkriege im 16 Jahrh. Lpz., 1828.—*Leop. Ranke*, franz. Gesch. in 16. u. 17. Jahrh. Stuttg., 1852. Bd. I. — *W. G. Soldan*, Gesch. d. Protestsm. in Frank. bis zum Tode Karl's IX. Lpz., 1855. 2 Bde.—*G. v. Polenz*, Gesch. d. franz. Calvinism, Bd. I. Gotha, 1857. — *F. W. Barthold*, Deutschl. u. d. Hugenotten. Brem., 1847. — *G. Weber*, l. c. (§ 18).—*L. Wachler*, die par. Bluthochz. Lpz., 1828. — *W. G. Soldan*, Frankr. u. d. Barthol. Nacht, in Raumer's hist. Taschb., 1854.—*E. Stähelin*, d. Uebertritt König Heinrich's IV. Basel, 1856.) — The first occasion of the Reformation in France proceeded from Wittenberg. In 1521, the Sorbonne directed Luther's writings to be burned in Paris. But Geneva soon acquired preponderant and exclusive influence. *Francis* I. (1515–47), favored the Reformation in Germany, but persecuted the Protestants (*Huguenots*) of his own country. *Henry* II. (*ob.* 1559), and *Francis* II. (*ob.* 1560), did likewise. Many thousands of heroic confessors were put to death by the sword and by fire. And yet the Reformed Church, especially in southern France, spread rapidly, and at the *first General Synod in Paris* (1559), adopted the *Confessio Gallicana.* Even a powerful branch of the royal family, the *Bourbons* (*Anthony of Navarre*, and his spirited wife *Jeanne d'Albret*, Anthony's brother *Louis Bourbon*, and Prince *Louis of Condé*), and persons of eminence (Admiral *Coligny*, and several parliamentary councillors, etc.), embraced Protestantism, whilst their political rivals, the *Guises*, of the ducal house of Lorraine (*Francis Guise*, and his brother *Charles*, Cardinal of Lorraine), sought support in the hostility of the Catholics. This gave additional strength to the peculiar tendency of the Reformed Church, to combine political with religious aims (according to the theocratic example of the Old Testament), in their reformatory measures, and decidedly impressed it with the character of a political party. Under the regency (from 1560) of *Catharine de Medici* (the mother of Charles IX., *ob.* 1574), the prospects of the Huguenots brightened. The noble Chancellor *Michael de l'Hospital*, a Catholic, but a foe of all sanguinary proceedings, instituted a *religious conference in the abbey of Poissy*, near Paris (1561), where, among others, *Theodore Beza* and the Jesuit General Lainez, confronted each other. The *edict of St. Germain* (1562) secured toleration and the free enjoyment of religious worship to the Protestants of the border cities. This encouraged large numbers of secret friends of Protestantism openly to avow their faith, and the rage of the Catholics was inflamed anew. At *Cahors*, a Huguenot meeting-house was surrounded by the rabble and fired; all assembled perished; those who escaped the fire were murdered At *Vassi*, in Provence, where the Huguenots were gathered for worship in a barn, *Francis of Guise* perpetrated a more fearful carnage, swearing that he would cut the accursed edict into pieces with his sword. The religious and civil war then broke out in consuming flames.

Twice a peace of short duration was concluded (at *Amboise*, 1563, and at *Longjumeau*, 1568). A third *Peace of St. Germain* (1570) secured to the Huguenots full liberty of conscience and religion; only Paris and the residence of the court were excepted. As a pledge of peace, four important fortresses were given to them (La Rochelle, Montaubon, Cognac, and La Charité), and *Henry of Navarre*, Anthony's son, was betrothed to the sister of Charles IX. At their marriage (Aug. 18, 1572), the Huguenot chieftains assembled in Paris. Henry's mother, *Jeanne d'Albret*, died soon after her arrival; her death having probably been caused by poisoned gloves presented to her, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate *Coligny*. Late in *Bartholomew's night* (Aug. 24, 1572), the castle-bell suddenly tolled. It was the signal for the butchery of all the Huguenots. The bloody tragedy lasted incessantly for four days. Coligny fell, praying, under the blows of his murderers; no Huguenot was spared — neither children, women, nor the aged. Henry and Condé were offered the mass or death; they chose the former. Meanwhile, couriers were dispatched with the murderous decree through the provinces, and the slaughter was renewed. The number of the slaughtered is variously given at 20,000—100,000. Pope *Gregory* XIII. commanded all the bells in Rome to be rung, a Te Deum to be sung, and a medal to be struck with the inscription *Ugonottorum Strages*, in honor of the glorious victory of the Church. (The result of *Soldan's* investigations is, that the horrible decree of death was enacted, not after long consultation, but suddenly, in consequence of political complications. The queen-mother having disagreed with her son, determined to maintain her position by Coligny's assassination. This failed. The king swore that he would severely avenge the iniquity upon the unknown authors of it. Then Catharine used all means to avert the threatening destruction. She succeeded in convincing the king that Coligny was at the head of a Huguenot conspiracy. Beside himself with rage, the king swore that not only the leaders, who alone were implicated, but all the Huguenots of France should die, so that no one might remain to reproach him for the deed. But it is certain, notwithstanding, that the thought of such a Satanic deed was previously broached, though it may have been but transiently. At the Spanish and Roman courts, the French government reported the tragedy as an acte prémedité; at the German court as an acte non prémedité; but in a letter previously sent to the emperor from Rome, it was said: Que à cette heure (the marriage festival) que tous les oyseaux estoient en la cage, ou les pouvoit prendre tous ensemble, et qu'il y en avoit, qui le desiroient.)—But the horrible deed failed of its purpose. If even 100,000 were murdered, ten times that number remained, and found strong rallying points in their fortresses. Hence civil war broke out afresh. The *Peace of Beaulieu* (1576), which once more guaranteed to the Huguenots their rights, was of brief duration. The Guises formed a *Holy League*, which was directed as much against

the pusillanimous king, *Henry* III. (1574–89), as against the Protestants, so that to escape their hands, he fled to the camp of the Huguenots, where he was murdered by the Dominican *Clement*. *Henry* (IV.) of Navarre then ascended the throne (1589–1610), and to secure it the better, abjured his faith (1593), but by the *Edict of Nantes* (1598), guaranteed full religious liberty to his earlier fellow-believers, in all the cities where Reformed worship had been previously practised, and unconditional equality with the Catholics in all civil rights and privileges, and powerfully protected them therein. His reward for this was the dagger of *Ravaillac*, a Feuillant, and a disciple of the Jesuits. (Cf. § 33, 2.)

8. *The Reformation in Poland.* (Cf. *C. G. v. Friese*, Ref. Gesch. v. Pol. u. Lith. Brsl. 1786. 3 Bde.—*V. Krasinski*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Polen. Lpz., 1841.—*J. Lucaszewicz*, Gesch. d. ref. K. in Lith. Lpz., 1848, 2 Bde.)—The way was prepared for the Reformation in Poland by fugitive Bohemian brethren, and Luther's works were eagerly read there soon after their appearance. *Sigismund* I. (1506–48) opposed it with all his might. It was most cordially welcomed in Prussian Poland. As early as 1525, the Catholic council was driven from *Dantzic*. Sigismund repaired thither, caused several citizens to be executed, and restored the ancient worship (1526). But he had hardly left the city until the Lutheran faith was again embraced. This example was followed by *Elbing* and *Thorn*. In Poland proper, also, the new movement spread with great power. In spite of prohibitions, many young Poles went to Wittenberg, and returned with glowing enthusiasm for Luther and his doctrine. Along with it, however, the Swiss Confession also reached Poland, and the persecutions with which Ferdinand of Austria threatened Bohemia and Moravia, led crowds of Bohemian brethren into the country. *Sigismund Augustus* (1548–72) was personally inclined to the Reformation. He demanded of the pope the permission of priests to marry, the communion sub utraque, the mass in the vernacular, and the abrogation of annates. The pope not only refused, but sent a legate into the country to subdue the heresy. The Protestant nobles now (1556) recalled their renowned countryman, *John a Lasco*, who, 16 years before, had left his office and country on account of his evangelical views. In the meantime he had aided in the reformation of East Friesland, and preached for several years in Emden; subsequently he went to England, at Cranmer's call, and after Edward VI.'s death, sought a refuge in Denmark, which, however, was refused him on account of his Zwinglian views; after that he preached to a congregation of French, English, and Holland fugitives, in Frankfort-on-the-Maine. After his return to Poland, he labored to effect a union of the Lutherans and Reformed, in connection with several friends translated the Bible, and died in 1560. At the *General Synod of Sendomir* (1570), a union of the three dissenting parties was finally effected (Consensus Sendomiriensis), which recognized the Lutheran

doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but in so indefinite a way that the article might also bear a Calvinistic sense. The opposition of the Lutherans was suppressed by earnest entreaties, but soon after broke forth only the more violently. At the *Synod of Thorn* (1595), *Paul Gerike*, a Lutheran preacher, stood up for the Lutheran view, but one of the nobles present put a sword at his breast, and the synod suspended him from his office as a disturber of the peace. Sigismund Augustus died in 1572. During the interregnum which occurred, the Protestant nobility formed a confederacy which effected a general religious Peace (*Pax dissidentium*, 1573), before the election of another king, by which Catholics and Protestants were pledged perpetually to maintain peace, and allow each other to enjoy equal civil rights. The new king, *Henry of Anjou* (subsequently Henry III. of France), endeavored to evade this Peace, but the marshal of the kingdom told him dryly: Si non jurabis, non regnabis. In the following year he secretly left Poland to ascend the French throne. *Stephen Bathori* (from 1576) took the oath of Peace unhesitatingly, and kept it also. But under his successor, *Sigismund* III. (a Swedish prince, from 1587), the Protestants complained of many violations of their rights, and the evils increased until the dissolution of the Polish kingdom (1772). (Cf. § 33, 5; 44, 4.)

9. *The Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia.* (Cf. *B. Raupach*, d. evang. Œstr. Hamb., 1832. 3 Bde., 4to.—*G. C. Waldau*, Gesch. d. Prot. in Œstr. Ansp., 1784. 2 Bde.—*A. Gindely*, l. c. (Vol. I. § 119, 5); *ib.* Gesch. d. Majestätsbriefes. Prag., 1858.)—The numerous Bohemian and Moravian Brethren had frequent interviews with Luther. In his Reformation they saw a want of discipline, whilst he was dissatisfied with their latitudinarianism in doctrine, and Novatian exaltation of external deportment. But in 1532, the Brethren presented an apology of their doctrines and usages to the Margrave George of Brandenburg, of which Luther fully approved. At the last interview in 1542, Luther offered their delegates his hand as a pledge of perpetual friendship. But genuine Lutheranism and Calvinism were both admitted into Bohemia. The refusal of the Bohemians to fight against their German brethren, in the Smalcald war, led *Ferdinand* to inflict a severe chastisement upon them. But Ferdinand became more considerate in his last years, and *Maximilian* II. (1564–76) did not disturb them. *Rudolf* II. (1576–1612), who was educated at the Spanish court, revived the oppressions. This roused the Bohemians, and compelled him to grant *Letters of Majesty* (1609), which ceded unconditional religious liberty, their own consistory, and an academy at Prague. Thus Bohemia became an evangelical country; in a hundred inhabitants, not more than one or two were Catholics. (Cf. § 33, 1.)

10. *The Reformation in Hungary.* (Cf. History of the Prot. Ch. in Hungary, with an introd. by *D'Aubigne*. Boston and N. York, 1854.)—From 1524, *Martin Cyriaci*, a Wittenberg pupil, labored in Hungary

for the spread of pure doctrine. King *Lewis* II. threatened its adherents with the severest penalties. But he fell in the battle of Mohacz, (1526). The new election produced two kings: *Ferdinand* of Austria, and the Vaivode *John Zapoyla*. Both immediately persecuted the Reformation, in order to gain the support of the clergy; the cause nevertheless acquired a powerful ascendancy. *Mathias Devay*, also a disciple of Luther, translated the Bible, and the synod of Erdöd (1545) adopted the Augsburg Confession. But the Swiss doctrines had also found their way into the country, and daily gained new adherents. The Reformed held a council at *Czenger* (1557), at which the *Confessio Hungarica*, embracing the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper and of predestination, was adopted. Under Maximilian II. the Reformation made unobstructed progress. But when Rudolph II. revived forcible measures, the Protestants arose under *Stephen Botskai*, and compelled him to conclude the *Peace of Vienna* (1606), which guaranteed them full religious liberty. Among the native Hungarians, the Reformed Confession prevailed, but the German settlers remained true to Lutheranism.

11. *The Reformation in Transylvania.* — Merchants from Hermanstadt brought Luther's writings to Transylvania as early as 1521. But there, also, *Lewis* II. of Hungary persecuted the Evangelicals; and, after his death, *John Zapoyla* did the same. Nevertheless, in 1529, Hermanstadt ventured to drive all the adherents of the pope from the city. In *Cronstadt*, the reform was introduced (1534) by *Jacob Honter*, who had studied in Basel. After Zapoyla had secured the permanent possession of Transylvania by a treaty with Ferdinand (1538), he showed more moderation towards the Protestants. After his death, the monk *Martinuzzi*, then made Bishop of Groswardein, exercised the regency during the minority of Zapoyla's son. He threatened the Protestants with bloody persecutions, whilst *Isabella*, Zapoyla's widow, favored them. On this account, Martinuzzi transferred the country to Ferdinand, but he was murdered in 1551. After some years, Isabella returned with her son, and a *diet at Clausenburg* (1557) constituted the country an independent principality, and proclaimed universal religious liberty. The Saxons adhered to Lutheranism, whilst the Szecler and Magyars preferred the Reformed Confession.

12. *The Reformation in Spain.* (Cf. *Th. M'Crie*, Hist. of the Ref. in Spain. *E. Böhmer*, Inquisit. u. Evang. in Sp., in Schneider's deutsch. Ztschr. 1852, No. 13, etc.) — The connection with Germany, brought about by the empire of *Charles* V., led to the early transplantation of Luther's doctrine to Spain. Very many theologians and statesmen who accompanied Charles to Germany, returned home with evangelical convictions — among these were *Alfonso de Virves*, court chaplain to the emperor, and his private secretary, *Alfonso Valdez*, also a statesman. *Rodrigo de Valero*, a layman, attained to evangelical knowledge, by diligently studying the Scriptures, and led many

others into the way of salvation. The Inquisition seized his property, and condemned him to wear the sanbenito. *Juan Egidius* (Gil), Valero's friend, Bishop of Tortosa, formed societies for the study of the Bible. The Inquisition deposed him, and but for the protection of Charles, he would have perished at the stake. After his death, his remains were exhumed and burnt. The first martyr in Spain was *Francisco San Romano*, a merchant, who had become acquainted with Luther's doctrines in Antwerp. He was burnt at the stake in Valladolid, in 1544. *Franc. Enzina* translated the New Testament. He was imprisoned, and the book prohibited. About 1550, the reformatory movement acquired so general and comprehensive a character, that a Spanish historian of that period expresses the belief that all Spain would have fallen a prey to the heresy, if the Inquisition had delayed the application of the remedy but three months. But it now began vigorously to apply the remedy, especially after Philip II. (1555–98) assumed the government. Scarcely a year passed in which each of the twelve inquisitorial tribunals did not celebrate one or more great auto-da-fés, at which multitudes of heretics were burned. The remedy proved effectual. In twenty or thirty years the evangelical cause was suppressed.

13. *The Reformation in Italy.* (Cf. *Th. M'Crie*, Hist. of the Ref. in Italy. — *E. F. Leopold*, d. Ref. u. deren Verfall in Ital.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1843, II.) — Reformatory measures in Italy took various courses. A large part of the *Humanists* had given up all interest in Christianity for a self-sufficient sort of heathenism, and maintained the same position towards the Reformation as to the old Church; another portion desired a reformation in an Erasmian sense. Both remained in their old ecclesiastical relations. At the same time many learned men took a more decided stand, some of whom took matters into their own hands, and assailed the fundamental truths of Christianity. (Italy was, especially, the rendezvous of many *Anti-Trinitarians*, § 28), whilst others attached themselves to the German, but most to the Helvetic Reformation. Each party endeavored to reach the people by preaching and writings, and they often succeeded in founding separate congregations in Italian cities. But to save their lives the reformers had to flee from the country; and in 1542, a special Inquisition was instituted to suppress Protestantism in Italy, which, with reckless, fanatical fury, punished every appearance of Protestantism with imprisonment, the galleys, the scaffold, and the stake; nevertheless it did not accomplish its purpose until towards the close of the century. Almost all the writings of the German and Swiss Reformers were translated into Italian soon after their publication, and being anonymous, were widely circulated before the Inquisition seized upon them. *Antonio Brucioli* translated the Bible (1530, etc.) It was placed in the Index prohibitorum, although the translator remained in the Catholic Church. The Duchess *Renata de Ferrara*, a sister of Francis I. of France, distin-

guished herself as a promoter of the Reformation. Her court became the refuge and resort of French fugitives. Previously (§ 15, 3), it had been proposed to establish in Italy a propaganda of noble Catholic Christians, whose personal experience had convinced them that justification by faith was the central doctrine of all true faith and practice, and who hoped to reanimate the Catholic Church, without fighting against it. To this society such men as Cardinal *Reginald Polus* belonged; Bishop *Morone* of Modena; the Spaniard *Juan Valdez* (secretary of the Viceroy of Naples); *James Sadoletus* (author of a Commentary on the Romans); the legate *Contarini*, and others. The principles of this movement are most clearly and perfectly set forth in the small work *del beneficio di Giesu Christo*, whose author, *Aonius Palearius*, was prof. of class. liter. at Siena. In six years, 60,000 copies were printed at Venice alone. A large number of editions appeared elsewhere, partly in the original, partly in translations. But thirty years afterwards, no copy in the original could be found, and after one hundred years no translation; so thoroughly and consistently had the Inquisition done its work of extermination. In Rome, piles of it as high as houses were burnt. But in 1843, a copy of the original of 1543, was discovered and republished in London in 1853. Among the most distinguished reformers who wholly renounced popery were: (1.) *Bernardino Ochino*, from 1538 General of the Capuchins, and long renowned as a controversialist against the Lutheran and Zwinglian heresy; but in that very way led to a closer acquaintance with reformation writings. He united with the Reformed Church in 1542, fled to Geneva, and after that labored in Basel, Augsburg, Strassburg, and London. After the death of Edward VI. he had to flee from England, became preacher in Zurich, inclined to Socinianism, and even vindicated polygamy. On this account he was deposed, fled to Poland, and died (1564) in Moravia. (2.) *Peter Martyr Vermilio*, an Augustine monk and esteemed preacher. He was induced to leave the Catholic Church by studying the writings of Erasmus, Zwingli, and Bucer. He fled to Zurich, became Professor in Strassburg, and was also called to England by Cranmer, where he accepted a Professorship in Oxford. When Mary became queen, he returned to Strassburg, and died whilst professor in Zurich (1562). [Cf. *C. Schmidt*, P. M. Vermigli, etc. Elberfeld, 1857. —TR.] (3.) *Peter Paul Vergerius*, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and papal legate in Germany (§ 14, 1), when he personally conferred with Luther. After that, his enemies accused him with being a secret adherent of Luther. To clear himself of this charge, he studied Luther's writings with the purpose of assailing them, and thus attained to the knowledge of evangelical truth, and had to flee. The awful end of *Francis Speira* in Padua (who denied his faith in the Gospel, and thereafter fell a prey to tormenting doubts, and fears that he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost), made a tremendous impression on him. He then openly joined the evangelical Church, labored for some time in the

district of Graubünden (but as a Lutheran, not as a Reformed), and died whilst professor in Tübingen (1565). (Cf. *C. H. Sixt.*, P. P. Verg. Eine reformationsgeschichtliche Monogr. Braunschw. 1855.)

14. Common opposition to the Roman papacy awakened a desire to form a connection with the *Eastern Church*. *Demetrius Mysos*, a deacon of Constantinople, spent some months with Melanchthon in 1559, and on his return took a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession with him; but no notice was taken of the matter. Twenty years later, the other theologians opened new negotiations with the patriarch *Jeremiah* II., through the Lutheran clergyman *Stephen Gerlach*, who visited Constantinople on an embassy of Maximilian II. Thereupon, the ministers of Tübingen sent the patriarch a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, prepared by *Martin Crusius*, and requested his opinion upon it. The patriarch candidly pointed out, in his reply, the errors of the book. The Tübingen clergy vindicated their creed, and in a second reply the patriarch reiterated his objections. A third letter was written, but the patriarch refused to give further explanations; and to a fourth he made no reply. (Cf. § 32, 2.)

B. INNER HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES OF THE REFORMATION.

§ 20. THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Cf. *Max Göbel*, d. rel. Eigenthümlichk. d. luth. u. ref. K. 1837.—*Rudelbach*, Ref., Luthersh., u. Union. Lpz., 1839.—*Wiggers*, kirchl. Statistik. I. 92, etc.—*K. Ströbel*, d. Unterschied d. luth u. ref. K.; in the luth. Ztschr. 1842, III.—[*D'Aubigne*, Lutheranism and the Reform.; in the Bibl. Repository for Jan. 1845.—Tr.]

Western Christianity has reached its purest, richest, and most vigorous form in the Lutheran Church. In it the Germanic Christian spirit, which had striven after independence from the time of Boniface and Charlemagne, attained to Christian maturity, and emancipated itself from its Roman tutor, who had become a selfish tyrant. It appropriates without solicitude the rich treasures of true catholicity which the ancient Church had developed in the form of Græco-Romanic culture, enriched by the experiences and events of mediæval toils. It is the *Church occupying the true medium* between all sensualizing and spiritualizing forms of Religion, between a slavish objective and an

arbitrary subjective ecclesiasticism, as the former has more or less predominated in the Roman Catholic, and the other in the Helvetic Reformed Church. This, its proper mission, to represent and develop the true harmonizing medium between the ecclesiastical extremes of the West, the Lutheran Church has accomplished primarily, most vigorously, purely, and completely, with reference to *doctrine*. And it was right to do so. For the *doctrine* of the Gospel is the life-blood of the Church, the pulsations of which throb through her entire organism. But the Lutheran Church had a similar vocation in regard to all the other forms of ecclesiasticism. And this calling it endeavored from the start to fulfil. It must indeed be admitted that in its process of reformation and resuscitation, it may not have attained to that complete firmness and certainty, clearness and truth, of which it can boast in regard to doctrine. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that even its otherwise still imperfect or defective forms are animated by a powerful impulse to harmonize extremes. But this much is undeniable, and has been its most distinctive characteristic ever since its establishment at the Augsburg diet, in opposition to the Catholic and Reformed Churches: it is *the Church of the pure doctrine*, a doctrine which truly reconciles and unites extremes, equally guarded against heresy, and open to scientific development. [Cf. § 21].

The Lutheran Church maintains a genuine conciliatory character between the Catholic and Reformed Churches, even in its fundamental view of Christianity. The essence of Christianity consists in the union of the divine and human (in the person of Christ as the prototype, also in the Bible, in the Church, in the sacrament, in the Christian life, etc.) The ultimate and inmost ground of diversity between the three Western Churches, lies in their different manner and method of contemplating and apprehending this union. The Catholic Church wishes to *see* it, the Lutheran to *believe* it, the Reformed to *understand* it. The tendency of the *Catholic* Church is to *confound* the divine with the human, and in such a way that the human loses its character as human, and the union with the divine is regarded as an *identification*. The *Reformed* Church, on the other hand, is disposed to *separate* the two, contemplating each by itself, and regarding the union as a *juxtaposition*, not objectively but subjectively, not really but ideally. The *Lutheran* Church, equally avoiding the idea of a confusion and a separation of the two elements, regards the union as a most vital, intimate, and efficient communion, penetration, and reciprocity, thus completely harmonizing the fundamental principles of the 3d and 4th General

Councils, most clearly developing them, and giving them their most comprehensive application. In the view of the *Catholic* Church, the human and earthly, which is often the imperfect bearer of the divine, in which the divine is too often manifested under narrowing limitations, are often taken in themselves for the divine. Thus in its conception of the Church, which leads to the doctrine of a merely external Church, which alone can give salvation; its idea of the human historical development of the Church, leading to the absolute authority of tradition, and the perversion of the true relation between the Scriptures and tradition; its view of the sacraments, hence its contemplation of them as opus operatum, and its doctrine of transubstantiation; its theory of the priesthood, leading to the hierarchy; its doctrine of sanctification, favoring semipelagianism, and righteousness by works, etc. The *Reformed* Church contemplated truth in a diametrically opposite way. It isolated the divine in Christianity from its earthly, visible bearer, sublimating and spiritualizing the former, despising the other, and regarding the operation of the divine upon the human as purely spiritual, and conditioned by personal faith. In the Scriptures it largely denies the human historical element, so that even the vowel points and punctuations were thought to be inspired. The divinely historical in the Church, on the other hand, was not recognized by it, but all tradition was rejected, and with it all historical development, normal or abnormal, was cut off. In its apprehension of Scriptures, the literal sense was disregarded in favor of the spiritual import, and in its conception of the Church, the significance of the visible was disparaged in favor of the invisible Church. In reference to the person of Christ, it allowed itself, in Nestorian style, to exclude the human nature of the exalted Redeemer from a full personal participation in all the attributes of his Godhead. In the sacraments, it separated the supersensuous grace from the material elements; and in the doctrine of predestination, it isolated the divine predetermination from human self-determination, etc. The *Lutheran* Church, on the contrary, shunned both these extremes, and combined the truths which underlay each, into a living, connected unity. In regard to the Bible, it neither holds to the letter without the spirit, nor to the spirit without the letter; in history, it recognizes the presence and operation of the Spirit of God within the sphere of the human development of the Church, and only rejects a *false* tradition, which does not proceed organically from the Scriptures, but is rather contradictory to it. In regard to the Church, it maintains the significance of the invisible as much as that of the visible Church. Touching the doctrine of the person of Christ, it affirms the complete humanity and complete divinity of both natures, in their living union, and most intimate reciprocal relation. In regard to the sacraments, it concedes the reality of the objective act of God, which offers heavenly grace through earthly elements, and that of man's subjective position, by which, according to his faith or unbelief, the sacrament ministers

to his salvation or condemnation. And in regard to the divine decrees it solves the seeming contradiction between God's predestination and man's self-determination, by making the former conditional upon God's prescience (not reversely, as Calvin declares).

§ 21. DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Cf. *G. Walch*, Einleit. in d. Religionstreitigk. d. luth. K. Jena, 1733, 5 Bde. — *Thomasius*, d. Bekenntn. d. ev.-luth. K. in d. Consequ. s. Princips. Nüremb. 1848. — *Planck*, Gesch. d. protest. Theol. bis z. Concordienformel. Lpz., 1796, 3 Bde. — *H. Heppe*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Protestant. v. J. 1551–81. 4 Bde. 1852, etc.

Even during Luther's life, and still more after his death (1546), various, and, in part, very violent doctrinal controversies, broke out in the newly established Lutheran Church. The same necessity which impelled the ancient Church, in the 4th and 5th centuries, accurately to define and fix Catholic views of doctrine, prevailed in this case also; and what was said, in the history of that period, of the importance of ecclesiastical controversies in general, and the violence which often attended them, applies in part to the present instance. The Lutheran Church, moreover, was driven into these struggles by its peculiar character. As the Church which occupied the true middle ground, it had to define the limits which separated it from the frontiers of the two ecclesiastical extremes, strictly and sharply, distinctly and truly; and as the Church of pure doctrine, it was necessary for it to clear up, perfect, and definitely settle its own doctrinal system. But these struggles, notwithstanding their violence, did not lead to a schism in the communions, because the Lutheran Church was so firmly and securely rooted, from the start, in ancient, genuine Catholicity.

1. *The Philippists.* — Soon after the adoption of the common confession at Augsburg, two tendencies, which gradually separated more widely, began to develop themselves in the Lutheran Church. The one party, headed by *Melanchthon* (Philippists), endeavored to widen the platform, on which Catholics on the one hand, and Reformed on the other, might stand, and thus effect an approximation to union and harmony. The other party, led by *Amsdorf*, *Flacius*, and *Wigand*, strove rather to define the pure Lutheran system with all possible strictness, so as to guard it against any admixture with Catholicising or Calvinistic elements. *Luther* attached himself to neither party, but

endeavored to keep both from plunging into their respective extremes, and, as far as possible, to maintain peace between both. In a new edition of the Augsburg Confession, of 1540, Melanchthon modified the statement concerning faith and works, to conciliate Catholics, and that touching the Lord's Supper to accommodate Calvinists. The unaltered confession declared: Docent, quod corpus et sanguis Domini *vere adsint et distribuantur* vescentibus in cœna Domini, et *improbant secus docentes*. For this he substituted: Quod *cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur* corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in cœna Domini. This statement was, indeed, not directly and exclusively Calvinistic, for then it should have used credentibus for vescentibus. Nevertheless, this arbitrary and Calvinising change embittered the stringent Lutherans, and even Luther admonished the author that the book was not his, but was the confession of the entire Church. When the Philippists, therefore, after Luther's death, made many other concessions to the Catholics, in the Leipsic Interim (1548), the Lutherans pronounced it open treachery to the Church. *Magdeburg* persistently rejected the Interim, and became the refuge of all zealous Lutherans; and in opposition to Philippist *Wittenberg*, the sons of the ex-elector, John Frederick, founded, by his direction, the university of *Jena*, as the stronghold of rigid Lutheranism. From the antagonisms of these two parties sprang, chiefly, the doctrinal controversies of the Reformation period.

2. *The Antinomian Controversy* (1537–40) was about the *authority of the law in Christianity*. *John Agricola* of Eisleben (from 1536 Prof. in Wittenberg, and from 1540 court-preacher in Berlin, aided in preparing the Augsburg Interim, 1548, *ob.* 1566), took offence, as early as 1527, at Melanchthon's urging the preacher, in the visitation circulars, to instruct the people diligently in the law. From 1537, he disputed with *Luther* himself about it. He did not contend against the use of the law outside of the Church for educational and civil purposes; but upon the correct principle that an authoritative system of morality could not help man, he erroneously maintained that the law no longer concerned Christians, and that only the Gospel should be preached, which would lead men to repentance through the power of divine love. Melanchthon and Luther, on the contrary, regarded sorrow and contrition over sin as the fruits of the law, but the saving purpose of amendment as the effect of the Gospel; and they required the law to be continuously preached, because, in the imperfection of man's present holiness, a repentance daily renewed is necessary. The deeper ground of difference in these views lay in Agricola's over-estimate of human nature, which he did not think so depraved but that, without being smitten by the terrors of the law and condemnation, it might be induced to hate sin and follow righteousness. In antithesis to the Catholic "Pelagianism of the law," which concedes to man a natural ability to do good works, and coöperation in his justification, he fell into a "Pelagianism of the Gospel," which ascribes to man a natural ability to accept proffered righteous-

ness for its own sake. After carrying on the controversy, orally and with the pen, for several years, Agricola discovered the error of his theory, and formally renounced it. (Berlin, 1540.)

3. The subject of the *Osiandrian Controversy* (1549–67) was *the nature of justification and its relation to sanctification.* In opposition to the Catholic doctrine of justification by works also, Luther regarded redemption as a *twofold* act of God, bestowed upon man only through faith. He distinguished between *justification* as a divine act wrought *for* man, and *sanctification* as a divine operation *in* man. The former consists in this, that Christ made atonement on the cross, once for all, for the sins of the whole world, and that God now imputes the merits of Christ's atoning death to every single believer, as his own (as it were forensically), and thus *declares* him righteous, but does not *make* him so. The believer becomes actually righteous, rather on the ground and as a consequence of his being declared so, through a growing sanctification, extending over his entire earthly life, but never attaining absolute perfection here, by virtue of the communication of the new life, provided and brought to light by Christ. *Andrew Osiander* (from 1522 preacher in Nuremberg, and in 1549 made professor at the newly founded university of Königsberg, by Duke *Albert of Prussia*, who had been converted to the evangelical faith by his preaching. He died in 1552), advocated, in Königsberg, a view varying from this, and approximating the Catholic doctrine. He confounded sanctification with justification, and regarded the latter not as a declaring righteous, but as a making righteous, not as a judicial but a sanitary act, effected by an infusion, *i. e.*, a constant inflowing of the righteousness of Christ. He considered the atoning death of Christ only as the negative condition of justification, the positive condition being Christ's incarnation, and justification the formation of Christ in the believer. Osiander objected to Luther's forensic view, because it seemed to him to exclude the subjective element in justification (which, however, is present in faith as the subjective condition of man's being declared righteous). The controversy was carried on by the Osiandrists and their Königsberg opponents (*Mörlin*, *Staphylas*, *Stancarus*, etc.) with equal vagueness and vehemence, and several theologians from a distance failed, by written opinions sent in (among them one from *Melanchthon*, and another from *Brenz*), to settle the dispute. After Osiander's death, his son-in-law, the court-preacher *John Funk*, also in favor with the duke, was at the head of the party, and filled all the offices with his adherents. He likewise rashly mixed in with political intrigues, and, in execution of a sentence of the supreme Polish commission, was beheaded for high treason in 1556. The other Osiandrists were deposed and banished. *Mörlin*, previously exiled, returned, and as Bishop of Samland, reorganized the Prussian Church, and *Martin Chemnitz* (previously rector in Königsberg, then superintendent in Brunswick), was called to prepare a standard of doctrine (Corpus doc

trinæ Pruthenicum).—The preference given by Osiander to the divine nature in the work of redemption, led to another controversy about the declaration of Stancar (a man notorious for his petty disputes — hence the expression: Stänkereien), that man's redemption rests wholly upon the human nature of Christ. (Cf. *H. Wilken*, Osiander's Leben, etc. I. Strals., 1844. — *Häberle*, Osiander's Lehre; in the Studd. u. Kritt., 1844. — *Ritschl*, d. Rechtfertigungsl. d. A. Os. in the Jahrbb. für deutsche Theol. von Dorner u. Liebner. II. H. 4.)

4. *The Adiaphoristic Controversy* (1548–55), concerning the admissibility of Catholic forms in the constitution and worship of the Church, sprang from the introduction of the Catholicising *Leipsic Interim*. This regarded most Catholic forms as *adiaphora*, or neutral matters, which might be admitted as non-essential. On the other hand the Lutherans maintained that matters in themselves indifferent, ceased to be so under circumstances like the present. Of course the cause of this controversy was removed by the Augsburg Peace.

5. *The Majoristic Controversy* (1551–62) turned upon the necessity of good works. The Interim led strict Lutherans to regard the Philippists with boundless mistrust. When, therefore, in 1551, *George Major* of Wittenberg affirmed, in essential accordance with the Interim and Melanchthon's theology, that *good works were necessary* to salvation, and refused to retract, *Amsdorf* took the equally objectionable position that good works were *detrimental* to salvation. Notwithstanding the violence of this controversy, also, more reflecting persons saw that both parties erred by using vague and extreme expressions, and acknowledged, on the one hand, that *not* good works in themselves, but *only faith*, was necessary to salvation, whilst at the same time, good works were the indispensable fruit of genuine saving faith, and *necessary* to its maintenance; and, on the other hand, that good works were not in themselves *pernicious*, but only reliance upon them, instead of upon the merits of Christ alone. For the sake of peace, Major recalled his assertion. But the controversy was kept up for years.

6. *The Synergistic Controversy* (1555–67) was about the coöperation of the human will in conversion. *Luther*, in his controversy with *Erasmus*, in accordance with the first edition of Melanchthon's *Loci*, had totally denied the ability of human nature to embrace salvation by its own power, and taught the absolute and exclusive agency of divine grace in conversion. In later editions of the Loci and of the Augsburg Confession, however, Melanchthon taught a certain coöperation (synergism) of the remains of free-will in man, in conversion; and in the edition of 1548, he defined this as the ability of man to embrace *proffered* salvation of his own accord (facultas se applicandi ad gratiam). In the Leipsic Interim, also, he avoided the Lutheran shibboleth *solâ* (by faith "alone"), though he most decidedly denied all merit to man in conversion Luther bore Melanchthon's change

of opinion with noble toleration, with a charity that hopeth all things and endureth all things, only he reproached him for smuggling his views into the confession of the Church. After the enactment of the Leipsic Interim, the suspicion and dissatisfaction of the rigid Lutherans daily increased, and it burst forth in a most violent controversy, when *John Pfeffinger*, superintendent in Leipsic, who had participated in the odious Interim, issued a book on free-will in vindication of Melanchthon's synergism (1555). The leaders of rigid Lutheranism, *Nicholas v. Amsdorf*, *Matthias Flacius* of *Illyria*, and *John Wigand*, colleagues at the university of Jena, felt that they dare no longer keep silence. At the request of the Duke of Weimar, they prepared a confutation, designed to be the standard of restored Lutheranism; and *Victorin Strigel*, a professor in Jena, who was appointed to assist them, had to atone for his sympathy with synergistic views, by a severe imprisonment. But the duke soon became more favorably disposed towards Strigel; and the rigid Lutherans, who persistently opposed the duke's injunctions, were expelled, and the university chairs were filled with Melanchthonians. A change in the government, however, restored the Lutheran party to power in the duchy of Saxony (1567), and in electoral Saxony, also, synergism gradually lost its supports (Melanchthon died in 1560). — In a colloquy with Strigel at Weimar (1560), *Flacius* allowed himself to assert, in the heat of controversy, that original sin was not something accidental, in man, but something *substantial*. His friends, even, urged him to retract this manifestly Manichæan statement, which sounded worse than he meant. But a man of Flacius' character could not easily be induced to do this. In 1562 he was banished, with the other Lutherans, and in 1567 he was *not* recalled with them. He now roamed restlessly about, driven from every place, and only a short time before his death (1575), recalled his hasty expression. — Thus, a man of strong character and astonishing erudition, was destroyed by unpropitious circumstances, for which he was partly innocent and partly to blame. (Cf. *E. Schmidt*, d. Flacius Erbsündenstreit; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1849, I. II. — *A. Twesten*, Matth. Fl. Illyr., Berl., 1844. — *W. Preger*, M. Fl. Ill. u. s. Zeit. Lpz. 1859. Bd. I.)

7. In the *Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy* (1552–74), the *doctrine of the Lord's Supper* was the subject of dispute. The union effected with the Zwinglian cities of southern Germany, by the Wittenberg Concord (1536), had since then been shaken in many ways, and the attacks of the Zurichers compelled Luther (1544) to draw up a final "Confession of the Holy Sacrament, against the fanatics." If this demonstrated an incurable rupture with the Zwinglians, it also showed that a union with the incomparably more profound doctrines of Calvin was possible. It was *Melanchthon's* most ardent desire to effect such a union. He became convinced, not indeed that the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood in the bread and wine was erroneous,

but that Calvin's doctrine of a spiritual participation of the body and blood of Christ (through faith) in the Supper, did violence to no essential religious point; therefore he sought to avoid what seemed to him an unessential difference in confession and doctrine. But the rigid Lutherans were by no means agreed to this; and tedious, violent controversies sprang up in various Lutheran countries (especially in lower Saxony, in the Palatinate, and in electoral Saxony), concerning it. The dispute was not confined, however, to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but was extended to its deepest basis. Luther, carrying out the principles of the third and fourth General Councils, had taught that the personal union of both natures in Christ rested upon a *communication of the attributes of the one to the other* (communicatio idiomatum), so that Christ, having resumed, since his ascension to heaven, the full exercise of his divine attributes, as God-man, is also *corporeally omnipresent* (ubiquitas corporis Christi), and he could not be shaken in his opinion by the assertion that a corporeal omnipresence was incomprehensible by the natural understanding. In this way he answered the main objection of Zwingli and Calvin to Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that the body of Christ could not be simultaneously in heaven at the right hand of God, and in the bread and wine on earth. But the entire spirit, both of Calvin and Zwingli, led them to regard the doctrine of the ubiquity of the glorified body of Christ as wholly absurd, and, by an openly Nestorian rejection of the communicatio idiomatum, to teach that the glorification of the body of Christ was confined to its transfiguration, and that in heaven, as formerly upon earth, it could be *only in one* place. A necessary consequence of this view was the rejection of the corporeal presence in the Lord's Supper, and, even when high ground was taken, the admission that a communication of power from the exalted body of Christ was granted to believers through the sacrament. The struggle was begun by *Joachim Westphal*, a preacher in *Hamburg*, who openly assailed Calvin's doctrine, and its secret acceptance by many Lutheran theologians (1552). The controversy became most violent in *Bremen*, where the cathedral preacher *Hardenberg* publicly assailed the article in the Augsburg Confession concerning the Lord's Supper, and in *Heidelberg*, where Deacon *Klebitz* maintained Calvinistic theses concerning the Lord's Supper. In both cities the struggle ended with the expulsion of Lutheranism (§ 24, 1, 2). In *Wittenberg*, also, the Philippists G. Major, Paul Eber, Paul Crell, etc., aided by *Caspar Peucer*, the elector's physician, and Melanchthon's son-in-law, who had great influence, labored from 1559 to introduce Calvinism. Melanchthon himself did not live to see the distractions resulting from this movement, the Lord having mercifully released the deeply humbled, desponding man, who had long prayed to be delivered *a rabie theologorum*. He died April 19, 1560.—Whilst the Elector *Augustus* (1553–86) still considered his Wittenberg the chief bulwark of genuine Lutheranism, the Philippists carried forward their plans

with increasing boldness, and endeavored to have every post filled by persons of their own views, and to secure the field by anonymous Calvinistic books. At length, however, the elector was convinced of the dangers which threatened Lutheranism. The Philippists were all expelled, and their leaders imprisoned (Peucer for twelve years). The final complete victory of Lutheranism was celebrated by thanksgivings in all the churches, and by having a commemorative medal struck (1574). (Cf. the literature under § 11.)

8. Of far less importance were: (1.) The *Karg Controversy* (1563) about the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, which *George Karg* (Parsimonius) a minister of Anspach, controverted for a season; afterwards he retracted, having been convinced of his error by the Wittenberg theologians. (2.) The controversy with *John Æpinus*, minister in Hamburg, who, in a commentary on the 16th Psalm, adopted the Reformed view of Christ's descent into hell, that it belonged to his state of humiliation, and completed the passive obedience of Christ by his endurance of hell-punishment, whilst the current Lutheran regarded it as a triumphant proof of his victory over hell and death, and as belonging to his state of exaltation. A Wittenberg opinion (1550) on the subject left the point undecided, and the Form of Concord, also, rested with the assertion that Christ, in his entire person, descended into hell, to deliver man from death and from the power of the devil.

9. *The Form of Concord* (1577). (Cf. *J. N. Anton*, Gesch. d. Concordienf. Lpz., 1779, 2 Bde.—*J. C. G. Johannsen*, Jac. Andreä's concordist. Thätigk.; in d. hist. theol. Ztschr. 1853, III. — *H. Heppe*, l. c. Bd. III. IV. Gesch. d. luth. Concordienf. u. Concordie. Marb. 1857–58. —*K. F. Göschel*, d. C. F. nach ihrer Gesch. Lehre, u. Bdtg. Lpz., 1858. —*F. H. R. Frank*, d. Theol. d. C. F. Erlg. 1858.)—*Jacob Andreä*, the learned chancellor of Tübingen, had been laboring indefatigably for some time, to restore peace among the theologians of the Lutheran Church. In connection with Martin Chemnitz, a prudent and moderate admirer of Melanchthon, and after consultation with many other theologians, Andreä prepared a *form of union* (1574), which was thoroughly revised at a theological convention in the Würtemberg monastery of *Maulbronn*. This *Maulbronn Form* was submitted to the judgment of a number of theologians, after which a second convention of theologians was held at *Torgau* (1576), which took into consideration the opinions received, and prepared the *Torgau Book*. Upon this production, also, the evangelical princes solicited numerous opinions; and then, by their direction, *Jacob Andreä, Chemnitz, Selnecker, Chytræus, And. Musculus*, etc., met in the monastery of *Bergen*, near Magdeburg, to prepare a final plan. Thus the *Bergic Book*, or FORM OF CONCORD, originated. Besides setting forth views upon previously controverted doctrines (especially that concerning the person of Christ, as the basis of the

doctrine of the Lord's Supper), the decision regarding the synergistic question, rendered it necessary to refer to the SUBJECT OF PREDESTINATION, in the Form of Concord, although there had not been any actual dispute about it in the Lutheran Church. *Luther* at first spoke in favor of a particular election, but gradually receded from the doctrine. *Melanchthon* had done the same, only with the important difference, that whilst Luther denied to the last all human coöperation in conversion, Melanchthon felt constrained to admit a certain measure of coöperation, and even Calvin's reproof could not dissuade him from it. The Form of Concord most decidedly rejected synergism, and affirmed that since the Fall man had not a spark (ne scintilla quidem) of spiritual power remaining, to embrace, of his own accord, proffered grace. It assumed, therefore, in opposition to Melanchthon, the same ground which had forced Calvin, by rigid logical consequences, to adopt the theory of absolute predestination, and it could not avoid explaining its relation to that theory. It escapes Calvinistic conclusions by admitting that, although man has no power in himself to reach after or coöoperate with divine grace, he can resist and reject it. In accordance with this it can affirm the explicit doctrine of the Scriptures, which teaches that it is the will of God that *all* men be saved, and regard salvation as an absolute work of grace, but man's damnation as the consequence of his own guilt. It considers man's salvation, only, as an object of divine *predestination*, whilst his damnation is an object of divine *prescience*.— The *character* of this new confession was not so much popular as, in accordance with its purpose and aim, scientific and theological; and its wisdom, moderation, and cautiousness, as well as its precision, clearness, and depth, are really great and admirable. The signatures of 9000 Church teachers testified that it answered its purpose. Denmark, Sweden, Holstein, Pomerania, Hessen, Anhalt, and eight cities (Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Strassburg, etc.), without showing hostility to it, refused their subscriptions; but it was subsequently recognized in many of those countries (Sweden, Holstein, Pomerania, etc.) The Elector *Augustus* of Saxony caused a collection of all the Lutheran Confessions to be printed with the *Book of Concord*, and, signed by 51 princes and 35 cities, to be promulgated on *June* 25, 1580, the anniversary of the Augsburg Confession.

10. *The Articles of Visitation of Electoral Saxony* (1592).—The *Calvinistic efforts* of the Philippists were once more revived under the successor of Augustus, *Christian* I. (from 1586), who was gained for this object through his relationship with the princely house of the Palatinate. His chancellor, *Nicholas Crell*, filled all the ecclesiastical offices with persons holding his own views, abolished exorcism at baptism, and had begun to publish an edition of the Bible with Calvinistic notes, when Christian died (1591). Altenburg, the regent during Duke *Frederick William's* minority, immediately restored rigid Lutheranism; and having ordered a Church visitation, inserted in the *Articles of*

Visitation a new anti-Calvinistic rule of faith, which all the ecclesiastical and civil officials of Saxony had thenceforth to swear to maintain (1592). In these articles the doctrinal diversities concerning the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, baptism, and election, were set forth in brief, lucid, and exact theses and anti-theses. (In regard to *baptism*, the anti-Calvinistic doctrine is affirmed, that regeneration is effected through baptism, and that therefore all who are baptized are regenerated.) *Crell*, who had violently supplanted the nobility during his regency, was beheaded for high treason after ten years' imprisonment. —*Ægidius Hunnius* had taken the most active part in preparing the Articles of Visitation. From 1576–92, he had been professor in Marburg, and opposed with all his might the attempt to make Hesse Calvinistic, and had shown himself a most zealous advocate of rigid Lutheranism, by his defence of ubiquitarianism ("Bekenntniss von der Person Christi, 1577;" "Libelli IV. de persona Christi ejusque ad dexteram Dei sedentis divina majestate, 1585"). From Marburg he was called to Wittenberg. (*Ob.* 1603.)

11. *The Huber Controversy* (1595). — *Samuel Huber*, a Reformed preacher in the canton of Berne, became involved in a controversy with *Wolfg. Musculus* about election, by transcending the Lutheran doctrine, and affirming that all men are predestinated unto salvation, though, through their own fault, all will not be saved. Banished from Berne, he joined the Lutheran Church, and was appointed a preacher in Würtemberg. There he accused Prof. *Gerlach* of Crypto-Calvinism, because he taught that only believers were predestinated to salvation. The controversy was stopped by his being called to Wittenberg. But he thought he discovered similar Crypto-Calvinism in his colleagues there (*Polyc. Leyser* and *Ægidius Hunnius*), and opposed it. All the disputations and conferences upon the subject failed to change his views; and as parties arose among the students, he was dismissed from Wittenberg. He continued the controversy with increasing virulence, and wandered about in Germany many years, endeavoring to propagate his views, but without success. (*Ob.* 1624.)

§ 22. CONSTITUTION, CULTUS, LIFE, AND LITERATURE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

In regard to its *constitution*, the Lutheran Church aimed to maintain its character as a mediator between extremes, although, amidst the external and internal agitations which disturbed it, it was least successful in securing the same degree of stability and completeness, which shone forth so brilliantly in its doctrinal system. In regard to Church *cultus*, it was more fortunate. The Reformation finally annulled the hierarchical ban, which had for centuries excluded congregational singing and the vernacular

tongue from public worship; and during the period of the Reformation, already (but only in the Lutheran Church), German Church hymnology flourished amazingly, and furnished the most brilliant example of the fullness, strength, and fervor of the lofty strain and freshness of the religious life of that age. Church hymns are the Confession of the Lutheran laity, and have done more than preaching to spread and inculcate evangelical truth. A hymn had scarcely gushed from the heart of a poet before it spread everywhere among the people, penetrated families and churches, was sung before every door, in workshops, market-places, streets and fields, and with a *single* stroke won whole cities to the evangelical faith. "No subsequent period was, or ever will be, able to produce anything equally genuine, effectual, popular, original, or edifying for the people." The *religious life of the people* in the Lutheran Church combined deep, earnest penitence, and a joyful assured confidence of justification by faith, with the cheerful integrity and cordiality of the German citizen. Pastoral fidelity, earnest preaching, and the zealous instruction of youth, even without rigidly practised discipline, begat in the people a hearty fear of God, sincere attachment to the Church, strict family discipline, and true submission to civil authority. *Theological learning* flourished especially at the universities of Wittenberg, Tübingen, Strassburg, Marburg, and Jena. But there were also many who cultivated it, among those engaged in more practical spheres.

1. *The Constitution of the Church.* (Cf. *L. Richter*, Gesch. d. ev. K.-verf. in Deutschl. Lpz. 1851.) — Between hierarchy and Cæsarism, between the absorption of the State by the Church, and of the Church by the State, the Lutheran Church occupied a medium which was in the main correct, although somewhat vacillating in theory and practice. It decidedly protested both against every admixture and suppression of the two spheres. In the exigency of the Church, the princes and magistrates assumed unavoidable episcopal power, managed the affairs of the Church, and appointed *consistories* composed of laymen and clergy, to execute their orders and plans, and take special charge of the clergy, Church discipline, and matrimonial questions. This gradually led to the permanent institution of the episcopal system (the chief civil ruler holding the position of summus episcopus. Cf. § 46, 3). The canon law, after a careful modification of what was most indispensable, became the basis of *ecclesiastical jurisprudence.* The restoration of the biblical idea of a universal priesthood of all believers, would not endure the opinion of an essential distinction between the

clergy and laity. The clergy were the regularly called servants (ministri, ministerium) of the Church, of the Word, of the altar, enjoying equal rights in spiritual things. Lay-baptism was allowed in extreme cases. *Hierarchical grades* among the clergy were considered antagonistic to the spirit of Christianity, although offices of authority (such as superintendants, provosts, but only jure humano), were thought allowable and advantageous. The *property of the Church* was frequently seized and secularized by the arbitrary avarice of princes and nobles, though the greater part of it, especially in Germany, either remained in the Church, or was used in founding schools, universities, and charitable institutions. The *monasteries* met with the richly merited reward of their degeneracy. Unhappily, their reorganization upon evangelical principles was not thought of amidst the pressure and agitation of the times.

2. *Public Worship and Art.* (Cf. *Th. Kliefoth*, d. urspr. Gottesdienstordnungen in d. luth. K. Rost. 1847.—*Ibid.* Liturg. Abhandle. Schwer. 1854. Bd. 1–3.—*H. Alt*, d. chr. Cultus. 2 A. Berl. 1851.—*K. Barthel*, d. Verh. d. Protstsm. zur Kunst; in d. hist. th. Ztschr. 1840. III.)—Catholic worship appeals only to the imagination and feelings; the worship of the Reformed Church satisfies merely the understanding; but Lutheran worship, combining both these elements, appeals to the heart. The first sensualizes everything, the second spiritualizes everything, whilst in the last all is harmonized in a well-balanced, vital manner. The unity of the Church is not made to consist in identifying forms of worship, but in oneness of faith; hence the forms of worship are nowhere imposed by law. Altars ornamented with candles and crucifixes, as well as images, were retained in the churches, not for adoration, but to excite and elevate devotion. Its *Liturgy* was based upon the Roman missal, only unevangelical elements being excluded. The preaching of the word was the centre of public worship. Luther's manner of preaching, the noble, vigorous popularity of which was never equalled afterwards, still less surpassed, was the exemplar and type for other Lutheran preachers, among whom *Ant. Corvin*, *Just. Jonas*, *Ge. Spalatin*, *J. Bugenhagen*, *Jerome Weller*, *J. Brenz*, *Veit Dietrich*, *J. Mathesius*, and *M. Chemnitz*, were most noteworthy. The essential requisition of all public worship was the personal participation of the congregation, and, as indispensable to this, the exclusive use of the native language. *Festivals* were limited to the leading facts in the history of redemption, and only such saints' days were retained as were authorized by the Gospel (Apostles' days, the Annunciation, Michaelmas, John the Baptist's day, etc.) Luther held *art* in high esteem, especially music. *Lucas Cranach*, *Hans Holbein*, and *Albert Dürer*, employed their art (painting) in the service of the Gospel, and ornamented Lutheran churches with elegant and significant paintings.

3. *Hymnology.* (Cf. *E. E. Koch*, Gesch. d. K. L. u. K. Ges. 2. A. Stuttg. 1853. 4 Bde.—*F. A. Cunz*, Gesch. d. K. L. Lpz. 1855. 2 Bde

— *Ph. Wackernagel*, d deutsche K.-L. von Luther bis Hermann u. Blaurer. Stuttg. 1841. — *J. Mützell*, Geistl. Lieder d. ev. K. d. 16. Jahrh. Berl. 1855. 3 Bde.) — The general character of Lutheran hymnology in the 16th century is its true churchliness and popular style. It is doctrinal, devotional, and bears the impress of objectiveness. The poet does not give vent to his own frame of mind, his individual feelings, but the Church itself, through his lips, confesses, believes, comforts, praises, and adores. At the same time it is truly popular; truthful, natural, cordial, bold and fearless in expression, moving with rapid steps; no pausing, no retrospect, no minute delineations or extended descriptions, no didactic demonstrations. In its outward form it followed the old German epos, and popular narrative poetry, and aimed above all at being not only read but sung, and sung by the congregation. The psalmody of the Reformation exhibits, of course, all these characteristics in their fullest original vigor. *Luther* ranks first. His 37 hymns are in part free translations of Latin hymns ("Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ," "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit," "Der Tag der ist so freudenreich," "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," "Herr Gott, dich loben wir," "Mitten wir im Leben sind," "Komm Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist," etc.); partly revisions of original German hymns: ("Christ lag in Todesbanden," "Nun bitten wir den heilgen Geist," "Gott der Vater wohn uns bei," "Gott sei gelobet"); partly versions of Psalms: ("Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein," Ps. 12, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott," Ps. 46, "Es woll uns Gott gnädig sein," Ps. 67, "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit," Ps. 124, "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir," Ps. 130, etc.), or single passages of Scripture: ("Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot," "Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah," Is. 6, "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," Luke 2, "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam," etc.), and wholly original hymns, both as to form and contents ("Nun freut euch liebe Christen gemein," "Jesus Christus unser Heiland der den Tod," "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort," etc.) Prominent next to Luther, were: *Paul Speratus*, reformer in Prussia (*ob.* 1554), author of the incomparable "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her;" — *Nicholas Decius*, a monk who became an evangelical preacher in Stettin, about 1524. ("Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig"); — *Paul Eber*, professor and superintendent in Wittenberg, *ob.* 1569 (the Michaelmas hymn "Herr Gott, dich loben Alle wir," "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein," "Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch und Gott," "In Christi Wunden schlaf ich ein," etc.); — *Lazarus Spengler*, clerk of the council in Nuremberg, *ob.* 1534 ("Durch Adams' Fall ist ganz verderbt"); — *Hans Sachs*, a shoemaker in Nuremberg, *ob.* 1576 ("Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz," etc.); — *J. Graumann* (Poliander), Eck's amanuensis, afterwards an evangelical preacher in Königsberg, *ob.* 1541 ("Nun lob meine Seele den Herrn"); — *J. Schneesing* (Chiomusus), minister in Gothachsen, *ob.* 1567 ("Allein zu dir, Herr

Jesu Christ"); *Adam Reussner*, a lawyer in Frankfurt, *ob.* 1574 ("Auf dich hab ich gehoffet"); — *John Mathesius*, rector and deacon in Joachimsthal (who also preached some sermons on Luther's life), *ob.* 1565 (the morning-hymn, "Aus meines Herzen's Grunde," also the sweet evangelical cradle-hymn, "Nun schlaf mein liebes Kindelein"); — *Nicholas Herrmann*, the friend of Mathesius, and cantor in Joachimsthal, *ob.* 1561 ("Die helle Sonn leucht jetzt herfür," "Hinunter ist der Sonnenschein," "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," etc.); — *Erasmus Alberus*, superintendent at Brandenburg, *ob.* 1553 ("Nun freut euch, Gotteskinder all").—To these must be added *Michael Weisse*, a German minister in Bohemia, the translator and author of the hymns of the Bohemian Hussites (Cf. § 42), *ob.* 1540 ("Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle," "Gottes Sohn ist kommen," "Christus der uns selig macht"), above all, that precious funeral hymn, "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben," to which Luther added a verse.

In the next succeeding period, however (1560–1618), many without a poet's call volunteered worthless religious rhymes. Even those divinely gifted for the work were altogether too prolific, but still they contributed a large number of genuine Church hymns, true to the character of higher objectiveness, childlike simplicity, and true fitness for general use. We may, of course, observe a transition to the subjective style of the following period, didactic matter is occasionally introduced, and some hymns refer to special personal circumstances; but the idea of an objective faith still predominates. Among the sacred poets of this period, the most noted are: *Barth. Ringwalt*, a preacher in Mark Brandenburg, *ob.* 1597 ("Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit," etc.); *Nich. Selnecker*, during his last years superintendent in Leipsic (*ob.* 1592). As a pupil of Melanchthon he was at first suspected of Crypto-Calvinism, but after his participation in drawing up the Form of Concord he became an object of bitter hatred and continued persecutions to the Crypto-Calvinists. (He composed: "Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesu Christ"). *Ludwig Helmbold*, superintendent in Mühlhausen, *ob.* 1598 ("Von Gott will ich nicht lassen");—*Martin Schalling*, preacher in Regensburg and Nuremberg, *ob.* 1608 ("Herzlich lieb hab ich dich"); — *Caspar Bienemann* (Melissander) superintendent in Altenburg, *ob.* 1591 ("Herr, wie du wilt so schicks mit mir"); — *Martin Moller*, preacher in Görlitz, *ob.* 1606 ("Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott"); —*Martin Böhme* (Behemb) preacher in Lausitz, *ob.* 1621 ("Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht"); —*Valerius Herberger*, preacher in Fraustadt, Poland, *ob.* 1627 ("Valet will ich dir geben," written during a plague in 1613); — *Philip Nicolai*, preacher in Hamburg (*ob.* 1608), whose soaring poetry, pervaded by a spirit of profound love, affiliates it with the Canticles ("Wie schön leucht uns der Morgenstern," "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme"). (Cf. § 39, 3.)

4. *Psalmody.* (Cf. *A. J. Rambach*, Luther's Verd. um den K.-ges. Hamb. 1813.—*P. Mortimer* d. Choralges. zur Zeit d. Ref. Berl. 1820,

4to.- *L. Kraussold*, d. altprot. Choral. Fürth, 1851.—*E. E. Koch*, l. c. *J. E. Häuser*, Gesch. d. chr. K.-ges. Lpz. 1834. — *C. v. Winterfeld*, d. ev. K.-ges. Lpz. 1843, 2 Bde.) — Congregational singing, as incorporated by the Reformation in the worship of the Church, was substantially a revival of the Ambrosian psalmody, in a purified and richer form. It was distinguished, at the start, from the Gregorian style, by being national and congregational, and not performed by a choir of priests (although the name *Choralgesang* was retained, and even became the technical designation of the new style of singing), — further by substituting for solo monotonous singing, in uniform loud notes of equal value, a copious rhythm with lively modulations, — and, finally, by the introduction of several parts instead of the original solo unison. On the other hand, this choral music restored the ancient cantus firmus, by abolishing the secular keys, the counterpointing and other artificial ornaments with which music had been garnished during the middle ages. The cantus firmus (or air) was sung by the congregation, and the singers in the choir (not the organ, which was used during the Reformation period only to support and accompany the choir) accompanied the congregation in the several parts. The melody was set to what was called *tenor*, because it led the parts. The tunes for the new hymns were obtained in part, by modifying the old tunes of Latin hymns and sequences, partly by employing national religious airs of the middle ages, especially such as were preserved among the Bohemian brethren, but mainly by appropriating without reserve the rich treasure of song-tunes in popular use—many hymns being themselves parodies of secular songs. The few original tunes of this period were composed mostly by the authors of the hymns, or at least by lay musicians, and were the utterance of the same inspiration which produced the hymns; hence they are rarely equalled by subsequent more artistic compositions, in unction, spirit, and power. This is especially true of Luther's melodies. The people were taught these tunes by travelling musicians, singing processions of school-boys, and city cornetters. Those who arranged the music differed from *vocalists* or the authors of the tunes, and, as the proper composers, wrote out the several parts for public use, according to the laws of harmony. Especially distinguished among these were the two intimate friends of Luther, *George Rhaw* (cantor in Leipsic, afterwards a printer in Wittenberg) and *Hans Walther* (conductor of the elector's band). Next to these we must name: *Lewis Senfl*, *Martin Agricola*, *Sixt. Dieterich*, *John Kugelmann*, *Nich. Hermann*, *Hans Leo Hassler*, and near the close of the century, the four Hamburg organists, *Jacob* and *Jerome Prätorius* (father and son), *David Scheidemann*, and *Joachim Decker*, who, in 1604, issued a volume of eighty-eight new and admirably harmonized melodies. The close of the 16th century was the most flourishing period of evangelical psalmody. The great composer, *John Eccart* (during his last years organist in Berlin, *ob.* 1611), was most active in important

improvements in it. In order to give more prominence to the tune, it was transferred from the tenor to the treble. The other parts were added as simple chords to the tune, and the organ (which had undergone the most important mechanical improvements), with its pure, rich, copious harmony, was more generally used to support and accompany the congregational singing. The distinction between singers and composers, also, gradually disappeared, the more artistic parts of the singing were more intimately conformed to that of the congregation, and the inventive talent, which produced an abundance of original tunes, with suitable chords, increased from year to year. Next to *Eccart*, the most noted masters of this new school are: *Joachim v. Burgk*, the teacher and friend of Eccart, cantor in Mühlhausen (*ob.* 1596); *Martin Zeuner; Melch. Vulpius*, cantor in Weimar (*ob.* 1616); *Michael Prätorius*, conductor of the elector's band (*ob.* 1621); *John Stobäus*, a pupil of Eccart, leader of a band in Königsberg, who chiefly sang tunes to the hymns of the Königsberg poets Thilo, Weissel, and Dach; and, finally, those who led in the tunes of their own hymns, *Nich. Selnecker* and *Philip Nicolai*. (Cf. § 39, 4.)

5. *Theology*. (Cf. *G. W. Meyer*, Gesch. d. Schrifterkl. Bd. II. Göttg. 1803, and *Fr. Stäudlin*, Gesch. d. theol. Wisch. Göttg. 1810, 2 Bde.—*W. Gass*, Gesch. d. prot. Dogm. Bd. I. Berl. 1854.)—As the Reformation proceeded from the Word of God, and was based on it alone, that Word claimed the chief and diligent study of its theology. *John Förster* (*ob.* 1556) and *John Avenarius* (*ob.* 1576), both of Wittenberg, published Hebrew lexicons, the result of original investigations (not borrowed from the Rabbins), and *Matthew Flacius*, in his Clavis Scripturæ sacræ, furnished a most valuable aid, for that period, in the study of the Bible. The first part contains an explanation of Scripture terms and phrases in alphabetical order; the second an excellent outline of hermeneutics. There were numerous exegetical works; among these *Luther's* are unsurpassed, and, in their kind, unsurpassable. Next to him the most prominent Lutheran exegetes of that period are, for the New Testament, *Melanchthon*, *Victor Strigel* (Hypomn. in omnes Ll. N. T.), *Flacius* (Glossa compendiaria in N. T.), *Joachim Camerarius* (Notationes in N. T.), *Martin Chemnitz* (Harmonia IV. Evangg., subsequently continued by *Polyc. Leyser*, and completed by *John Gerhard*); for the Old Testament, *John Brenz*, whose excellent commentary still possesses great merit. Of less value are the numerous and comprehensive commentaries on the O. and N. T., by *David Chyträus* in Rostock. At the head of the list of Lutheran *theologians* stands *Melanchthon* (Loci communes, 1521). (Cf. *Schwarz*, Mel.'s loci nach ihrer weitern Eutw., in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1857, II.) *Martin Chemnitz*, in his Locis theol., furnished an excellent commentary upon it, which is still regarded as one of the principal works on theology in the Lutheran Church; and his Examen Concilii Tridentini (1562) is not only a learned, profound, and thorough refutation of Catholic doctrines, but is equally discreet,

kind, and moderate. *Vict. Strigel* and *Nich. Selnecker*, also, wrote valuable text-books of theology. *Controversy* was actively maintained, and was often conducted with great violence. In *Church history*, the *Magdeburg Centuries* were produced by the colossal spirit of *Matth. Flacius*. He had previously demonstrated, by his Catalogus testium veritatis, that the Church of Christ never lacked intelligent, pious, and heroic defenders of the faith, to preserve unbroken the chain of historical connection between the primitive Apostolic Church, and the evangelical Church of the 16th century. (Cf. § 38, 4.)

6. *National Literature of Germany.*—The Reformation occurred in a period of the deepest decline of poetry and general literature in Germany. But it awakened new creative energies in the secular and religious life of the nation. Luther's pioneer example opened the way for the introduction of "a new all-conquering prose, as a form of utterance for a new world-consciousness," which impelled Germans to think and teach in German. Especially did the contact of spirits caused by reformatory movements call satire into being, in a blooming, vigorous, and popular form and degree unknown to German literature before, and not equalled since. Countless fugitive productions, of the most diversified imagery and style, in verse and prose, in Latin and German, written by Catholics and Protestants (those of the latter being vastly more rich, vigorous, and witty), assailed or vindicated the Reformation, with satire, ridicule, and contempt. (Cf. *O. Schade*, Satyren u. Pasquille aus d. Reformationszeit. Bd. I. II. Hannover, 1856, etc.) Most prominent among these well-nigh countless, and for the most part anonymous satirical writers of the 16th century, are the Catholic *Thos. Murner* (§ 5, 2), the Reformed *Nich. Manuel* (§ 10, 4), and the Lutheran JOHN FISCHART, who far excels the other two, and is unquestionably the greatest satirist Germany ever produced. Like Seb. Brant and Murner, he was a native of Strassburg, for some time was advocate at the imperial chamber, and died in 1589. His satiric vein first opened with Church matters: "Der Nachtrabe und die Nebelkrähe" (against one J. Rabe, who turned Catholic); "Der Barfüsser Secten-und Kuttenstreit," and "Von St. Dominici und St. Francisci artlichem Leben" (a satire upon the Franciscans and Dominicans); "Bienenkorb des h. römischen Immenschwarms" (the best known of his productions); "Das vierhörnige Jesuitenhütlein" (in verse, the most biting, witty, and striking satire, ever written against the Jesuits). He next took hold of secular subjects: "Aller Praktik Grossmutter;" "Gargantua oder affentheuerliche, naupengeheuerliche Geschichsklitterung;" "Flöhhatz, Weibertratz," etc. His Bee-hive may be regarded as an offset to Murner's Lutheran fools, in spirit, wit, and cheerful, merry ridicule, with a consciousness of triumph, but far surpasses that rough production, dealing such passionate blows as to endanger itself. (Cf. *Volmar*, in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. I. Bd. 51.) — Among the secular poets of this century, *Hans Sachs* (*ob.* 1576), a Nuremberg cobbler, holds the

first place. He was a genuine type of a Lutheran citizen, and although as a minstrel scarcely of more repute than his associates in poetic jovial tales, legends, and stories, he excelled by waggish simplicity, honest cordiality, freshness, vivacity, and rapid delineation. He produced 208 comedies and tragedies, 1700 humorous pieces, and 4200 songs. As early as 1523, he gave the Reformation a joyful greeting in his poem: "Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall;" and did much to secure a welcome for it among his fellow-citizens.

For *Missions among the Heathen* little was done during this period, and for obvious reasons. First of all, the Lutheran Church was too much occupied with internal matters. It had neither the same call to engage in the work, by which the Catholic Church was led to lay hold of it through the political and commercial relations of its countries with distant pagan lands, nor those means of doing so, which the monastic orders afforded, etc. And yet we meet with beginnings of a Lutheran mission even in this period; for *Gustavus Vasa* of Sweden established one (1559) among the neglected Laplanders. (Cf. § 39, 6.)

§ 23. INTERNAL CHARACTER OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Cf. *M. Göbel* u. *Jul. Wiggers* ll. cc. § 20.—*J. P. Lange*, die Eigenthlk. d. ref. K. Zürich. 1841. — *K. R. Hagenbach*, d. ref. K. in Bezieh. auf Verf. u. Cult. Schafh. 1842. — *K. Ullmann*, zur Charaktrst. d. ref. K., in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1843. III.

As the birth-place of the Reformed Church was free Switzerland, its constitution bears, to some extent, the impress of a democratic character; and as it strove to imitate the theocratic constitution of the Old Testament, it felt justified in claiming for the Church a decided voice in purely political matters. Instead of the Lutheran episcopacy under the chief civil magistrate (as summus episcopus), it adopted a presbyterial constitution, with its emancipation of individual congregations from the idea of a united Church. The firm consolidation of all the Lutheran State Churches under one confession, is lacking in the Reformed Church; for the Church of each country adopted its own confession. The ministers of the Church are only *preachers*, even the name pastor was avoided. Presbyteries exercised a more rigid external discipline. Civil and domestic life assumed a strictly legal, often a gloomy rigorous character (especially in the Scotch Church and among the English Puritans); but, along with this, developed a wonderful degree of moral energy, which, however, too often ran into extremes, and an unjustifiable application of Old Tes-

tament principles and examples. In regard to its *cultus*, the Reformed Church exhibits the extreme reverse of that of the Catholic Church, with its abundant sensuous ceremonies. *Zwingli* wished to abolish the ringing of bells [*during thunder-storms, etc., for superstitious purposes*—TR.]; organ-playing, and singing in Churches [by priests, as was then the exclusive custom, in the Romish Church — TR.], and he approved of the removal of altars [as used for crucifixes, etc., and for the sacrifice of the mass — TR.], and the destruction of images. The more prudent Calvinists, even, would not tolerate altars [as used by Romanists — TR.]; crucifixes, images, candles, etc., in the Churches, because they were thought absolutely incompatible with the prohibitions of the decalogue. The Churches were converted into naked prayer-halls and auditories, altars into simple communion-tables; kneeling was discarded as an outward ceremony, in the Lord's Supper (at which the symbolical element predominated, if it was not the only one); the *breaking of bread* was introduced as essential, private confession was rejected, the baptism of dying persons prohibited, and the liturgy changed into simple spoken (not sung) prayers. In France, however, the singing of Psalms was introduced, and their use spread from France to other countries; there were no proper hymns. The number of festivals was reduced as much as possible, and only the principal Christian festivals were tolerated. On the other hand, Sunday was observed with well-nigh Old Testament strictness. In regard to the exceptions to all this, in the theory and practice of the Anglican Church, cf. § 19, 4.

1. The adoption of *psalmody* into the worship of the Reformed Church was effected especially by the efforts of *John Zwick* (a clergyman in Constance, *ob.* 1542). In 1536, he published a small hymn-book, with versions of some Psalms, adapted to Lutheran tunes. At Calvin's request, *Clement Marot* prepared versions of most of the Psalms, in the measure of popular French songs and tunes. *Th. Beza* completed them, and Calvin introduced this French Psalter into the Genevan Churches (1555). In 1562, *Claude Goudimel* published 16 of these Psalms, with music for four parts. (He was murdered in Lyons (1572), in connection with the St. Bartholomew's massacre.) *Ambrose Lobwasser*, Prof. of Jurisprudence in Königsberg, in imitation of Marot, prepared the Psalter in German (1573). Notwithstanding its total lack of poetic merit, this Psalter was, for a long time, exclusively used in the German churches. The few, and for the most part, unimportant authors of hymns (the chief of whom were *Zwick* and *Ambr. Blaurer*—

who subsequently embraced Zwinglianism), failed to have them adopted in the churches. The Reformed Church continued to denounce the use of organs. (Cf. § 41, 1.)

2. *Theological Studies* flourished in the Reformed Church, also, especially in *Basel* and *Geneva*, in the French Church at the theol. seminaries in *Montauban*, *Sedan*, and *Montpellier*. Biblical studies were prosecuted with special interest. *Sebastian Münster*, then at Heidelberg, afterwards at Basel, published a Hebrew lexicon as early as 1523. Zurich theologians (*Leo Juda*, etc.), published Luther's translation of the Bible, in the Swiss dialect, revised, however, according to the original text. At the suggestion of the Waldenses, *Robert Olivetanus* undertook the difficult task of a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the French language, and with the assistance of eminent coworkers completed it in less than ten years (1535). *Th. Beza* published improved recension of the New Testament text, with a new Latin version. *Seb. Münster* edited the Old Testament text, with an independent Latin version. *Leo Juda*, in Zurich, an able linguist, also undertook one. *Seb. Castellio*, in Geneva, devoted himself to a translation of the Prophets and Apostles' writings in elegant Ciceronian Latin. The ablest was the Latin version of the Old Testament, made by *Imanuel Tremellius* of Heidelberg, and his son-in-law *Francis Junius*. The number of *commentators*, also, was large. Besides *Calvin*, who excelled all the rest (§ 18, 5), distinguished exegetical contributions were furnished by *Zwingli* [Annot. in Gen., Exod., Isaiam, Jerem., Evangg. In hist. Dom. pass., Rom., Corinth., Philip., Colos., Thessal., Jac., Hebr. 1 Joann.— Tr.], *Œcolampadius* [Conciones XXI. in Ep. Joh. I., 1524; Comment. in Proph. Es., ll. V., Annot. in Ep. ad Rom., 1525.— Tr.], *Conr. Pellicanus* [of Zurich, Comm. on the O. T., in which special use was made of the Rabbins, on Paul's Epp., and the Cath. Epp.— Tr.], *Th. Beza* (Annot. on the N. T., 1527.— Tr.], *Francis Junius* [prof. of theol. in Leyden. Prælect. in tria prima cap. Gen.; Exposit. Dan.; Analys. Apocal.— Tr.], *John Mercerus*, and the Frenchman *Marlaratus*.— As a theologian, also, *Calvin* indisputably occupied the first place in the Reformed Church. In speculative power, and a masterly use of his material, he excelled all his cotemporaries. *Andrew Hyperius*, of Marburg, held an honorable position as a theologian, in the Reformed Church of Germany. But little was done, during this period, in ecclesiastical history, by Reformed theologians. *Th. Beza*, however, wrote an excellent history of the French Church. Cf. § 40, 4.

3. The Genevan Church engaged in a *Missionary* enterprise as early as 1557. A French adventurer, *Villegagnon*, submitted a plan to Admiral *Coligny* for the colonization of persecuted Huguenots in Brazil, who should found a mission among the native heathen. Sustained by

Coligny, he sailed in 1555 with a number of Huguenot mechanics, and established Fort Coligny near Rio de Janeiro. At his request Calvin sent out two Genevan clergymen (1557). The intolerable tyranny exercised by Villegagnon over the defenceless colonists, their failure to effect anything amongst the natives, together with their destitution and various sufferings, compelled them to return in 1558, on a very frail vessel. It could not hold all, and many of those admitted perished of hunger on the voyage. (Cf. § 41, 2.)

§ 24. CALVINISING OF GERMAN LUTHERAN STATE CHURCHES.

The crypto-Calvinistic controversies were conducted with so much violence, that they frustrated the scheme of the Philippists to effect an imperceptible transition of the entire Lutheran Church to Calvinism (§ 21, 1); but they could not prevent several national Lutheran Churches in Germany from adopting, or being compelled to adopt, the Reformed Confession. The *Palatinate* was the first to pass over; its example was soon followed by *Bremen*, *Anhalt*, and, at the commencement of the following century, *Hesse-Cassel*, *Lippe*, and *Electoral Brandenburg*.—(Cf. § 34, 1–3.)

1. *The Palatinate* (1560). (Cf. *D. Seisen*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Heidelb. Heidelb. 1846.—*F. Blaul*, d. Ref. Werk in d. Pfalz. Speier, 1846.)—*Tilemann Hesshus*, a violent advocate of pure Lutheranism, had been driven from Goslar and from Rostock, as a disturber of the peace. At Melanchthon's recommendation, the Elector *Otho Henry* of the Palatinate appointed him professor and general superintendent at Heidelberg (1558). There he soon disputed with his deacon, *William Klebitz*. During a brief absence of Hesshus, Klebitz, by vindicating Calvinistic views of the Lord's Supper, secured his own promotion as baccalaureus. Hesshus disciplined and suspended him. But Klebitz would not leave. The violence of both exceeded all bounds; they even seized each other by the hair at the altar. The new elector, *Frederick* III., drove off both (1559), obtained Melanchthon's opinion on the subject, and joined the Reformed Church (1560). He then appointed Calvinistic teachers throughout his country, and directed two Heidelberg professors, *Zacharias Ursinus* and *Caspar Olevianus* to prepare the *Heidelberg Catechism*, for the use of the schools of the Palatinate. (In popular simplicity, power, and depth, it is far inferior to Luther's smaller catechism; but in other respects it is distinguished by its method of instruction, theological skill, Christian fervor, and conciliatory mildness, and richly merits the favor with which it has ever been received, not only by the Reformed of Germany, but of other countries. It avoids Calvin's doc-

trine of predestination, and makes the nearest possible approach to the Lutheran dogma concerning the Lord's Supper. The Catholic mass it denounces as an accursed idolatry.) [Cf. *Sudhoff*, Olevianus u. Ursinus. Elberf. 1857.—*Van Alpen*, Gesch. etc., d. Heid. Cat. The highest commendation of the Heidelberg Catechism, as a systematic exhibition of evangelical doctrines, is found in the fact that it was at once cordially welcomed by all but Romanists and extreme Lutherans; that it was speedily translated into many different languages; and that it is, virtually, the doctrinal platform occupied at the present day, by the largest portion of the Protestant Church, especially in regard to its moderate Calvinistic and sacramental doctrines. — TR.] The government of *Lewis* VI. (1576–83), a zealous friend of the Form. Concord., was of too short duration fully to check the transition of the Palatinate to Calvinism. The Elector *John Casimir*, whilst exercising the regency, banished all the Lutheran preachers, and had his ward, *Frederick* IV., educated in the strictest Calvinism.

2. *Bremen* (1562). (Cf. *H. W. Rotermund*, Gesch. d. Domkirche zu Bremen. Brem., 1829.)—In Bremen, *Albert Rizäus v. Hardenberg*, cathedral preacher, publicly assailed the 10th art. of the Augsb. Conf., and became involved in a controversy respecting it with his colleague, *John Timann*. All the clergy sustained Timann, but Hardenberg was powerfully supported by the burgomaster *Büren*, and he was favored by an opinion of Melanchthon (1557), counselling them to hush up the matter. As he also refused to take oath in support of the Augsb. Conf., the disturbance daily increased. Timann died in 1559. *Hesshus*, who had been driven from Heidelberg, was called to take his place. He at once put Hardenberg under the ban, and accused him before the League of the cities of lower Saxony. It held a martial diet at Brunswick (1561) which deposed Hardenberg, yet without depriving him of his office. He went to Oldenberg, and became preacher at Emden, where he died in 1574. Hesshus, also, soon left Bremen; and after having been expelled from eight other posts, as an agitator, became prof. in Helmstädt, where he died in 1588. His successor at Bremen, *Simon Musäeus*, no less violent than himself, insisted upon the banishment of all Hardenberg's adherents, and the council had actually consented to this, when affairs took a sudden change. In spite of all opposition, Büren was chosen chief burgomaster in 1562. Musäeus and 13 other preachers were driven off, and even the Lutheran members of the council had to leave the city. Foreign mediation effected a compromise, however, in 1568, by which those who had been expelled were allowed to return to the city, but not to resume their offices. All the churches of Bremen, the cathedral excepted, remained Reformed.

3. *Anhalt* (1597). (Cf. *G. Schubring*, Gesch. d. Einführ. d. ref. Conf. in Anh. Lpz. 1848.)—After the death of Prince Joachim Ernest, his sons founded four Anhalt lines (Dessau, Bernburg, Köthen, Zerbst). *John George* founder of the house of Anhalt-Dessau, reigned for his

minor brothers from 1587–1603. Subscription to the Form of Concord had been previously declined, and in 1589 Calvinism began to be introduced into the country, by the abrogation of exorcism. This was followed by substituting a Reformed for the old Lutheran directory. Not long afterwards, Luther's catechism was also laid aside, and in 1597 a copy of 28 Calvinistic articles was laid before the clergy, which they were required to subscribe on pain of banishment. The prime movers in this were *Caspar Peucer* (§ 21, 7), who had been expelled from Wittenberg, and *Wolfg. Amling*, the superintendent at Zerbst. In 1644, Anhalt-Zerbst was restored to the old confession by Prince *John*, who had been reared by his mother in the Lutheran faith.

II. THE DEFORMATION.

§ 25. CHARACTER OF THE DEFORMATION.

Cf. *H. W. Erbkam*, Gesch. d. protestant, Secten in Zeitalt. d. Ref. Hamb., 1848.

That fanatics and ultraists of various grades would endeavor to produce a sensation during a period of such agitation as characterized the Reformation, will be readily conceived; but that the Reformation itself is not chargeable with such excrescences, is proven by the excluding opposition in which it ever stood to those deformities. Both have, indeed, the same starting-point, opposition to the degenerate churchism of that period. But the Reformation at once wholly renounced the Deformation, and often even joined Catholicism in efforts to suppress it; whereas the Deformation vented its bitterest hatred upon the former. The origin of the Deformation may be traced, on the one hand, to the tendency of human nature, when once aroused to opposition, to run into radicalism, partly in the form of rationalism, partly that of mysticism. If the Reformation recognizes the Bible as the sole norm and rule of religious faith and practice, and as the judge of tradition, deformatory *rationalism* subjects the Bible to the authority of the reason, and regulates revealed truth by the demands of logical thinking. If the former opposes the deification of the Church, the latter even disputes the divinity of Christ. On the other hand, deformatory *Mysticism* carried the evangelical demand for inward religious experience to the extreme opposite of the externalizing formalism of the Romish

Church, and by the side of the inspiration of the Word of God set up an assumed illumination by the Holy Spirit, as a higher revelation, despised the sacraments, and aimed at forming a visible communion of saints. The denial of the doctrine of the Trinity became the shibboleth of the former (*Anti-Trinitarians, Unitarians*), the rejection of infant baptism, that of the latter (*Anabaptists*). It cannot seem surprising, however, that both tendencies often commingled, since the so-called inner light is, after all, nothing else than a fanatical excited reason. As a *third* deformatory tendency, the *liberalist, revolutionary*, and *antinomian* movements of this period might be named, the common character of which consists in the transfer of the Reformatory demand for the freedom of the Christian from the spiritual thraldom of the hierarchy, to political, civil, social, and moral spheres. But these movements partly lacked independency, being merely offshoots of some other tendency, or they were so speedily suppressed, that they were but of temporary importance, and have already been noticed. (Cf. § 4, 2, 5; § 18, 3.)

As to the way in which Protestantism should dispose of heretics, mediæval principles still so far prevailed, that a *Calvin* could urge the burning of a man who denied the Trinity, and even the mild Melanchthon approve of his execution (§ 28, 2). [*Servetus* perished at the stake, not for denying the Trinity, but for the scandalous blasphemies he uttered against the Godhead in this form, and for political machinations. See *Henry's* Life of Calvin, and *Calvin* and *Servetus*, mainly from the French of *M. A. Rilliet*, by *W. K. Tweedie*, Edinb. 1848.—TR.] But in both theory and practice the view prevailed that heretics should not be forced, or punished with death, though they might be imprisoned to bring them to reflection, or prevent their doing harm, or be banished.

§ 26. MYSTICISM.

Cf. *M. Carriere*, d. philosoph. Weltanschauung d. Reformationszeit. Stuttg. 1847.

Beside the truly evangelical and churchly mysticism, which, as a sincere apprehension of the Christian life, *Luther* ever highly esteemed, and which the Lutheran Church never wholly excluded, an unevangelical and unchurchly mysticism early manifested itself in various forms. To the intoxicated fanaticism, and tumultuous revolutionary agitations of the Anabaptists (§ 27), *Schwenkfeld's* mysticism presents a favorable contrast, distin-

guished by its theological moderation, and quiet efforts to extend its influence. *Agrippa* and *Paracelsus* advocated a mysticism constructed upon a basis of natural philosophy, and their phantasies were adopted by *Val. Weigel* in his theosophy. *Seb. Frank* derived nourishment for his pantheistic mysticism from the writings of Eccart and Tauler. *Jordanus Bruno* was rewarded with the stake for his fanatical bacchanalian mysticism, supported by the boldest pantheism; whilst the *Familists* were united together as members of a family, in the service of a deified love. — (Cf. § 36, 1; 39, 2.)

1. Among the mystics of the age of the Reformation who were hostile to the Church, Caspar Schwenkfeld of Ossigk, in Silesia, was distinguished for his sincere piety. At first he ardently embraced the Wittenberg Reformation; in its progress, however, it wholly failed to satisfy his spirit, which was exclusively bent upon an inward mystical Christianity. In 1525 he personally met Luther in Wittenberg. The friendly relation there maintained between them, notwithstanding fundamental differences in the tendency of their views, soon yielded to open opposition on Schwenkfeld's part. In his dissatisfaction with the Wittenberg Reformers, he even declared that he would rather join the Papists than the Lutherans. As early as 1528, he was banished from his native country, and commenced laboring in Swabia and along the Rhine, in the face of constant opposition, against both the German and Swiss Reformation, seeking quietly to carry on a reformation according to his own views. He died in 1561, leaving behind a small company of adherents. The party has perpetuated itself to the present day. [A colony settled in Pennsylvania, N. A., in 1734. They have 5 churches and about 800 members. — Tr.] *Schwenkfeld's* main dislike of the Lutheran Reformation was its scriptural churchly objectiveness. He called Luther's insisting upon the unconditional authority of the Word of God a bondage to the letter, and exalted the inner word of the Spirit above the written Word of the Scriptures. He was wholly opposed to all outward church forms. He confounded justification with sanctification, similarly with Osiander, and declared it to be an incarnation of Christ in the believer. Besides, he taught (Eutichianistically) that Christ was *born* of God even according to the flesh, and that his human nature was absorbed by the divine. He disapproved of infant baptism, and affirmed that a regenerated person might live without sin. In the Lord's Supper he made everything rest upon the inner operation of the spirit; the bread was merely a symbol of Christ as the food of the soul (he considered τοῦτο the predicate: My body is this, sc. the bread of life). His "Christlich orthodoxischen Bücher u. Schriften," were published in 4 vols. (1564), by *Hans Ossigk.*

2 *Agrippa of Nettesheim* (*ob.* 1535), a man of extensive learning,

and an ostentatious dealer in mysteries, led a most unsettled, adventurous life, was a politician and a soldier, taught medicine, theology, and law, with cutting satires flagellated the monks, who persecuted him as a heretic, and developed his magniloquent wisdom in his *de occulta philosophia*. Of the same cast was the learned Swiss physician *Theophrastus Bombastus* PARACELSUS *ab Hohenheim* (*ob.* 1541), a man as genial and profound as he was fantastic and conceited, a man who solved all the mysteries of the Godhead, as well as of things natural and supernatural, and who affirmed that he had found the philosopher's stone. (Cf. *H. A. Preu*, d. Theol. des Th. Parac. Berl. 1839.) They both remained in the Catholic Church. *Valentine Weigel* was a Lutheran preacher in Saxony, universally esteemed for his piety and edifying labors (*ob.* 1588). His mystic theosophy, which led him to reject all external Church forms, and to regard the doctrines of the Church as merely an allegorical veil of deeper knowledge, first became fully known by the publication of his works after his death. He had many admirers among "the quiet in the land" until the present century.

3. *Sebastian Frank* at first devoted himself zealously to the cause of the Reformation, but afterwards opposed it, denounced and ridiculed all the theological views of his times, took refuge in a pantheistic, dualistic mysticism, demanded unlimited religious liberty, defended the Anabaptists against the intolerance of theologians, and died in Ulm (1543), at enmity with all the world. He deserves great praise, however, as the author of the first history of the world in the German language. (Cf. *H. Bischof*, Seb. Fr. u. d. deutsche Geschichtschreibung. Tübg. 1857.) — *Giordano Bruno*, a Dominican of Nola near Naples, was a man of much more vigorous mind. His ridicule of the monks and of ecclesiastical doctrines compelled him to flee to Geneva. Subsequently he lived and taught in London, Paris, Wittenberg, and Helmstädt, then returned to Italy, and was burned at Rome in 1600. He never left the Catholic Church.

4. The *Familists* (familia charitatis) were a mystic sect founded in England under *Elizabeth*, by *Henry Nicolai* of Münster, who was previously associated with David Joris (§ 27, 1); the queen instituted an investigation against them (1580). They differed from the Anabaptists by indifferently allowing infant baptism. Nicolai professed to be an apostle of love, by and through which the mystical deification of man was to be effected. Although an illiterate man, he wrote several works, and in one of them claimed to be "deified with God in the spirit of his love." His adherents were accused of mystical licentiousness, and he was said to teach that Christ was only a divine "condition," which was communicated to all the pious. In a confession of faith and an apology (1575), however, they acknowledge the three œcumenical symbols, and sought to prove their affinity to the evangelical Church. *James* I. still speaks of the infamis Anabaptistarum secta, quæ familia amoris vocatur. After that they disappear.

§ 27. ANABAPTISM.

Cf. *J. A. Stark*, Gesch. d. Taufe u. d. Taufgesinnten. Lps. 1789.—*J. Hast*, l. c. (§ 24, 1); *Erbkam*, l. c. (§ 25). *J. M. Cramp*, Bap. Hist. Phila.

The Anabaptist movement, the operations of which, so far as they immediately entered into the history of the Reformation, were mentioned in § 4, 1, 3, 4, 5; § 10, 5; § 13, 16, everywhere followed upon its heels, in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, Sweden, Denmark, Livonia, etc. In spite of numerous defeats, it pushed itself most audaciously forward, when *John of Leyden* established his splendid kingdom in Münster, and sent out his apostles into all the world, to gather the people of God into the new Zion. But the unhappy issue of this transient glory spoiled all its high hopes. Its scattered remnants were everywhere imprisoned, banished, or executed. Moreover, it was rent with internal factions. Two men, of a wholly different character, labored indefatigably, from 1536, to gather and reorganize these fragments; they were *David Joris* and *Menno Simons*. The latter, by adopting prudent measures of reform, managed to perpetuate his party.

1. *David Joris*, a glass-painter of Delft, was a fanatic of the worst stamp. With Anabaptist revelations, by which he claimed to be the true Christ according to the Spirit, he combined sabellian, anti-trinitarian, and antinomian doctrines. He travelled over Germany, disseminating his views by his writings, and orally. At last a reward was offered for his apprehension. Assuming another name, he went to Basel, and remained there undisturbed until his death (1556). When, subsequently, his true name was discovered, the city authorities had his body dug up and burned.

2. *Menno Simons*, a Catholic priest in Wittmarsum, Holstein, gave himself to the diligent study of the Scriptures, and soon was troubled with many doubts concerning Catholic doctrines. The martyr-like courage of an Anabaptist directed his attention to that subject, and he soon was induced to believe in the correctness of the views of the Anabaptists. In 1536 he resigned his priesthood, and was baptized. With indescribable toils and untiring patience, he labored to reorganize the sect. He drew up a distinct form of doctrine, related to that of the Reformed Church, differing from it only in rejecting infant baptism, and in an unqualified spiritualization of the idea of the Church as a communion of such only as were true saints. He also forbade military and civil service, and the oath, and in addition to baptism and the Lord's Supper, introduced feet-washing (John 13). By means of a

rigid ecclesiastical discipline, he maintained a simple mode of living and strict morality. The quiet, pious disposition of the *Mennonites*, soon secured religious toleration for them in Holland; afterwards, also, in Germany and England. Menno died in 1561. Even during his life his sect in Holland divided into two parties, the *fine* and the *coarse*, the latter disregarding Menno's severe discipline. (Cf. § 42, 1.)

§ 28. ANTI-TRINITARIANS AND UNITARIANS.

Cf. *F. Trechsel*, d. prot. Antitrin. vor Faust. Socin. Heidelb. 1839. 44. 2 Bde.—*O. Fock*, d. Socinianism. Kiel, 1847. 2 Bde.

The first opponents of the doctrine of the Trinity were German Anabaptists (*John Campanus*, *Lewis Hetzer*, and *John Denck*). The Spaniard, *Michael Servetus*, reduced his Unitarianism to organic connection with a complete pantheistic, philosophical system. But Italy was the proper home of the rationalistic denial of the doctrine; it was the fruit of the half pagan humanism which flourished there. Its advocates, compelled to flee, took refuge in Switzerland, but being persecuted there, and banished, they went to Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania, where princes or nobles protected them. The several scattered Unitarians were furnished with a complete doctrinal system by the two *Sozinni* (uncle and nephew), and thus, also, secured an ecclesiastical organization.

1. *Fanatical Anabaptist Anti-Trinitarians.*—The most notable of these are: (1.) *John Denck*, of the Upper Palatinate. In 1524, he became rector in Nuremberg; after that he wandered about until Œcolampadius gave him shelter in Basel, where he died of the plague in 1528. He rejected the written Word and infant bastism, resolved the doctrine of the Trinity into a pantheistic speculation, and taught an apocatastasis, but recanted shortly before his death. (2.) *Lewis Hetzer*, of Switzerland, was a priest in Zurich, and at first a zealous adherent and fellow-laborer of Zwingli. Subsequently he was converted by Denck, joined the Anabaptists, published (even before Luther) a German translation of the Prophets, and by means of hymns spread his monarchianistic views, until he was beheaded for polygamy at Constance in 1529. (Cf. *Kaim*, L. Hetzer. In the Jahrbb. für deutsche Theol., by *Dorner* u. *Liebner*, I. 2.) (3.) *John Campanus* of Jülich. Driven from Cologne, where he studied, he went to Wittenberg (1528), accompanied the Reformers to Marburg, where he endeavored to harmonize the disputants by interpreting: This is my body, to mean: This is a body made by me. Returning to Wittenberg, he began to circulate Anabaptist and Arian views, and to vilify the Reformers in his preaching and writings ("Wider die ganze Welt nach den Apos-

teln" "Göttlicher u. heiliger Schrift Restitution u. Besserung"), he was expelled from Saxony (1532). Imprisoned for preaching Chiliastic sermons, he died, after twenty years' confinement, in Cleve, (1574).

2. *Michael Servetus*, of Spain, was a man endowed with speculative talents, but of restive mind. Driven from Spain, he wandered about through France and Switzerland. Luckily escaping the stake in Vienne (though burnt in effigy), he was imprisoned in Geneva (1553), at Calvin's instigation, and having refused to recant, was burnt there as a disturber of the peace and a blasphemer. [Cf. § 25, 1.—Tr.] His pantheistic monarchianism was fully developed in his works: de trinitatis erroribus Ll. VII., and Dialogorum de trinitate Ll. II. He taught that the Logos was an emanation of the divine light, which became personal at the incarnation. The grosser materials of his body he received from his mother, the substance of the divine light taking the place of the male seed. By both he is God ὁμοούσιος, for even the earthly matter of his body is only a grosser form of the primal light. The Holy Spirit, from which the Logos differed in being a more corporeal manifestation of God, was the soul of Christ. Servetus also denied original sin, controverted justification by faith, disapproved of infant baptism, advocated a spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper, and cherished Chiliastic expectations. (Cf. *L. Mosheim*, Unparth. Ketzergesch. Bd. II. Helmst. 1750. *Trechsel*, l. c. Bd. I. *Heberle*, Servet's Trinitätsl. u. Christol., in the Tübg. Ztschr. 1840. II.)

3. *Italian Unitarians before Socinus.*—The most noted are: (1.) *Claudius of Savoy.* In 1534, in Berne, he contended that Christ should be called God only because the fulness of the divine Spirit was communicated to him. Driven thence, and soon afterwards from Basel also, he went to Wittenberg, where he was likewise badly received. In 1537 he recanted at a synod in Lausanne. Then he went to Augsburg, and operated as a popular agitator. In 1550 he still appeared as a prophet in Memmingen. After that, we lose sight of him. (2.) *Valentine Gentilis*, of Calabria, driven from Berne, went to Poland (1552). In 1556, having ventured back to Berne, he was beheaded. (3.) *George Blandrata*, a physician of Saluzzo, in Piedmont, fled from his native country to Switzerland, and thence to Poland. In 1553 he was appointed private physician to the prince, in Transylvania. There he spread anti-trinitarian doctrines, and was murdered (1590) by his nephew, whose avarice could not wait for his death.

To the Italian infidelity of this period probably belongs, also, the authorship of the book *de tribus impostoribus* (Moses, Jesus, Mohammed), even though the conception is mediæval (Vol. I., § 96, 8). The work is first mentioned in the 16th cent. (Editions by *Genthe*, Lpz., 1833; *Weller*, Lpz. 1846; *Rosenkranz*, d. Zweifel am Glauben, Kritik d. Schrift de trib. impost. Halle, 1830). Of similar tendency is the work of the French jurist *Jean Bodin* (*ob.* 1597): *Heptaplomeres*, a dialogue upon Religion between *seven* learned free-thinkers of Venice,

in which all positive religions are set forth as possessing the same merits and defects. Ideal deism is commended, however, as the true religion. Edidit *L. Noack.* Schwerin. 1857. (Cf. *G. E. Guhrauer*, d. Heptapl. v. J. Bodin. Berl. 1844.)

4. *Lælius Socinus*, sprung from a celebrated family of jurists in Siena, himself a jurist, was early led to the conviction that Romish theology did not accord with the Bible. To acquire more certain knowledge of the matter, he learned the original languages of the Scriptures; on a journey he became acquainted with the most prominent theologians of Switzerland, Germany, and Poland; and constructed a complete, consistent system of Unitarianism. He died in Zurich (1562), and his nephew *Faustus Socinus*, whom he had indoctrinated into his own views, set himself about forming a Unitarian society from the anti-Trinitarians of Transylvania, who were in a very distracted state. His untiring efforts were successful. *Rakov* became the chief seat of *Socinians*, and the *Rakovian Catechism* (1602) their confession of faith. Faustus died (1604), and soon after his death the Socinian congregations in Poland and Transylvania flourished beyond all expectation. Learned men, like *John Crell*, *Schlichting*, *Wolzogen*, *Wissowatius*, etc., advocated and defended Socinianism in numerous works. This prosperity lasted a half century. But in consequence of a premeditated insult offered to the crucifix by some Rakov students, their church in that place was closed (1638), and their flourishing school broken up; and in 1658 they were excluded, in Poland, from the Religious Peace, and ordered to leave the country. In Transylvania, however, some Socinian congregations are still found at the present day.

The *Socinian System* is, substantially, the following: The Bible is the sole source of our knowledge of the plan of salvation, but it contains nothing contrary to reason. The doctrine of the Trinity conflicts with the Bible and with reason; God is only one person. Jesus was a mere man, who, however, was endowed with divine power to accomplish man's salvation, and was rewarded for his perfect obedience by being exalted to divine majesty, and invested with authority to judge the quick and the dead; hence divine honors are due him. The Holy Spirit is only a power of God. Man's original likeness to God consisted in his dominion over all creatures. Man was mortal by nature, though if he had not sinned, God might, by a supernatural operation, have caused him to pass into eternal life without first dying. There is no original sin, but original evil, and a hereditary inclination to sin, which, however, involves no personal culpability. God's foreknowledge of human actions must be disclaimed, because it would lead to the doctrine of absolute predestination. Redemption consists in Christ's having, by his doctrine and life, pointed out the way of moral improvement. God bestows upon all who choose this way the pardon of sin and eternal life. The death of Christ was not an atonement, but simply sealed his doctrine, and opened to him the way to divine honors. Con-

version must be begun by personal effort, but it cannot be completed without the aid of the Holy Spirit. The sacraments are mere ceremonies, which might be dispensed with, though it is better to retain them as ancient and beautiful customs, etc.

III. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

§ 29. EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN AND RENOVATE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.[27]

The exertions of the *Catholic Church* to confine the triumphs of the Reformation to the narrowest possible limits, and to conquer as much as possible of their lost territory, are so prominent, so absorbing, and predominant, that we may exhibit its whole history during this period under the aspect of a *counter-reformation.* These efforts aimed partly at strengthening and reviving the Church *inwardly*, partly at securing its *outward* extension and increase — and this both by missions among the heathen, and by a violent suppression of Protestantism. The Council of Trent was designed to inclose mediæval, scholastic Catholicism with a brazen wall, which should forever secure it against reformatory measures, whilst, at the same time, many abuses were either corrected or curtailed. The old degenerate monastic orders, once so mighty a support of the papacy, were unable to resist the violence of the Reformation. A new order took their place, *the Jesuits*, which propped up the tottering hierarchy for some centuries, and sought in every way to hinder the spread of the Reformation. There also arose a number of other orders, *partly new, partly reformed*, mostly having a practical Christian tendency, none of which acquired the importance of the Jesuits, or even of many earlier orders, but which labored all the more beneficially in narrower spheres. Conflicts and rivalry with Protestantism likewise excited theological science to fresh and more profitable activity.

1. *The Council and the Popes.* — (Cf. *J. J. Rambach*, Gesch. d. röm. Pp. seit d. Ref. Magd. 1779, 2 Bde. 4to.—*L. Ranke*, d. röm. P., ihre K. u. ihr Staat, 3 A. Berl. 1844. — *Paolo Sarpi* (Petro Soave Solano), Istoria del conc. Trident., ed. M. A. de Dominis. Lond. 1619. Fol. In French, by *P. Fr. le Courayer*, with valuable notes. Lond. 1736 2 vols. fol. German, by *F. E. Rambach*, Halle, 1761, 6 vols. Contra:

Sforza Pallavicino, Ist. del conc. di Trento. Rom. 1656.—*C. A. Salig* vollst. Hist. d. trid. Conc. Halle, 1741, 3 Bd. 4to.—*J. H. v. Wessenberg*, d. gr. K.-verfass d. 15. u. 16. Jahrh. Konst. 1844. Bd. III. IV.—*E. Köllner*, Symbolik. Hamb. 1844. Bd. II.)—Pope *Paul* III., at the earnest and repeated solicitations of princes and people, opened the general *Council of Trent* in 1537. Its continuance, however, in a German city, seemed to him unadvisable, in view of the emperor's power and influence. On pretence of avoiding the plague, therefore, he removed it to Bologne in 1547, and in 1549 wholly dissolved it. *Julius* III. was constrained to reopen it (1551) in Trent, but the terror which preceded the army of Maurice scattered it so early as 1552. (Cf. § 14, 1; 15, 10; 16, 4, 8; 17, 2.) It was not reopened again until *Pius* IV. (1559–65) convoked it in January, 1562, at Trent, where it adjourned after the 25th solemn plenary session in December, 1563. Some French and Spanish bishops plead for a thorough reformation, but they were voted down. Of 255 persons who participated in its business, more than two-thirds were Italians. The papal legates had unlimited sway, and it was an open secret that the Holy Spirit had been brought from Rome to Trent in a portmanteau. In the doctrinal decrees, mediæval dogmas were confirmed (only shunning points of diversity between the Franciscans and Dominicans), all Protestant departures therefrom condemned. The decrees touching a reformation ordered various improvements, so far as they could be introduced without infraction upon hierarchical interests. *Pius* IV. confirmed all the decrees, but strictly forbade, on pain of the ban, all explanations and expositions of them, as all such belonged solely to the apostolic chair. *Gregory* XIII. (1572–85) completed the *Reformed Calendar* (1582) ordered by the Council of Trent. The Gregorian Calendar, which obviated the diversity between the civil and solar year by suppressing ten days in the civil calendar, was received with opposition even by the Catholic States. The Evangelical States of Germany did not accept it until 1700, and it was not introduced into England until 1752. Russia, and the entire Greek Church, still retains the old Julian Calendar Among the succeeding popes, *Sixtus* V. (1585–90), who rose, from being a shepherd's boy (Felix Peretti), through all the grades of the hierarachy (Cardinal *Montalto*) to the papacy, distinguished himself by his vigorous reign and far-reaching plans.[26]

Addend. About the close of this century arose the celebrated *prophecy*, ascribed to *St. Malachi*, archb. of Armagh (*ob.* 1148), which describes the popes, 111 in all, from Cœlestin II. (1143) to Sixtus V. (1590), in brief sketches, which, though spiritless, are very accurate, and mainly derived from the papal coats of arms. The succeeding popes, to the last (who is represented as guarding the Church amid great tribulations, and as surviving the downfall of the city of seven hills, and the coming of the day of judgment), are characterized by similar delineations, for the most part, however, indefinite and inapposite, though

in a few cases remarkably striking (ex. gr. Pius VI.: peregrinus apostolicus, § 44, 8, 9; Pius IX.: crux de cruce, § 57, 1). There are to be still eleven popes.—The real author of this prophecy is most probably the Benedictine *Wion*, in whose Lignum vitæ (1595), it was first made known. He probably ascribed it to St. Malachi, because St. Barnard, Malachi's friend and biographer, praises his gift of prophecy, or because he bears the name of the last prophet of the Old Testament. The aim of the prophecy was apologetic, by showing, in opposition to Protestantism, that the Papacy would maintain the Church to the coming of Christ. The author may possibly, also, have desired to influence the choice of the conclave of 1590, by directing special attention to that cardinal, as divinely indicated, whom he wished to see elected. (Cf. *H. Weingarten*, in the theol. Studd. u. Kritt, 1857. III.)

2. *The Society of Jesus* (1540). — (Cf. *Ribadaneira*, Vita Ign. Loy. Neap. 1572.—*J. G. v. Gumpach*, Ign. Loy. u. s. Gefährten. Darmst. 1845. — *Hospiniani* hist. Jesuitar. Zürich, 1619, fol.—*J. C. Harenberg*, pragm. Gesch. d. Ord. d. Jes. Halle, 1760, 2 Bde., 4to. (*Adelung*) Verf. e. neuen Gesch. d. Jesuitenord. Berl. 1769, 2 Bde. — *P. P. Wolf*, allg. Gesch. d. Jes. 2. A. Lpz. 1803, 4 Bde.—*F. Kortüm*, d. Entsth.-Gesch. d. Jes. Ord. Mannheim, 1843.—*S. Sugenheim*, Gesch. d. Jes. in Deutschl. Frkf. 1842, 2 Bde.—*G. Julius*, d. Jes. Gesch. d. Gründ., Ausbr. u. Entw. Lpz. 1845. — Catholic authors: *J. B. Leu*, Beitr. zur Würdigung d. Jesuitenord. nebst. e. Gesch. d. Ord. v. *J. A. Möhler*, Luzern, 1840. — *J. Cretineaux-Joly*, Gesch. d. Gesellsch. Jesu. From the French. Wien, 1845, etc., 5 Bde. — *F. J. Buss*, d. Gesellsch. Jesu. Mainz (1853.) — Ignatius of Loyola, descended from a notable family of Spanish knights, was severely wounded at the siege of Pampelona by the French. During his long and painful confinement he amused himself by reading romances of knight-errantry, and, after completing those, saints' legends. The latter made a deep impression upon him, and kindled in his breast a burning desire to imitate the saints in their renunciation of and victory over the world. Religious ecstacies and apparitions of the queen of heaven, invested this tendency with a celestial sanction. After his convalescence he gave all his possessions to the poor, and assuming the garb of a mendicant, practised the severest asceticism. At the age of 33 years he joined a class of boys, and studied the elements of Latin (1524), then philosophy at Complutum, and theology at Paris. With an iron will he surmounted all hindrances. In Paris, six men of like mind associated themselves with him: *Peter Faber* (Le Fèvre) of Savoy, (then already a priest), *Francis Xavier*, of a family of Spanish grandees, *James Lainez*, a Castilian, *Simon Rodriguez*, a Portuguese, *Alfonso Salmeron*, and *Alfonso Bobadilla*, both Spaniards. With glowing zeal they prepared a plan for a new order, bound themselves by a solemn oath to entire poverty and chastity, and to serve the Catholic faith in accordance with the pleasure of the pope (1534). They completed their studies under the most rigid

asceticism, and were consecrated priests. Then they went to Rome, and after some hesitation Paul III. confirmed their association as *the Order of the Society of Jesus* (1540). Ignatius was chosen their first general. In this capacity, also, he continued, with energetic power of will, to devote himself to religious discipline, the service of the sick, and the care of souls. It was not until after his death (1556) that the Order acquired great historical importance, under his successors, the skillful *Lainez* and vigorous *Francis Borgia* (a Spanish grandee), who far surpassed him in intellect, sagacity, and their far-reaching measures. The popes, also, bestowed a number of privileges upon the Order, and it rapidly grew in power and energy.

Subject and responsible only to the pope, exempted from all other jurisdiction, the Order constituted a close organization, with the most perfect unity of membership ever possessed by any of the large societies of any age. The circle nearest the general, who resided in Rome, consisted of the *Professi*, the choicest members of the Order. The chief officers of the Order (procurators, superiors, and rectors), were selected from their number. In addition to the three usual monastic vows, they took a *fourth*, by which they bound themselves to unconditional obedience to the pope. They were supported in their houses by charity. The *coadjutors* formed the second grade, who were either *ecclesiastics*, having charge of the course of studies, of instruction, and of spiritual matters, or *seculars*, who attended to all other interests. That these might follow their vocation without hindrance, they were excused from the fourth vow, and also from that of living by alms. The *scholastics* formed the third class, and the *novices* the fourth, who became scholastics, as soon as they had passed through their studies and ascetic exercises. Only such as enjoyed good bodily health, and were talented, were admitted to the novitiate. The *general* had monarchial authority, but, as a restraint upon violations of the rules of the Order, he was under the supervision of five *assistants*. Everything otherwise dear and sacred to man was sacrificed to the interests of the Order, and unconditional submission to its superiors. Country, friends, personal inclinations and aversions, even private opinions and the conscience, were to be as *nothing*, the Order everything. No government ever better understood each member's talents, or where to place him, and how to use him for its own ends; and none ever devised and employed so thorough and universal a system of mutual espionage. The Order made all conceivable means, science, learning, art, cultivation, politics, even commerce and trade, subservient to its purposes. It seized the management of the education of youth of the higher classes of society, and thus trained devoted and powerful friends; by preaching and private counsel, it operated upon the people, and in the confessional secured control over princes, and penetrated into all the relationships of life, and obtained possession of all secrets. And all these thousands of means, these eminent powers and talents, were united under *one* will,

served *one* purpose: positively, the furtherance of Catholicism, negatively, the suppression of Protestantism. Assuredly, the fact that Protestantism was not wholly vanquished by this stupendous agency, proves incontrovertibly, that it was animated by a higher than human spirit.

A system of *casuistry* threatening all morality was involved in the fundamental principle of all the efforts of the Order, and was not merely suggested by the private opinion of some inconsiderate moralists; and this does not require us to deny that the Order had, at all times, many members eminent for piety and strict morality. Primarily, and in a general way, the ethics of the Order showed a most decided tendency to *Pelagianism*, and the most distinctly avowed opposition to Augustinianism. But Jesuit ethics became especially notorious for the following principles: (1.) The end sanctifies the means. (2.) An action is justifiable, or at least excusable, when there is a probability of its goodness, or when approved by some respectable theologian (probabilismus). (3.) Mental reservations are allowable in making oaths or promises, the person so obligating himself being bound only by his intention. (4.) Philosophically, every violation of a divine commandment is a sin; theologically, only such violations as are perpetrated with full consciousness of the wrong, and a set purpose to break God's law. The most celebrated Jesuit moralists who contended for these principles were: *Francis Toletus* (*ob.* 1596), *Gabriel Vasquez* (*ob.* 1604), *Thomas Sanchez* (*ob.* 1610), *Francis Squarez* (*ob.* 1617), *Herm. Busenbaum* (*ob.* 1669). In politics, the Order for the benefit of the papacy maintained the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Only the pope derives his authority from God (Matth. 16 : 18, etc.), that of princes is derived from the people. Hence, if a king becomes a tyrant or a heretic, the people may depose him; or, if he refuses to submit to this, kill him. Thus *Bellarmine* (de potestate pontificis in temporalibus), and still more openly and decidedly, *Mariana*, in the work ascribed to him, de rege et regis institutione Ll. III. (Tolet. 1598, 4to.)—In the nature of the case, the operations of the Order in their heathen missions, were of a less exceptionable character (§ 30). (Cf. § 44, 7.)[27]

3. *New Orders for Inner Missions.* — To these belong: (1.) The *Theatines*. They originated in an association of pious clergymen of Thiene or Theate, formed by *Gœtano da Thiene*, with the advice of Bishop *John Peter Caraffa* of Theate (afterwards Pope *Paul* IV.) In 1524 they were confirmed as Clerici regulares. They desired to depend for support, not upon begging, but upon divine providence furnishing them with means not solicited from any person, and acquired importance as a nursery for the higher clergy. Their regulations required them, moreover, to operate upon the people by frequent preaching, to give temporal and spiritual aid to the sick, to labor for the salvation of criminals, and oppose the rise of heresies. (2.) The *Barnabites*, likewise an association of regular clergy, founded by *Antonio Maria*

Zaccaria, in Milan, confirmed by Clement VII. (1532). They obligated themselves to devote their whole life to works of mercy, the care of souls, the instruction of youth, preaching, confession, and missions. Their great patron was *St. Borromeo*, Archb. of Milan. They derived their name from the Church of St. Barnabas, which was assigned to their use. The Society of *Angelicas*, founded by *Louisa Torelli, Countess Guastalla* (a wealthy lady, who had been twice widowed by the 25th year of her age), was attached to the Barnabites, and confirmed by Paul III. (1534). At first they accompanied the Barnabites on their missions, and labored for the conversion of women. But subsequently they were required to remain in a convent. Each member adds the name of the Order, *Angelica*, to her own, to be admonished thereby to be pure as the angels. (3.) *Brothers of Mercy* (1550), a society for the care of the sick, irrespective of their religion, founded by the friends of a poor, but excellent Portuguese, whom his bishop honored with the name *John de Dio*. (4.) The *Ursulines*, founded by a pious young woman, *Angela of Brescia*, for the succor of all classes of sufferers, but especially for the education of young women (1537). (5.) *Priests of the Oratory*, or *Order of the Holy Trinity*, founded by *St. Philip de Neri* of Florence (1548). They united works of mercy with devotional exercises and biblical studies, attended to in the *Oratory* of a hospital erected by them. A branch, or rather imitation of this society, arose in France (1611), under the name of *Fathers of the Oratory of Jesus*. (Cf. § 35, 2.)

4. *Reformation of the Old Orders.* — (1.) An independent division of the *Franciscans* was affected by the *Capuchins*, whose founder, *Matthew de Bassi*, was a monk in the monastery of the Observantes at Montefalco, in the duchy of Urbino. Having incidentally discovered that St. Francis wore a cloak with a long pointed cowl, and, soon after, having had a vision of the saint in such a garb, he fled from his monastery, went to Rome, and besought the pope to allow him to restore the cowl (1525). His request was granted, and thus he formed a new congregation of the *Hermits of the Minorite Brethren*. The unusual dress attracted universal attention. Whenever one of the brethren appeared on the street, boys ran after him crying: Capucino. They adopted the name as that of their Order. Their self-denying philanthropy during a plague in Italy won general esteem for the Order, so that in a short time it spread over all Italy. The conversion of its third vicar-general, *Bernhard Ochino*, to the Reformed faith, brought it, however, into bad repute for a time. The members were characterized by a total want of scientific training, which often sank into low rudeness. (2.) *Theresa*, the daughter of a Spanish grandee, effected a reformation of the *Carmelites* (1562). The revived Order (monks and nuns) assumed the name of *Barefooted Carmelites*, and was devoted to the instruction of youth, and to works of mercy. In the reorganization of the male Carmelites she was assisted by the acute and pious mystic *John of the Cross*. (3.) A reformation of the *Cistercians* was finally effected by *Jean de la*

Barrière, abbot of the monastery of Feuillans, whence the congregation acquired the name of *Feuillantes* (Fuliensians). The manner of life he introduced was so rigid, that fourteen members died under it in the course of a few years; this led to a moderation of their rule (1595). Henry III. called its founder to Paris to establish a monastery there. He remained true to the king, even after he had renounced the league, and thus incurred the hatred of the fanatically Catholic brethren of his Order, so that, in 1592, they deposed and banished him. A subsequent committee of investigation under Cardinal Baronius, however, pronounced him innocent.

5. *The Struggle against Augustinianism.*—The Council of Trent had prudently guarded against giving a decision in the old dispute between the Thomists and Scotists, concerning grace. The Jesuits now joined the Scotists. *Michael Baius*, the learned and pious professor at Louvain, and his colleague *John Hessels*, defended the Augustinian doctrine; but the Franciscans gathered 76 propositions from the writings of Baius, which, through the aid of the Jesuits, they induced Pius V. to condemn (1567). Baius had to abjure them. The controversy was renewed in 1588, when the Jesuit *Louis Molina*, in Portugal, published some semi-pelagian views upon the doctrine in question (Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia). The Dominicans, with the learned *Dominicus Banez* at their head, made a violent attack upon him, but the entire Order of the Jesuits, to a man, defended Molina. Such was the violence of the controversy, that it had to be settled by a papal decision. Clement VIII. appointed a special congregation (congregatio de auxiliis) to examine the subject of dispute (1597), which labored in vain for ten years to frame a formula which would satisfy both the powerful parties. At length Paul V. dismissed them (1607), promised to give a decision at a convenient time, and forbade all controversy upon the subject. The prohibition availed but little. Soon the controversy broke out afresh, in a very threatening form. (Cf. § 44, 6.)

6. *Theology.*—Various measures were adopted to establish the doctrines of Trent. Even at Trent already, Indices librorum prohibitorum and expurgandorum were instituted, which were afterwards continued. The Professio fidei tridentinæ (1564) and the catechismus romanus (1566) were prepared as authentic exhibitions of the doctrinal system of Trent; and in 1588 a permanent congregation, even, was appointed to interpret its meaning upon any point which might come up. The Breviarium romanum (1568), Missale romanum (1570), and Clementine edition of the Vulgate (1592) served the same purposes. Meanwhile Catholic scholars, in spite of the decree of Trent, began to examine into the authenticity of the Vulgate, and earnestly to study the original text of the Scriptures. The Dominican *Santes Pagninus* of Lucca (*ob.* 1541), a pupil of Savonarola, published a Hebrew lexicon (1529), (closely following rabbinical helps), a Hebrew grammar (1528), a literal faithful translation of the Old and New Testament from the original, at which he labored thirty years, an isagogic (with extended

explanations of Biblical tropes), and wrote commentaries upon the Pentateuch and the Psalms. He regarded the literal sense as palea, folium, cortex; the mystical as triticum, fructus, nucleus suavissimus The Dominican *Sixtus of Siena* (*ob.* 1569), laid more stress upon the historical sense. His Bibliotheca sancta, in 8 vols., was for that period an important introduction to the Bible. The Jesuit Cardinal *Robert Bellarmine* (*ob.* 1621), in his Ll. IV. de verbo Dei, controverted the Protestant rule: Scriptura scripturæ interpres. *Jerome Emser* violently abused Luther's version of the Bible, and in opposition to it issued a translation of the New Testament (1527) claimed as his own, but which is no more than a copy of Luther's, with some unimportant verbal alterations. *John Deitenberger*, of Mayence, perpetrated the same barefaced deception in regard to the Old Testament. Luther and Leo Juda are literally copied (1534). *John Eck*, also, of Ingolstadt, published a translation of the Bible from the Vulgate, into the most wretched German, without any reference to the original text (1537). The learned Spaniard *Arias Montanus*, aided by King Philip II., furnished the *Antwerp Polyglott*, in 8 vols., with a large number of learned additions (1569, etc.) Towards the close of the century, the number of exegetes who began to give decided prominence to the literal sense, greatly increased. The most notable are: *Arias Montanus* (*ob.* 1598, upon nearly the whole Bible); the Jesuit *John Maldonatus* (*ob.* 1583, upon the four Gospels); *John Mariana* (*ob.* 1624, Scholia in V. et N. T.); *Nich. Serrarius* (*ob.* 1609, on the O. and N. T.); and *William Estius* of Douay (*ob.* 1613, on the Epistles). In the sphere of dogmatics, the old method of commenting upon the Lombards was continued. But as early as 1528, *Berthold Pirstinger*, Bishop of Chiemsee, published a complete text-book of dogmatics, in the upper German dialect, entitled "Tewtsche Theologey," which was wholly emancipated from the scholastic form (cf. § 5, 3), and *John Eck* published a counterpart to Melanchthon's locis (Enchiridion locorum communium), which passed through 30 editions. Of far greater importance were the Loci theologici of the Spanish Dominican *Melchior Canus* (*ob.* 1560), which appeared in Salamanca (1563). The work is not so much a system of dogmatics as a thorough and learned introductory investigation of the sources, principles, method, and fundamental idea of dogmatics. He controverts the absurdities of the scholastic method, but instead of wholly discarding it, desires that it should be pruned, and rescued from its errors. The Jesuit *Peter Canisius* acquired a high reputation in the Church for his two *Catechisms* (Cat. major 1554, and Cat. minor 1566), which for two centuries were used in all the Catholic schools of Germany, and are still considered unsurpassed. Among Catholic *controversialists*, Cardinal *Bellarmine* holds indisputably the first place. His Disputationes de controversiis chr. fidei adv. hujus temp. hæreticos (1581–93) have, in many respects, not been surpassed even to this day. Previously, *William Lindanus*, Bishop of Ghent (Panoplia evangelica, Colon. 1563), and the Jesuit *Francis Coster*, of Mecheln (Enchiridion controversia-

rum. Ccl. 1585), had acquired great celebrity among Catholics, as assailants of Protestantism. The merits of Cardinal *Baronius*, as an eccl. historian, have already been acknowledged (Vol. I., § 4, 2).

7. *Music, Art, and Poetry.*—*Musical* taste had been completely spoiled in the second Netherland school (Vol. I., § 113, 3), and *Church music*, especially, had become so artificial, fanciful, and secular, that some fathers at the Council of Trent earnestly proposed that music should be wholly excluded from Church service (at the mass). Then *Palestrina* (*ob.* 1594) saved and improved it. He was a pupil of Goudimel (§ 23, 1), and by direction of the Council composed three masses, of which the Missa Marcelli is the most celebrated, in a grand, churchly style; artistic and yet not artificial, lofty and fervent, but not secular or sentimental, they mark a new epoch in the Romish Church music. In *poetry*, *Torquato Tasso* (*ob.* 1595) celebrated the Christian heroism of mediæval Catholicism in his Gerusalemme liberata.—*Painting* still made important contributions to the service of the Catholic Church. Besides, and after, *Correggio* and *Titian*, the noble masters *Caracci*, *Domenichino*, and *Guido Reni*, were distinguished. *Michael Agnolo* (not *Angelo*) (*ob.* 1564, in his 90th year) developed the most profound Christian ideas in the most lofty productions of painting and sculpture, was likewise distinguished as an architect, and ranks among the greatest poets of Italy. Not only as painter and sculptor, but also as poet, he was far from doing slavish homage to the worship of Mary and the saints; he rather gave utterance, in glowing sonnets, to his poignant sense of sin, and his strong faith in the crucified destroyer of sin. (Cf. § 37, 2, 3.)

8. The new efforts which Catholicism was driven to make for its self-preservation, by the progress of the Reformation, produced some happy results in the *practical life* of the Church. The awakened zeal for inner missions furnishes a bright proof of this, and the Catholic Church could once more produce saints worthy of being placed beside those of the middle ages. In addition to those already named, we meet with one especially distinguished by his elevated and noble character, *Charles Borromeo* (*ob.* 1587), who, as a nephew of the pope, and a high dignitary of the Church (Archb. of Milan), exerted considerable influence upon the Council of Trent and the Curia, and succeeded in having many abuses corrected. His life furnishes a perfect ideal of a Catholic pastor; and to this day his lofty form looks down from a colossal statue upon the streets of Milan, as the revered patron of the land.[28]

§ 30. TRANSMARINE MISSIONS.

Cf. *H. Brown*, Hist. of the propag. of Christianity among the heathen since the Ref. Lond. 1814, 2 vols. — *P. Wittmann*, d. Herrlichk. d. K. in ihr. Miss. seit d. Glaubensspalt. Augsb. 1841, 2 Bde.—*Paron Henrion*, allg. Gesch. d. kath. Miss. seit d. 13. Jahrh. From the French Schaffh. 1845, etc. 3 Bde. — *M. Müllbauer*, Gesch. d. kath. Miss. in

Ostind. Freib. 1852. — *W. Hoffmann*, d. Epochen d. K. G. Indiens. Berl. 1855. Gesch. d. kath. Miss. in China. Wien, 1845, 2 Bde.

The extensive geographical discoveries which immediately preceded the Reformation period, and the serious losses of ecclesiastical territory in Europe, resuscitated the missionary zeal of the Catholic Church. Opportunity and incitement to transmarine missions were afforded by the commerce and conquests which were still almost exclusively carried forward by the Catholic nations; and abundant means were furnished, to sustain them by the numerous old and new monastic Orders. The missionary efforts of the Jesuits were especially brilliant. But the mutual jealousies and animosities of some of the Orders soon caused many interruptions. (Cf. § 35, 3.)

1. *East India and Japan.* — The Portuguese had established bishoprics in their possessions in East India as early as 1510, though there were no churches there. Then *Francis Xavier*, Loyola's companion, the *Apostle of India*, fired with glowing zeal for the salvation of men, imbued with apostolic simplicity, and filled with love and a spirit of self-denial, entered that field in 1542, and baptized many thousands, mostly belonging to the despised caste of Pariahs; but he progressed so rapidly that he nowhere took time to secure an inward basis for this external success. His unrestrained missionary zeal impelled him still onward. From East India he went to Japan, and only his death prevented his entering China (*ob.* 1552).—An inquisition for the maintenance of the Catholic faith was instituted in East India in 1560, which destroyed the remnants of the ancient Thomas Christians. Among the Brahmins the Jesuit *Nobili* labored with some success, by accommodating himself to their prejudices, and avoiding all intercourse with the Pariahs. In *Japan* the Jesuits carried forward Xavier's work with brilliant success; even some princes embraced Christianity. But in 1587 a violent persecution broke out, and the Jesuits held their position in the country with great difficulty. The envious devices of the Franciscans against the Jesuits, and the political rivalries which arose between the Hollanders and Portuguese, increased the trouble; persecutions were renewed, and resulted in the utter extermination of the Church (1637).

2. *China.* — Commerce also opened the way for missions to China, where a proud contempt of all foreigners was the chief obstacle. But the Jesuits, with *Matthew Ricci* at their head, contrived (1582) to gain entrance to the imperial court, by their mathematical, mechanical, and architectural knowledge. Ricci first nationalized himself, and then began to preach Christianity. He died in 1610, but his work was carried on by his Order, and hundreds of churches had spread like a network over a large portion of the country.

3. *America.* — Zeal for the spread of the kingdom of Christ was not one of the least impulses which influenced *Christopher Columbus* in his

zeal for geographical discoveries. But the avarice, cruelty, and immorality of the Spanish invaders, who were less concerned to make the natives Christians than slaves, proved a mighty hindrance to the successful Christianization of the country. The missionaries, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, earnestly, but unavailingly, vindicated the human rights of the abused Indians. The noble Spanish Bishop *Bartholomew de las Casas*, devoting his whole life (1474–1566) to the sacred work, labored untiringly not only for the conversion of the Indians, but also for their deliverance from the hands of his avaricious and blood-thirsty countrymen. He visited Spain six times, to intercede personally with the highest authorities for the amelioration of the lot of the poor natives, and he had to go the seventh time to defend himself against the complaints of his bitter foes. As early as 1517, Charles V., at his entreaty, had granted the Indians personal liberty, but simultaneously allowed the colonists to introduce Negro slavery for the severe labors of the mines and plantations, and Las Casas was compelled to assent. But Indian slavery was still continued, and not until 1547 were earnest measures adopted for its abolition, after many millions of Indians had been sacrificed. Christianity had then already spread as far as Spanish rule reached, and was placed under the care of the Inquisition. In South America the Portuguese held dominion over *Brazil*, a rich but little known country. In 1549 King *John* III. sent a Jesuit mission thither, with *Emanuel Nobreya* at its head. Amid indescribable toils they prevailed upon the native cannibals to embrace Christianity and civilization.

4. *Abyssinia and Egypt.*—The revived missionary zeal also directed its efforts towards the schismatic Churches of the East. Early in the 16th century it was ascertained through Portuguese merchants that an independent Jacobite Christian empire still existed in Abyssinia. The Abyssinian sultan, *David*, willingly received a Catholic patriarch (*Bermudez*), upon assurances of Portuguese aid against the encroachments of neighboring Mahommedan States. But his successor *Claudius* drove the patriarch off. From 1546 Jesuit missionaries went thither, but Claudius denounced them as Arians, and the people refused to listen to them. Paul V., at the commencement of the 17th century, encouraged by a friendly letter of the Coptic patriarch, sent the Jesuit *Christopher Rodriquez* to Egypt. The patriarch took the rich presents he brought along, and then let him return home without having effected anything.

§ 31. CATHOLIC RESTORATION EFFORTS.

Cf. *L. Ranke*, d. röm. Päpste. Bd. II.—*H. Heppe*, d. Restaur. d. Katholicism. in Fulda, auf d. Eichsfelde u. in Würzb. Marb. 1850.—*Ch. A. Pescheck*, Gesch. d. Gegenref. in Böhmen. Lpz. 1844. 2 Bde.

No sooner had the Catholic Church settled and secured matters at home, by the happy termination of the Council of Trent, than

it put forth all its strength to recover as much as possible of the territory it had lost. It can, at least, not be denied, that the efforts made for this purpose were extensive, persevering, bold, and successful. Two things favored the scheme, one was the *territorial system* (§ 17, 5), legalized by the enactments of the empire, which was originally devised for the rescue of Protestantism (§ 6, 7), but now operated to its destruction; the other was the policy of the *Jesuits*, who spread over Europe, and, according to circumstances, openly or under close concealment, combined with, or intrigued against State authorities, for the overthrow of Protestantism, wherever it had taken root. Their craftiness, boldness, skill, their diplomatic arts, machinations, and practice in controversy, succeeded in one place in fanning the scarcely glimmering spark of Catholicism into a bright flame; in another, either in exterminating Protestantism root and branch, or reducing it to the limits of a scarcely tolerated sect. Above all, they aimed to secure the management of the seminaries and schools, in order to plant hatred of Protestantism in the breasts of the rising generation. The other monastic Orders, also, were not idle; but in extensive plans, thorough system, and strict unity, they fell far short of the vast and comprehensive energy of the Jesuits. The efforts at restoration, however, were most stupendous, comprehensive, and general, during their first epoch, which were begun, reached their climax, and achieved their last renowned feat, for the time, in the sixty years intervening between the death of Maximilian II. (1576), and the restoration edict (1629) of Ferdinand II. (Cf. § 33, 1.)

1. *The Views of the German Emperors.* — *Ferdinand* I. (1556–64), more patient than his brother even as archduke and Roman king, and often the mediator between Charles and the Evangelicals, displayed a still more conciliatory and gentle disposition towards Protestantism during the last years of his own government. He was greatly dissatisfied with the Council of Trent. Indeed, he tried anew the old ineffectual plan of a union by mutual concessions, and had union schemes prepared (1564) by the theologians near him, *George Cassander*, *Fred. Staphylus*, and *Geo. Wizel* (the last two had been Protestants). Cassander's opinion, the only one entertained, proposed the abandonment, for the sake of peace, of all doctrines and customs not founded upon the Scriptures. But he supposed many things supported by the Scriptures which Protestants could not find there, and the Catholics would not admit the principle. Hence the negotiations failed (cf. § 33, 5). Ferdinand's son *Maximilian* II. (1564–76) had been educated well-nigh

in an evangelical spirit by his instructor *Wolfg. Severius*. He gave full liberty to the Protestants in his country, conferred many high and inferior State offices upon them, had little to do with the Jesuits, and was kept from embracing Protestantism only by political considerations regarding Spain and his Catholic princes. But these considerations crippled his good intentions, and his half-way measures caused complications which subsequently led to the 30 years' war. His son, *Rudolf* II., educated by Jesuits at the Spanish court, gave them free scope for their operations everywhere, inflicted injuries on Protestantism, and was restrained from attempting totally to suppress it, only by his indecision and timidity.

2. *Restoration Attempts in Germany.* — After the treaty of Passau, political disorders and the exhaustion of the princes operated very favorably for Protestantism. It had spread mightily in the Catholic States; the States, and especially the nobility, did not conceal their sympathy for it, and demanded a religious concession of the prince for every grant made. Many spiritual princes had almost more Protestant than Catholic councillors; at their courts the Protestant nobility had unrestrained intercourse; Protestant cities were partly their residences, and the benefices were often held by evangelical canons. But for the Jesuits all Germany would, in a few years, have come under the Evangelical Church, in spite of territorial authority and ecclesiastical reservations. The first Jesuits, thirteen in number, came as Spanish priests to Vienna in 1551, at the call of Ferdinand. Several years later they nestled themselves in *Cologne* and *Ingolstadt* (1566). From these cities they spread in a few years over the whole of Catholic Germany, and the hereditary States of Austria. Then the work of restoration began. First in *Bavaria* (1564), Duke *Albert* V., converted into a zealous Catholic by the opposition of his Protestant States, excluded Protestant nobles from the Bavarian diet; banished all the evangelical preachers; compelled all his evangelical subjects, who refused to embrace Catholicism, to leave the country; and required all professors and persons holding office, to subscribe under oath the Trent Confession of Faith. For this the Jesuits commended him as a second Josiah and Theodosius, called Munich a second Rome, and the pope conferred on him the prerogatives of a summus Episcopus in his domain. When he obtained *Haag* as a hereditary earldom, and when *Baden-Baden* came under his rule as guardian, he extirpated Protestantism from those countries also. The Electors of *Treves* and *Mayence* followed the example of Bavaria, though with a measure of moderation. The latter (*Daniel Brendel*) restored Catholicism (1574) in *Eichsfelde*, which had become wholly evangelical. *Balthasar von Dernbach*, Abbot of *Fulda*, who was almost the only Catholic in his district, pursued the same course (1575). But he fell out with the chapter, which, with the knights, drove him off. The Bishop of Würzburg, *Julius Echter*, who had aided them, assumed the government of the institution (1576). But early in 1577 the abbot was

restored by imperial authority, and the last trace of Protestantism was then obliterated. Julius of Würzburg, who was placed in great peril, would probably have followed the example of *Gebhard of Cologne* (§ 17, 6), if the result had been different; but, as it was, he justified himself in exterminating Protestantism from his almost wholly Protestant district (from 1584). His example was followed by the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Salzbury*, *Hildesheim*, *Münster*, *Paderborn*, etc. The Jesuits were everywhere at work, openly and secretly. Then *Ferdinand* II. of Steiermark (emperor from 1619) and *Maximilian* I. of Bavaria, both great pupils of the Jesuits, and educated at Ingolstadt, appeared on the stage. When Ferdinand celebrated Easter (1596) in *Gratz*, he was the only one who communed according to the Catholic mode. Two years afterwards he began the counter-reformation, and carried it to a glorious completion, in the spirit of the Jesuits. His relative, Emperor *Rudolf* II., encouraged by this, followed his example (cf. § 19, 9). In *Switzerland*, also, the Jesuits and papal nuncios made successful efforts to restore Catholicism fully, in the Catholic and mixed cantons. (Cf. § 33, 1.)

3. But the restoration was not limited to Germany. It embraced *all Europe*. Everywhere the Jesuits urged their way, and contrived to effect something even where there seemed to be no prospect of success. (Cf. § 19.) In France the sanguinary civil wars broke out in 1562; in the Netherlands the Duke of Alba arose in 1567. The Jesuits penetrated *Poland* in 1569, and thence worked their way into *Livonia*. In 1578 the cunning Jesuit *Possevin* appeared in *Sweden*, and converted the king. Even in England, where *Elizabeth* threatened (1582) every Jesuit with death, scores of them toiled in secret, and kept alive the glimmering spark of Catholicism with promises of better times (cf. § 33, 3).

4. *Russia and the United Greeks.*—The attempts made from time to time, after the Council of Florence, to win over the Russian Church, had been abortive. Then the unhappy war between *Ivan* II. Wassiljevitsch and *Stephen Bathori* of Poland, broke out, and afforded the pope the desired opportunity of offering himself as a mediator. To this end *Gregory* XIII. sent the subtle Jesuit *Anthony Possevin* to Poland and Russia (1581). The czar received him with great distinction, granted him, also, a religious conference, but he neither could be induced to attach himself to Rome nor to banish the Lutherans. On the other hand, Rome triumphed in having effected a union of the Greeks in the provinces of Western Russia, which had revolted to Poland, partly by violence, partly by deception; the union having been ratified by the Church at the *Synod of Brest* (1594). The *united Greeks* were required to submit to the supremacy of Rome and its doctrine, but were allowed to retain their old ecclesiastical customs. (Cf. § 42, 5; 45.)

SECOND PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I RECIPROCAL RELATIONS OF THE CHURCHES TO EACH OTHER.

§ 32. THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES AND THE WEST.

Cf. *K. R. Hagenbach*, Vorless. ü. Wesen u. Gesch. d. Ref. Bd. IV. 2 A. Lpz. 1854.

The Eastern Church opened new prospects of conquest to Popery; but either no actual results were secured, or they soon again disappeared. Still more illusory were the hopes awakened in London and Geneva, that a Calvinistic regeneration of the Greek Church might be effected.

1. *Expectations of the Catholics.* — Rome sent successive missions, mostly Jesuits, into *Turkish countries*, to operate both among the orthodox and schismatic Greek Churches, and at the same time to oppose Protestant interests there. They succeeded, however, only in the matter last mentioned. The *Jesuit mission in Abyssinia*, which we left (§ 30, 4) in a rather hopeless condition, was now reaping a glorious harvest. The Jesuit *Peter Paez* acquired influence over the Sultan *Segued*, and induced him to renounce the Jacobite heresy by promises of Spanish support. *Urban* VIII. appointed the Jesuit *Alfonso Mendez* Catholic patriarch of Abyssinia (1625). But the clergy and people several times rose up against the sultan and his patriarch. They were conquered in a bloody civil war, but *Segued* thought it prudent to abate his coercive measures, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of the Jesuits with his course. His successor *Sughed* expelled the entire Jesuit mission, and almost every trace of Catholicism disappeared (1642). — New prospects of gaining Russia opened under the *pseudo Demetrius* (1605), who attached himself to the Catholic interests of Poland; but

just this convinced the Russians that Demetrius could be no genuine son of the Czars. When his Catholic bride, a Pole, entered Moscow with 200 of her countrymen, an insurrection occurred which cost him his life.

2. *Expectations of the Calvinists.*—*Cyrillus Lucaris*, of Candia (patriarch of Alexandria from 1602–1621, then patriarch of Constantinople), had imbibed a decided partiality for Calvinism during his visits to Geneva, and after his return earnestly thought of effecting a union. By means of letters and messengers he maintained a constant correspondence with Reformed theologians in England, Holland, and Switzerland, and in 1626 sent a well-nigh Calvinistic confession of faith to Geneva. But the other Greek bishops persistently opposed his plans of union, and influential Jesuits in Constantinople excited political suspicions against him. On this account the sultan several times deposed him, and he was finally (1638) seized and strangled for high treason. (Cf. *Hefele*, in d. tübg. Quartalscher. 1843. IV.—*A. Twesten*, in d. deutsch. Ztschr. v. Schneider, 1840. Nr. 39.)

3. *Orthodoxy Confirmed.*—The Russian orthodox Church, after its emancipation from Constantinople, and the establishment of an independent patriarchate at Moscow (1589), had become decidedly more prominent than that of Greek countries, and the Russian Czar had assumed the position of the former Roman Emperor of the East, as protector of the entire orthodox Church. The various perils which for some time threatened the orthodox faith, by a Catholic and Protestant union, led the learned metropolitan *Petrus Mogila* of Kiev to prepare a new confession of faith, which was formally approved (1643), at a synod in Constantinople, by all the orthodox patriarchs (of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow), as ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

§ 33. CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

The Jesuit counter-reformation progressed with unabated vigor, and during the first quarter of this century achieved the most brilliant results in *Bohemia*. The Peace of Westphalia set bounds to its violent measures, but not to its secret machinations and open arts of deception. Next to the conversion of the Bohemians, the restoration accomplished most in France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The Catholic cause gloried also in the return of many Protestant princes, who were converted mostly by the zeal of the Jesuits. The most remarkable examples of this kind were the capricious conversion of *Christina* of *Sweden*, and that of the *dynasty of Electoral Saxony*. Repeated union efforts were also started, but they proved as abortive as earlier attempts.

1. *The Restoration in Germany and the neighboring Territories.* (Cf. *Pescheck*, l. c. § 31.)—In 1609 the Emperor *Rudolf* II. had guaranteed the existence and freedom of Protestantism in *Bohemia*, by a letter of majesty. But the Emperor *Matthias*, by preventing the erection of a church-edifice, practically violated the promises of the letter of majesty. The excited Bohemians cast the imperial councillors out of the window, chased off the Jesuits, and chose the Elector *Frederick* V. of the Palatinate as their king (1618). But Ferdinand II. conquered, tore up the letter of majesty, led back the Jesuits, expelled the Protestant clergy, etc. Christian IV. of Denmark, with some other princes, attempted to rescue Protestantism, but they, also, were defeated. Ferdinand II., drunken with victory, issued an *edict of restoration* (1629), as an *authoritative* declaration of religious peace, by which the Protestants were to deliver up all the monasteries confiscated after the treaty of Passau. Calvinists were excluded from the Peace, and the Catholic States were granted unconditional liberty to suppress Protestantism in their hereditary countries. Then *Gustavus Adolphus* (*ob.* 1632) of Sweden, impelled no less by religious than political motives, stood forth as the deliverer of Protestantism. The unhappy war was finally terminated by the *Peace of Westphalia*, at Münster and Osnabrück. Germany lost many excellent provinces, but liberty of thought and religion was secured. The Religious Peace of Augsburg was confirmed by a Swedish and French guaranty, and extended to the Reformed, also, as related to the Augsburg Confession. Jan. 1, 1624, was fixed as the date when possession should be taken of the Church property. Thus the political balance of the Protestant and Catholic States in Germany was established. But the pope persistently refused to recognize the Peace; and by means of Jesuitic manœuvring and political measures, considerable limitations were imposed upon the Protestant Church. It was wholly exterminated in *Bohemia*, and in the other Austrian hereditary States the oppressions increased until the reign of Joseph II. In *Silesia* more than 1000 churches were taken from the Evangelicals after the edict of restoration. A restitution was not thought of; the persecution and oppression continued during the entire century (§ 44, 4), and compelled thousands to emigrate (mostly to upper Lusatia). In *Hungary* the number of Protestants was reduced one-half, by various intrigues and enticements. *Transylvania*, however, continued a place of refuge for the dissenters. In *Livonia*, also, which was under Polish dominion from 1561, the Jesuits had effected an entrance, and began their work of restoration; but Swedish rule, under *Gustavus Adolphus* (from 1621), put an end to their machinations. The *Valteline massacre* (1620) was a Swiss Bartholomew's eve on a small scale, but with equal madness and cruelty. *All* the Protestants were murdered in *one* day. The conspirators, at the ringing of the storm-bell at the earliest dawn, broke into the houses of the heretics, and murdered all they met with, to the babe at the breast. From four to five hundred were killed. The *Pala-*

tinate, into which the Reformed faith had been forcibly introduced, came (1685) under the dominion of the Catholic house of Neuburg, and then the Reformed Church suffered most from the oppressive measures adopted. In *Juliers-Cleve-Berg* the Reformation had from the first progressed successfully, but was stopped and thrown back by the victory of Charles V. (§ 15, 8) and the fall of Archb. Hermann (§ 16, 2). From the middle of the 16th century, however, a number of Walloon zealous Reformed fugitives from Belgium settled in those districts, and powerfully strengthened the Protestant element. From that time the Reformed Church had a decided preponderance over the Lutheran; and the Lutherans, whilst strictly adhering to the doctrine of their Church, adopted many Reformed peculiarities in Church government and worship. By the treaty concerning inheritance of Juliers-Cleve (1666), Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg passed over to the Reformed house of Brandenburg, but Juliers and Berg to the Catholic Palatinate, whilst each government pledged protection to subjects of a different faith from its own, and also conceded to them the jus retortionis, if their complaints did not secure reparation.

2. *Protestants in France, and Waldenses in Piedmont.* (Cf. *J. Chr. K. Hoffmann*, Gesch. d. Aufruhrs in d. Sevennen. Nördl. 1838. — *G. v. Polenz*, d. Camisarden u. d. Kirchen d. Wüste; in the ev. K. Z. 1846, Nr. 64, etc., 74, etc.; 1848, Nr. 18, etc.)—*Henry* IV. (1588–1610) faithfully adhered to the promises of the Edict of Nantes. But under *Louis* XIII. (1610–43) oppressions of the Huguenots were revived, and excited them to new insurrections. *Richelieu* annulled their political claims, though in the *Peace of Nismes* (1629) their religious rights were retained. *Louis* XIV. (1643–1715) allowed his confessors to persuade him to atone for his excesses by purging his dominions of all heretics. Money and court-influence having done their part, the terrible dragonnades commenced the work of converting the Protestants (1681). In 1685 the formal *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* was issued, and the work of conversion was carried forward more furiously than ever. Thousands of churches were demolished, confessors past numbering were executed or doomed to the galleys, and violently robbed of their children, etc. In spite of fearful penalties against emigration, and the most careful guarding of the borders, hundreds of thousands of refugees escaped, and were received with open arms in Brandenburg, Holland, England, and Switzerland. Many fled to the *Cevennes*, where (called *Camisards*), with incredible courage, and under various fanatical, prophetic manifestations, they maintained themselves against the converting and persecuting efforts of the Catholics, during a struggle of 20 years, and finally secured tolerable conditions of peace (1704). France lost a half million of its most pious, industrious, and thrifty inhabitants, and still two millions of Reformed remained in the country, though deprived of almost every right.—The oppressions of the *Waldenses* in Piedmont were intimately connected with the persecutions of

the Huguenots in France. Although the Duke of Savoy confirmed to them their privileges in 1654, a fearfully bloody persecution broke out against them in 1655, professedly for the purpose of purging their abodes for the Papists banished during the Irish massacre under Cromwell (see 3, below). The cruelties of the troops despatched for this purpose drove the Waldenses to a desperate resistance. Through the mediation of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland a miserable toleration was again secured; and by large contributions of money from abroad, their temporal losses were measurably repaired. But in 1685 the persecution and civil war were revived at the instigation of Louis XIV. The soldiers forced their way through the valleys and compelled the inhabitants to flee. A portion found refuge in Würtemberg, others in Switzerland. The latter, supported by Swiss troops, invaded Piedmont in 1689, and reconquered their homes. Thenceforth they maintained their rights in spite of all conceivable oppressions.

3. *The Catholics in England.*—When *James* I. (1603–25), the son of Mary Stuart, ascended the throne of England, the Catholics expected nothing less of him than the complete restoration of Catholicism. But however strongly he was inclined to Catholicism, his predilection for a cesareo-papistic form of government was still stronger. Hence James persecuted the Jesuits with reckless severity, because they opposed royal supremacy over the Church. This enraged the Catholics to the highest degree. They formed a conspiracy (the *Gunpowder-plot*, 1605), by which they intended to destroy the king and his family, as well as the members of the parliament, at its next opening. The plot was discovered shortly before its execution, and the conspirators, with two Jesuit abettors, were executed. Thenceforth still more rigid measures were used against Catholicism and its adherents, not only in England, but in *Ireland* also, the mass of the people there adhering firmly to the Papacy. The endless sufferings and oppressions inflicted upon them, led to a most sanguinary catastrophe there, the *Irish massacre of* 1641. In October, 1641, a conspiracy, spread among all the Catholics of the country, broke out. It aimed at the annihilation of all the Protestants in Ireland. The conspirators forced the houses of Protestants, and murdered the occupants, or drove them naked and helpless from their homes. Thousands died of hunger and cold upon the highways. Others were driven in crowds into rivers, where they were drowned, or into empty houses, which were then fired. The number of those who perished is said by some to have reached 400,000. This event, of which *Charles* I. is accused of having been previously aware, or even the instigator, was his first step to the scaffold (1649). In opposition to the Catholic sympathies of *Charles* II. (1660–85), the Parliament ordained the *Test-act* (1673), by which every public officer, in the civil or military service, was required to take the oath of supremacy, to condemn transubstantiation and the worship of saints, and partake of the Lord's Supper in the Anglican Episcopal Church. The declaration of a certain *Titus*

Oates, that the Jesuits had formed a conspiracy to murder the king, and restore Popery (1678), caused a terrible excitement throughout the kingdom, and led to numerous executions. The assertion of Oates, however, was to all appearances unfounded, and was the result of an intrigue, designed to secure the exclusion of the king's Catholic brother *James* II. from the succession. When James II. assumed the crown (1685–88), he at once opened negotiations with Rome, and appointed scarcely any but Catholics to the various civil offices. At the invitation of the Protestants, *William* III. of Orange, the king's son-in-law, landed in England (1688), and after the flight of James was proclaimed King of England by the Parliament (1689).

4. *Converted Princes.*—(Cf. *Gallerie* d. denkw. Personen, welche im 16. 17. 18. Jahrh. zur kath. K. übergetr. sind. Herausgeg. v. *F. W. Ph. Ammon.* Erlg. 1833.)—The first reigning prince who returned to Catholicism was the Margrave *Jacob* III. *of Baden*, in 1590. But incomparably greater surprise was occasioned by the conversion of Queen *Christina of Sweden*, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, a highly gifted and intelligent, but also a vain and perverse princess. Her chief motive was to do something extraordinary, for in reality she esteemed the new religion as little as she did the old. As she previously abdicated the throne (1654), the Catholic Church gained nothing by her conversion but the vain glory of it, and Pope *Alexander* VII. had to grant his spiritual daughter a pension of 10,000 scudi, to keep her from starving. Of greater account was the apostacy of the Elector *Frederic Augustus* of Saxony (1697), the *Mighty*, mighty in herculean strength, still more mighty in unbounded profligacy. (Cf Bar. v. *Pöllnitz*, d. galante Sachsen. Offb. 1735). He was tempted to this by the crown of Poland. The people and States, however, maintained their ecclesiastical rights. He himself died trusting in the mercy of God in Christ to penitent sinners. But Saxony, the fatherland of the Reformation, is still ruled by a Catholic prince.

5. *Union Efforts.*—(Cf. *C. W. Hering*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Unionsvers. seit d. Ref. Lpz. 1836–38, 2 Bde.)—(1.) King *Wladislas* IV. of Poland thought it possible to effect an understanding and reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants of his kingdom; and to this end appointed a *Religious colloquy at Thorn* (1645). Prussia and Brandenburg were also invited to participate. The elector sent his court-preacher, *John Berg*, and requested the Duke of Brunswick to send the Helmstädt theologian *George Calixtus*. The principal Lutheran speakers were *Abr. Calov* of Dantzig and *John Hülsemann* of Wittenberg. That Calixtus, a Lutheran, supported the Reformed, embittered the Lutherans at the outset, beyond measure. The result was an aggravation of the schisms on all sides (§ 44, 4). The Reformed set forth their views in the *Declaratio Thoruniensis*, which acquired symbolical significance in Brandenburg. (2.) *Jacques Benigne Bossuet* (*ob.* 1704), Bishop of Meaux, employed his extraordinary eloquence (from 1671)

in efforts to open the way for the return of the Protestants to the only true Church. In several works (Exposition de la doctrine de l'église cath. sur les matières de controverse, 1671, and Hist. des variations des églises prot. 1688), he set forth the Catholic faith in an ideal form, concealed those points in it specially objectionable to Protestants, and endeavored, acutely but sophistically, to show that the doctrines of Protestants were untenable and contradictory. Simultaneously a union project was started again at the imperial court, at the instigation of the Spaniard *Spinola*, Bishop of Neustadt near Vienna, who had come into the country as confessor of the queen. The controverted points were to be decided by a free council, but the primacy of the pope, and the hierarchical orders, were to be antecedently admitted, as established jure humano. In order to awaken interest in this plan, *Spinola*, by order of the Emperor *Leopold* I., travelled through almost the whole of Germany. He was most favorably received, from regard for the emperor, in Hanover, where *Molanus*, the Abbot of Loccum, very earnestly furthered the union effort; *Bossuet* on the side of the Catholics, and the great philosopher *Leibnitz* on the side of the Protestants, taking part in the measure. But notwithstanding some reciprocal approximation, his exertions were fruitless. Some have supposed that Leibnitz had secretly embraced Catholicism, from a MS. discovered after his death, inscribed by a strange hand: Systema theologicum Leibnitii (transl. into German by Räss u. Weis. 3d ed. Mayence, 1825). It contains a Latin treatise in vindication of the doctrines and usages of the Romish Church. Fully as Leibnitz may have been inclined and qualified to fathom and acknowledge what is profound and true in Catholicism, his aim in this treatise, most probably, was to see whether and how far Catholicism might be vindicated from its own stand-point. That the work does not set forth his own doctrinal views, is manifest from many other declarations, in which he affirms most distinctly the irreconcilable opposition between his Protestant views and Catholic doctrines. (Cf. *Tholuck*, verm. Schr. I. 318, etc.)

§ 34. LUTHERANISM, CALVINISM, ANGLICANISM.

The transition of *Hesse-Cassel* (1604), of the earldom of *Lippe* (1602, etc.), and of the reigning house of Brandenburg (1613), gave new strength to the Reformed Church in the heart of Lutheran Germany. Renewed attempts to *unite* the two Churches were as abortive as the efforts to effect a union between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. In England and Scotland, the Act of Toleration (1689), was gained by the *Dissenters* after protracted struggles.

1. *The Calvinising of Hesse-Cassel* (1604).—(Cf. *W. Münscher*, Vers. e. Gesch. d. hess. ref. K. Cass. 1850.—*H. Heppe*, Gesch. d. hess. Gene-

ralsyn. v. 1568–82. Cass. 1847, 2 Bde., together with the Erlanger Ztschr. für Prot. u. K. 1855. I.: d. Bekenntnisstand d. s. g. ref. K. in Kurhessen.) — Even the Landgrave *Philip* regarded the difference between the Lutherans and Reformed as non-essential, and without hesitation appointed the Ref. theol. *Andrew Hyperius* to a chair at Marburg. His son *William* IV., who inherited Hesse-Cassel (1567–92), declined accepting the Form of Concord, and by the proceedings of four general synods prepared the way for the adoption of Calvinism in the land; his son *Maurice* completed the work. Maurice embraced Calvinism in 1604, prohibited the Lutheran Catechism, introduced the Reformed worship, and expelled resisting preachers. In 1604 Hesse-Marburg came under his rule. He promised, indeed, not to disturb the existing religion, but broke his word. The Lutheran professors fled to *Giessen*, where the zealous Lutheran *Lewis V.* of Hesse-Darmstadt founded a Lutheran university. A violent popular tumult broke out in Marburg; Maurice suppressed it, and by force executed a total change in Church matters. His cousin *Lewis* accused him before the emperor, and the imperial chamber transferred Marburg to Hesse-Darmstadt. But during the disorders of the Thirty Years' war, *William V.*, son of Maurice, reclaimed it. Meanwhile the brief Lutheran interregnum had strengthened Lutheranism there, so that it existed in Upper Hesse, beside Calvinism, whilst all Lower Hesse remained Reformed.

2. *The Calvinising of the Earldom of Lippe* (1602, etc.).—*Simon* VI. of Lippe, was brought, by his stirring life, into frequent contact with the Reformed Netherlands, and into special intimacy with Maurice of Hesse. His earldom was soundly Lutheran, but from 1602 Calvinism glided imperceptibly into it, by the decided favor of the prince. The chief agent of this innovation was *Henry Dreckmeyer*, appointed general superintendent in Detmold (1599). During a visitation in 1602, the festivals of Mary and the Apostles, exorcism, signing with the cross, the host, burning candles, and Luther's catechism, were abolished. The clergy who resisted were deposed, and Calvinists were appointed in their stead. The city of *Lemgo* withstood the longest, and by a struggle of eleven years with the prince (1606–17), saved its Lutheran faith. After the death of Simon VI., his successor Simon VII. finally allowed the city the free exercise of its Lutheran form of religion.

3. *The Transition of the Electoral House of Brandenburg* was of greater importance, at least in its consequences, than all earlier conquests of Calvinism. *John Sigismund* (1608–19) had by oath promised his father Joachim Frederick, that he would adhere to the Lutheran Church, and was thrice required to give a bond to this effect. But his own inclination, which was fostered by his connection with the Palatinate court, together with his expectation of inheriting Juliers-Cleves, and securing an advantageous alliance with the Netherlands, prevailed over his vow. His Calvinistic court-preacher, *Sol. Fink*, no doubt, also, contributed to this result. At any rate, on Christmas (1613), he

entered the Reformed Church, claiming that in divine matters no bond could obligate against the conscience. The Augsburg Confession (of course the *Variata*) — the condition of admittance to the Religious Peace of Augsburg — he retained. But he introduced a Calvinistic symbol of his own (*Conf. Sigismundi* or *Marchica* (1614), omitting the doctrine of predestination. He could not, however, compel his people to follow his example; even his wife, *Anna of Prussia*, refused. No efforts were spared. His court-preacher, *John Gerike*, had to flee, likewise *Martin Willich*, another preacher, from Berlin. But when they began to remove the altars, pictures, and baptismal fonts from the Berlin churches, a mighty popular insurrection was excited, which was not quelled without bloodshed (1615). The following year the elector forbade the teaching of the communicatio idiomatum and ubiquitas corporis, at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, till then Lutheran; and when the Wittenbergers (*Leonard Hutter*) issued a violent assault upon him (Calvinista aulico-politicus, d. i. chr. u. nothwend. Bericht von den vornehmst. polit. Hauptgründen, durch welche man die Calvinisterei in die hochlöbl. Kur-u. Mark Br. einzuführen, sich eben stark bemüht, 1616), he forbade all his subjects visiting the university of Wittenberg, and commanded that the Form of Concord, which he and the whole country had previously subscribed, should be stricken from the collection of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church of his land.

4. *Union Efforts.* (Cf. *Rudelbach*, l. c. § 13, 8.) — Amidst the troubles of the Thirty Years' war, the princes of the electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, and of Hesse-Cassel, appointed a *Religious Colloquy* at *Leipsic* (1631), to heal, if possible, the old schisms. The Reformed were much inclined to yield; they were even willing to acknowledge the *invariata*. The Lutherans (the Dresden court-preacher *Hoë* of *Hoënegg*, and the Leipsic professors, *Polyc. Leyser* and *Henry Höpfner*), accepted this, but remonstrated against explaining the 10th art. in the sense of a spiritual participation. They parted amicably, but the matter ended with that. On the contrary, the *Religious Colloquy of Thorn* (1645) only aggravated the schism (§ 33, 5). That of *Cassel* (1661), between some Marburg and Helmstädt theologians, was well meant; but at a time when the syncretistic controversy was raging, reciprocal concessions could only make the parties more bitter. The *great elector* Frederick William of Brandenburg (1640–88) labored zealously to restore religious unity among his Lutheran and Reformed subjects, though, indeed, in a spirit of indifference to the points of diversity between them. The Lutherans could not be content with this. Confessors, also, were not wanting among them. The noblest of these was the admirable composer of hymns, *Paul Gerhardt.* (Cf. *G. Langbecker*, Leben. u. Leid. v. P. G. Berl. 1841.—*C. A. Wildenhahn*, P. G., ein kirchengesch. Lebensbild, Lpz. 1845, 2 Bde.) As preacher at the church of St. Nicholas he was the life of the Lutheran opposition

As he steadfastly refused to sign a pledge wholly to abstain from attacking the Reformed doctrines, he was deposed in 1666, but restored again in 1667 (mainly at the earnest request of the noble consort of the elector, *Louisa Henrietta*, Princess of Orange, and therefore Reformed, cf. § 41, 1), in the expectation that he would conform to the wish of the elector, even without giving a written pledge. But his conscience troubled him, and he made a public declaration which led to his being again deposed. Soon afterwards he was called as preacher to Lübben, in Lausatia. (*Ob.* 1676.) (Cf. § 48, 2.)

5. *The English Non-Conformists.* (Cf. *J. H. Merle d'Aubigne*, the Protector, or the Engl. Republic under Cromwell.)—*James* I. (1603–25), the son of Mary Stuart, was hated by the Papists, whose expectations of him were disappointed, no less than by the Calvinistic Dissenters, who accused him of being openly inclined to popery, on account of his hierarchical views. His son *Charles* I. inherited this animosity (1625–49). The Scotch made a *covenant* for the maintenance of Calvinism; the English were afraid that Catholicism would be again introduced; the Irish massacre (1641, cf. § 33, 3) was charged upon the king; and the political religious fanaticism of the Independents under *Oliver Cromwell*, brought Charles to the scaffold (1649). Under Cromwell's government the adherents of the Episcopal Church were oppressed, whilst Dissenters were greatly favored. When *Charles* II. ascended the throne (1660), this was reversed. The *Test Act* (1673, cf. § 33, 3), though primarily aimed against the Catholics, also struck Dissenters, and excluded them from all civil and military offices. But *William of Orange* (from 1689), by the Act of 1689, secured *toleration* to Dissenters also; only Socinians and Catholics were excluded from its privileges.

II. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 35. THE PAPACY, MONASTICISM, AND HEATHEN MISSIONS.

THE theocratic system of Hildebrand had perished beyond redemption. Even Catholic princes refused to be any longer ruled in political affairs by the vicegerent of Christ. The ban had lost its power, but the popes still strove to rescue the idea, even where they had to yield the fact, and never ceased to enter impotent protests against measures of which they disapproved. Politically the pope was only a prince among princes. Among existing *monastic orders*, the Jesuits enjoyed by far the most power and influence. They extended the pope's infallibility

even to matters of fact. The other Orders were envious and jealous, and vigilantly seized every opportunity of assailing the Jesuits, especially the Disciples of St. Thomas, who were also their doctrinal antipodes. During this period also, Catholic *missions among the heathen* were prosecuted with vigorous activity. The Jesuits were still most energetic; next to them the Dominicans and Franciscans.

1. *The Papacy.*—*Paul* V. (1605–21), equally energetic in politics and the interests of the hierarchy, had nevertheless to experience the impotence of the papal ban and interdict, in a controversy with the Republic of Venice. The pious and learned Servite, *Paul Sarpi* (historian of the Council of Trent), a man who deeply deplored the errors of his Church, and who was familiar with the "*Stylum Curiæ*," but did not fear it, boldly defended the liberty of the Church and the State, and the pope had to yield. His successor *Gregory* XV. (1621–23) wrote a secret scrutiny for the election of a pope, canonized Loyola, and enriched the Vatican library with the valuable treasures of the Heidelberg library, given him by Maximilian I. after the conquest of the Palatinate. *Urban* VIII. (Card. Barberini, 1623–24) gave the bull Cœna Domini its present form, but in other respects did more for the martial than religious prosperity of the Church State. *Innocent* X. (1644–55) was derided as another Johanna Papissa, on account of his shameful subjection to a woman (Donna Olympia). His fourth successor *Innocent* XI. (1676–89), an energetic pope, and one who sincerely labored for the good of the Church, became involved in a dangerous controversy with France. *Louis* XIV. (1643–1715) exercised the established right of appropriating the revenues of vacant benefices, in the widest sense, and had the celebrated principles of the Gallican Church (propositiones cleri Gallicani) adopted by an assembly of the Paris clergy. (1.) The power of the pope extends only to spiritual, not to temporal matters. (2.) The spiritual power of the pope, according to the decision of the Council of Constance, is subject to the supreme authority of general councils. (3.) In France his power is further limited by the old ecclesiastical laws of France. (4.) The decisions of the pope in matters of faith are only infallible by their agreement with the entire Church. The pope energetically opposed these claims, refused to confirm French bishops; and his successor *Innocent* XII. had the satisfaction of seeing the king and clergy humbly yielding their demands (1691). Nevertheless, the idea of the liberty of the Gallican Church, once awakened, was not abandoned; and the celebrated Bishop *Bossuet* of Meaux wrote a learned and extended vindication of it (Defensio declarationis celeberrimæ, quam de potestate ecclest. sanxit Clerus gallicanus, 2 vols. 4to.) (Cf. § 44, 1.)[29]

2. *New Congregations and Orders.*—(1.) The Benedictine *Congrega-*

tion of St. Vanne, at Verdun, founded by *Didier de la Cour*, stands foremost among the creations of this century. Elected Abbot of St. Vanne, in 1596, Didier devoted all his energies to the reformation of that monastery, which had utterly degenerated. A papal bull of 1604 granted certain rich privileges to all monasteries which would unite in a congregation with St. Vanne. By degrees all the Benedictine monasteries in Lorraine and Elsace also joined that congregation. Didier's reform aimed mainly at morals and asceticism. But learning and education (*Calmet*, *Ceillier*, etc.) were also diligently promoted by the new congregation. (2.) The *Fathers of the Oratory of Jesus*, an imitation of Philip de Neri's priests of the oratory (§ 29, 3). It was founded by *Peter of Berylle*, son of a Parliamentary counsellor, by the establishment of an oratory in Paris. Peter was more given to mysticism than learning, but his Order took another course. It produced many stars of Catholic, and at the same time very liberal, erudition (Malebranche, Morinus, Thomassinus, Rich. Simon, Houbigant, etc.) (3.) The *Maurines* in France (1618). Taking their name from St. Maurus, the pupil of St. Benedict, they aimed at a revival of the fallen Order of Benedictines, and were distinguished for producing many really learned men. Patristics and Church History owe much to their untiring diligence. To this Order belong such brilliant names as those of Mabillon, Montfauçon, Ruinart, Martène, D'Achery, Le Nourry, etc. (Cf. *J. G. Herbst*, d. Verdienste d. Maur. um d. Wissch., in the tübg. Quartalschr. 1833, I. II.) (4.) The *Piarists*, founded (1600) by the Spaniard *Joseph Calasanze*, in Rome, for the instruction of youth; in this sphere they were the hated rivals of the Jesuits. (5.) The *Order of the Visitation of our beloved Ladies*, or *Salesians*. It owed its origin (1618) to that superior mystic Count *Francis of Sales* (§ 36, 1), a zealous proselyter of Protestants, and the Baroness *Francisca of Chantal*, who stood in intimate spiritual fellowship with him. The care of the sick and training of children was its object (cf. *B. Rensing*, Leb. d. h. Fr. v. Sales. Paderb. 1848). (6.) The *Priests of the Missions*, and (7.) *Sisters of Mercy*, were both founded by *Vincent of Paula*. Born of poor parents, after completing his studies, he was captured by pirates, and succeeded, as a slave, in converting his master, a renegade Christian. Afterwards he was settled at Chatillon, as priest, and with the aid of the family of Count *Gondy*, awakened, though with the most unassuming humility, a really wonderful and efficient measure of zeal for home missions. In 1618 he established the Order of *Sisters of Mercy*, who devoted themselves faithfully to the care of the sick, throughout France; and in 1627 the Order of *Priests of the Missions* (also called *Lazarists*), who travelled over the country ministering to the souls and bodies of men. After the death of the Countess of Gondy, he appointed *Louise le Gras*, a widow distinguished alike for intelligence and piety, superior of the Order. Vincent died in 1660, and was subsequently canonized (cf. *L. V. Stolberg*, Leb. d. h. Vinc. v. Paula. Wien, 1819, and *H. E. Schmieder*

V. v. P., in d. evang. K. Z. 1832, Nr. 77, etc.) (8.) The *Trappists*, founded by *Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé* (*ob.* 1700), a distinguished canon, who was led to renounce his worldly life by an alarming event, and ran into the opposite extreme of over-wrought asceticism (1664). The Order took its name from the Cistercian Abbey la Trappe, in Normandy, whose commendatory abbot was Rancé. After many difficulties he succeeded in persuading the worldly voluptuous monks to adopt a life of unexampled austerity. His rule imposed unbroken silence, excepting in prayer and singing, and the occasional admonition: *memento mori*, when they met each other. Their bed was a hard board, with a little straw, their only food bread and water, roots, herbs, some fruit and vegetables, but without butter, fat, or oil. All literary pursuits were forbidden; farming their recreation. Their dress consisted of a dark-brown cowl, and wooden shoes. Such austerities kept most other monasteries from adopting the rule (cf. § 57, 2, and *E. L. Ritsert*, d. Ord. d. Trappisten. Darmst. 1833.—*Chateaubriand*, Leb. d. Paters Bouth. de Rancé. In German, Ulm, 1844). (9.) The *Christian School Brethren*, founded in 1680, by the Rheims canon *Jean Bapt. de la Salle*, for the training and instruction of children of the laboring classes. The members assume the vow of poverty, chastity, obedience, and continuance in the institution, but they dare not be priests, nor strive to become priests. In the course of time the institution spread mightily (over France, Belgium, and N. America), and was allowed to have a superior-general with eight assistants, at Paris. (10.) The *English Ladies*, founded by *Mary Ward*, the daughter of an English nobleman who adhered to Catholicism. Fleeing with her family, she founded a society of English young ladies, fugitives like herself, at St. Omer in France, for the education of young girls. The institution was soon enlarged by admitting persons from other countries. Houses were also established in Germany (Cologne, Munich, Vienna, etc.), Italy, and the Netherlands. It never obtained papal confirmation; indeed Urban VIII., listening to the complaints of their enemies, who charged them with heresy, formally abolished the society. All their houses and schools were closed (excepting that in Munich, at Maximilian's especial request). Mary herself was imprisoned and handed over to the Inquisition in Rome. But Urban was soon convinced of her innocence, and released her. The scattered young women soon assembled again, but the society was not formally confirmed until 1703, by Clement XI., 58 years after the death of the founder. Its object is the care of the sick and education of youth. The members are divided into three classes: ladies (nobles), young women (civilians), and waiting sisters. All assume the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, annually, or triennially renewed, and binding only for that period. They may, therefore, leave the society and marry. They still have many houses in Germany, France, Belgium, England, and Italy.

3. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. § 30.)—From 1622, the *missionary opera-*

tions of the Catholic Church acquired unity, strength, and permanence, through the grand institution of *Gregory* XV., the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* (cf. *O. Mejer*, d. Propag., ihre Provinzen u. ihr Recht. 2 Bde. Göttg. 1852, etc.) With its seminary for the education of missionaries it became the heart of Catholic missions, celebrating the Epiphany in Rome by having the praises of the Lord sung in all the languages of the world. The astonishing success of Catholic missions is owing partly, no doubt, to the zeal, perseverance, and self-denial of the missionaries, but, also, to the readiness with which they accommodate themselves to the habits and views of different nations, if the people will only outwardly embrace Christianity, without antecedent knowledge or conversion. *Ricci's* death in 1610 did not interrupt the labors of the Jesuits in the *Chinese Mission.* In 1628, *Adam Schall*, a German Jesuit, arrived, and by his skill in mathematics won great respect at the Chinese court. Everything progressed admirably. The mission flourished gloriously in its way. But in 1631 the *Dominicans* also entered *China.* They found a half million nominal Christians, and innumerable Churches, but objected earnestly to the accommodation measures of the Jesuits, and the mixture of heathen and Christian elements. Rome dismissed their complaints, and the Jesuits went boldly forward. *Louis* XIV. then founded a missionary college in Paris, designed mainly for China, which sent Jesuits, thoroughly educated in mathematics, into the central empire. Soon, however, the old complaints of the Dominicans were revived, and with increased vigor. In 1701 the pope sent a legate, *Thomas of Tournon*, to Asia; but the Jesuits put him out of the way (he died (1710) in prison at Macao), and continued their operations, despite papal injunctions and their own fourth vow. Their doings in *Paraguay*, S. America (from 1608), were most renowned. There they converted the savages, taught them European customs, trades, and arts, and organized a complete independent government, in which the natives, under the mild patriarchal rule of the Jesuits, whom they obeyed like children, long dwelt in prosperity; the Order, meanwhile, grew very rich. (Cf. § 44, 3.)

§ 36. MYSTICISM, QUIETISM, AND JANSENISM.

The Reformation drove back the Romish Church, which had become wholly externalized in life and doctrine, to a revival of mediæval mysticism. The preceding period, already, exhibits evidences of this tendency (St. Theresa, John of the Cross, etc.), but in the present epoch it manifested itself more energetically. The powerful Jesuits, however, who, in the mechanical character of all their religious practices, hated, as much as they did Augustinism, every species of mysticism which held outward religious forms in little esteem, and was, indeed, not wholly free from fana-

tical enthusiasm. They branded it with the heretical name of *Quietism;* and did all in their power, by violent persecutions, to harass those who devoted themselves to quiet communion with God, and to prevent the successful propagation of their views. The reaction in favor of Augustinism, thus far confined to the Dominicans, and only a matter of theological parties, now found a citadel in French *Jansenism.* Combined with deep moral earnestness, it spread out, pervading and purifying Christian life as well as theological science.

1. *Mysticism and Quietism.*—The noblest, tenderest, and most devout mystic of the Catholic Church, after the Reformation, was *Francis of Sales* (§ 35, 2), B. of Geneva (*i. e.* in partibus, then at Annecy, *ob.* 1622). His overflowing love, and conciliatory manners, led crowds of Protestants back to the Romish Church. His "Philothea," gives directions to the people of the world, for maintaining a devout life, and enjoying a sense of the love of God, amidst all the distractions of their business. Next to the "Imitation of Christ," it is the most popular and common devotional book in the Catholic Church. In his "Theotime" the reader is led further into the faintings and longings, the pains and pangs, the joy and felicity of a life hid in God.—*John Scheffler* (Angelus Silesius) flourished in Germany; he was a friend of Jacob Böhm, previously a Protestant, then a convert, physician to the emperor, Catholic priest, and a zealous controversialist (*ob.* 1677). Whilst a Protestant he composed several very sweet, devout hymns. Afterwards he produced "der cherubinische Wandersman," a collection of poetical sayings, in which, with childlike simplicity and ardent love, he buries himself in the depths of the universal Godhead, and propounds the boldest pantheistic theses. (Cf. *C. F. Gaupp*, d. röm. K. beleuchtet in einem ihrer Proselyten. Dresd. 1840.—*A. Kahlert*, Aug. Sil. Bresl. 1853.—*P. Wittmann* (Cath.), Aug. Sil. als Convert., Dichter u. Polem. Augsb. 1842. Adv. *W. Schrader*, Aug. Sil. u. s. Mystik. Halle, 1853, who endeavors to show that Aug. Sil. and *Scheffler* are two different persons; cf. *G. Schuster*, Aug. Sil. in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1857, III.) — Similar causes produced a mystical tendency in Spain, the friends of which were called *Alombrados* (illuminati). *Michael Molinos* of Saragossa imparted to this movement a more substantial character. From 1669, as priest in Rome, he became the spiritual guide of many earnest souls, and taught them how to find the highest enjoyment of piety, in sincere prayer, in pure love to God, and in a calm, peaceful, immediate contemplation of God. He was unmolested until the jealousy of the Jesuits, and especially the machinations of the confessor of *Louis* XIV., *La Chaise*, incited the Inquisition against him. He was put in confinement, compelled to abjure 68 statements selected from his books (the principal one was his Guida

spirituale, published in Latin by *A. H. Francke;* Manuductio spiritualis, Lpz. 1687, in German by *G. Arnold;* Geistl. Wegw. Frkf. 1699) as heretical and blasphemous (1687), and was then condemned to perpetual confinement in a monastery, and rigid spiritual oversight (*ob.* 1696). His adherents were branded as *Quietists* (cf. *C. E. Scharling*, Mich. de Mol., in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1854, III. IV., 1855, I.) But the mystical tendency was not thus suppressed. In France, especially, it found many warm friends and supporters. *Antoinette Bourignon* (*ob.* 1680) spread her theosophic and fanatical mysticism in the Netherlands, and adjacent parts of Germany. *Peter Poiret*, court-preacher of the palatine Deux-Ponts (once a Cartesian philosopher, then an ardent admirer of Mad. Bourignon and Guyon) published her works in 25 vols. Amst. etc. Concerning her doctrines, cf. *W. Klose* in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1851, p. 497.—The mystical love of *Johanna Maria de la Mothe Guyon* (*ob.* 1717) was much richer and purer. Early left a widow, after a vain course of life, she devoted herself to a glowing love of God. That man should die to himself and to all self-will, so that Christ alone might live in him, and that man should love God without regard to reward or punishment, yea, even though it should please God to damn him for ever, were the thoughts which underlay her life and labors, and which she cherished with most ardent, sincere, and tender love. She travelled many years with her confessor, *La Combe*, who shared her views, through France and Switzerland; and by means of numerous writings, and oral instruction, kindled a like burning love to God in the hearts of countless disciples, male and female. No tribulations, persecutions, imprisonments, could divert her from her purpose. She found powerful protectors at the court; Mad. *Maintenon* secured her liberation from prison. Above all, one of the noblest men who ever lived, defended her against her enemies' accusations of heresy. This was *Francis de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon*, formerly tutor of the king's nephews, from 1695 Archbishop of Cambray (*ob.* 1715). By his advice she begged the king for an examination of her writings. A commission, headed by *Bossuet*, objected to her Amour désintéressé. *Fénélon* then defended the doctrine, and *Bossuet*, incited by passion and jealousy, answered in several writings. *Fénélon* sent his own writings to Rome. In the mean time he had lost the king's favor. It was the more easy, therefore, for his adversaries to induce the pope to condemn his views. *Fénélon* (who adhered most cordially to the Catholic Church, and had ever labored zealously for the conversion of Protestants), with admirable self-denial and humility, read the brief of his own condemnation from the pulpit, and, putting all the blame upon his own imperfect and erroneous productions, admonished his people to obedience (1699). Among the *works of Mad. Guyon*, the most important is: La Bible de Mad. Guyon avec des explications et réflexions, qui regardent la vie intérieure, ed. by *P. Poiret.* Col. 1715, etc., in 20 vols.; a German transl., Regensb., 1835, etc. (Cf. La vie de

Mad. de Guyon écrite par elle-même. Col. 1721.—*C. Hermes*, Züge aus d. Leben d. Fr. v. Guyon. Magd. 1845. — *Ramsay*, Hist. de la vie de Fénélon; A la Haye, 1723.—*L. v. Bausset*, Lebensgesch. Fenel., from the French, 3 Bde. Würzb. 1811; Fenelon's works, in German, by *M. Claudius*, 3 Bde. Hamb. 1823. — Herzog's Theol. and Eccl. Encycl., Philad. II., 1860. — *Ruckgaber*, d. Quietism. in Frankr., in the tübg. Quartschr. 1856. II.)

2. *Jansenism in its First Stage.* — (Cf. *Melch. Leydecker*, de hist. Jansen. Ll. VI. Traj. ad Rh. 1695. (G. Gerberon) Hist. génér. du Jansen. Amst. 1711, 3 vols.—*H. Reuchlin*, Gesch. v. Port-royal, 1839, 1844. 2 Bde.—*A. Sainte-Beuve*, Port-royal, 1840, 2 Bde.—*Grégoire*, Les ruines de Port-royal. Par. 1809.—*Reuchlin*, Pascal's Leb. Stuttg. 1840. [Pascal's Provincial Letters, transl. by *M'Crie*, N. York, 1850]).—Bishop *Cornelius Jansen* of Ypern (*ob.* 1638) had devoted his whole life to the most careful study of the works of St. Augustine. The result of these studies was a learned work entitled Augustinus, first published (1640) after Jansen's death, in 3 vols. fol. As the great Church father's doctrine of sin and grace were here exhibited in their whole truth and bluntness, the Jesuits violently assailed the work, and secured a prohibition of it from the pope (1642). But there were in France many friends of Augustine's doctrine, who were distinguished for talent and learning. Among them was the excellent *Jean Duvergier de Hauranne*, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of *St. Cyran* (*ob.* 1643), and the equally able teacher at the Sorbonne, *Anthony Arnold*. The latter, by his works (De la fréquente communion, against the Opus operatum in the sacrament; La théologie morale des Jésuites; La morale practique des Jés.) soon became involved in an open controversy with the Jesuits. These persuaded *Innocent* X. to condemn five Jansenist theses as heretical (1653). The adherents of Augustine's doctrine did not assail the papal decision; but affirmed, however, that the views condemned were not found in Jansen's Augustinus in that sense. At the instigation of the Jesuits Arnold was ejected from the Sorbonne. He took refuge with his sister, *Angelica Arnold*, abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Port-royal near Paris, a woman of deep, earnest piety. Through her Port-royal became a centre of religious life and zeal in France. Much in the manner of the ancient anchorets, a large number of the most talented and pious men of France, at once admirers of Augustine and hostile to the destructive morality of the Jesuits, gathered around this monastery. The profound and talented *Blaise Pascal* (author of the Pensées sur la réligion) was of the same spirit with these men. Under the name of *Louis de Montalte* he published (1656) his celebrated Lettres provinciales, in which he exposed, in all their hatefulness, the pernicious moral principles of many Jesuits, with authentic proofs, and with equal earnestness and wit. The book produced a wonderful sensation; but the Jesuits avenged themselves by means of a papal bull (1656), which declared that Jansen taught the

five points in question in the very sense in which they were condemned. The Jansenists affirmed that the pope was not competent to decide upon a question du fait; but the king and pope demanded that all French ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, should take oath in acknowledgment of the bull, and in condemnation of the Jansenist heresy (1665). Those who refused were banished, and fled into the Netherlands. Subsequently subscription to a milder declaration was allowed. But the hatred of the Jesuits still rested on Port-royal. In 1709 the institution was abolished and destroyed. Although the Jansenists agreed with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and though their fundamental tendency was truly Protestant, they were, it would seem because of these points of similarity, zealously opposed to the Protestants. (Cf. § 44, 6.)

§ 37. SCIENCE AND ART IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Catholic theology flourished more during the 17th century than it had done from the 12th and 13th down to the present time. And an active liberal scientific life bloomed in the Gallican Church, above all the Catholic Churches of other countries. The Sorbonne of Paris, and still more the Orders of the Jesuits, Maurines, and Oratorians, rivalled each other in the most praiseworthy manner, in theological, but especially in patristic literature, and Church history; and the cotemporaneous bloom of theological learning in the Reformed Church of France was a powerful incentive to such rivalry. The flourishing period of the plastic arts, especially *painting*, had passed. But Church *music* was enriched, though also enervated and secularized. Religious *poetry* was cultivated to any notable extent, only in Spain and Germany.

1. *Theology.*—The parliamentary advocate, *Mich. le Jay*, at his own cost, had the *Paris Polyglott* published, in 8 vols. fol. (1629–45), which, besides complete Syriac and Arabic versions, included the Samaritan. *Morinus* was the chief editor. *Sixtus* V. had caused a new edition of the Vulgate to be published (1590), and in spite of its many (but partly covered or erased) errors, pronounced it authentic (Editio Sixtina). Nevertheless Clement VIII. published a recension which varied from it in many points (Ed. Clementina, 1592), and strictly forbid any departure from it: but in 1593 he himself caused another edition to be issued, in which many variations occur. *Caspar Ulenberg* (once a Lutheran) of Lippe issued a new German version (1630), in which free use was made of Luther's. The learned Oratorian *J. Morinus* (*ob.* 1659) edited the Septuagint and Samaritan version, both which he pronounced infinitely better than the masoretic text corrupted by the Jews. Another Oratorian, the renowned *Richard Simon* (*ob.* 1712), wrote a criti

cism of the Scriptures (Histoire critique du Vieux Test. and du Nouv. Test.), which surpassed in boldness anything before heard of. He was assailed, indeed, by Catholic reviewers, but as his criticisms served to sap the basis of the Protestant theory, the Curia allowed his boldness to go unpunished. (Cf. *K. H. Graff*, Rich. Sim.; in the Strassb. Beitr. zu. d. theol. Wsch. I., 158, etc.) The most notable *exegetes* are the Jesuits *James Bonfrère* (*ob.* 1643, a diffuse comm. on the Pentat.); *Cornelius a Lapide* (*ob.* 1637, exposition of the Bible in its fourfold sense); *Stephen Menochius* of Milan (*ob.* 1655) and *James Tirinus* of Antwerp (*ob.* 1636). In *systematic theology*, the old scholastic method still had full sway. Among *controversialists*, the Brabant Jesuit *Martin Becanus* (*ob.* 1624) was distinguished as author of the Manuale controversiarum, Bishop *Bossuet* (§ 33, 5), and the Jansenists *Peter Nicole* and *Anthony Arnauld*, who, to purge themselves from the charge of Calvinism, both endeavored to prove that the Catholic doctrine of the Lord's Supper was taught by the Apostles, and ever held by the Church, (La perpétuité de la foi cath. touchant l'eucharistie. Par. 1664), and exchanged a number of controversial papers upon this subject, with the Reformed Claude and Jurien. Here we must also mention the writings of the apostate Lutherans *Casper Ulenberg* (Causæ graves et justæ, in German, by *Kerz*, Mayence (1836), and *Ulrich Hunnius*, son of the celebrated Ægid. H. (Invicta prorsus et indissolubilia argumenta, etc.) in defence of their course. *Apologetics* received valuable contributions from *Blaise Pascal* (in his *Pensées*, cf. § 36, 2), the Oratorians *Le Vassor* (De la véritable réligion. Subsequently he entered the Anglican Church), *Bernh. Lamy* (Preuves évidentes, etc.) and the French bishop, *Peter Dan. Huetius*, the ed. of Origen (*ob.* 1721), who, in his principal work, *Demonstratio evangelica*, attempts to show that all the myths and fables of heathenism are distortions of Biblical histories; he also defended the Pentateuch against Spinoza's attacks. In his *Quæstiones Alnetanæ* (written in the monastery of D'Annay), he controverts the Cartesian philosophy. The learned Jesuit *Dionysius Petavius* (Jesuitarum aquila, *ob.* 1652), in addition to his herculean chronological labors, wrote a profoundly learned history of doctrines, or rather a work exhibiting the doctrines of the fathers (Dogmata theologica), which, however, was not completed (it embraces, in 3 fol. vols., only the first five loci). The Oratorian *Louis Thomassinus* followed his example (Dogm. theol. 3 vols. fol. Par. 1680). But his archæological work is of more importance: Vetus et nova ecclesiæ disciplina circa beneficia et beneficiarios, 3 vols. fol. In the department of *Church History*, Catholic theology, especially in France, acquired a superior reputation. It was incited to this by rivalry with Protestantism, and controversies with the learned Reformed theologians of France. This was allowed by the freedom of the Gallican Church (cf. § 35, 1). Besides excellent works on general Church History by *Godeau*, *Nat. Alexander*, *Fleury*, *Bossuet*, *Tillemont*, to whom we must add *Ant. Pagi* (Critica hist.-chronol. etc.) the keen

ed. of Baronius, the study of ecclesiastical sources was promoted by excellent editions of the Church fathers, with most learned critical and historical apparatus, by editions and collections of mediæval works, archives, etc. (*Sirmond*, *Mabillon*, *D'Achery*, *Martène*, *Baluzius*), the acts of Councils (*Labbé* and *Cossart;* especially of the French, by *J. Sirmond*, of the Spanish by *Aguirre*), of the acts of Martyrs (*Ruinart*), monastic rules (*Luc. Holstenius*), etc. *Charles du Fresne du Cange*, by his wonderful Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis, and his Gloss med. et inf. græcitatis, greatly advanced the full understanding of the sources in regard to language and contents. *John Mabillon* was doubtless the brightest star in the constellation of learning (*ob.* 1707, author of: Acta Sanctorum Ordinis s. Benedicti; Annales Ordinis s. Bened.; Vetera Analecta; de re diplomatica, etc.) *Peter de Marca*, finally Archb. of Paris (*ob.* 1662), wrote the celebrated work De concordia sacerdotii et imperii s. de libertatibus eccl. Gallicanæ; the Jansenist doctor of the Sorbonne, *Elijah du Pin* (*ob.* 1719), the Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclest. in 47 vols.; the Antwerp Jesuits *Bolland*, *Henschen*, and *Papebroch*, began (1643) the herculean Acta Sanctorum, arranged according to the Roman calendar, and learned members of their Order (the *Bollandists*) in Belgium continued it, until the French invasion of 1794 interrupted the work, when it had reached the 53d fol. vol., ending with Oct. 15. Recently Belgic Jesuits have resumed the work, but not with the critical care or the liberality of their predecessors. In Venice, *Paolo Sarpi* (*ob.* 1623) wrote a history of the Council of Trent, which is one of the most brilliant historical contributions ever composed. *Leo Allatius*, a Greek convert in Rome (*ob.* 1669) wrote his celebrated work De eccl. Occidentalis et Orientalis perpetua consensione. Cardinal *Bona*, Cistercian general, was a brilliant liturgical author (De divina psalmodia; Rerum liturgicarum Ll. II.) But distinguished names in the department of Church History are too numerous to allow us to name them all. Pulpit *eloquence*, also, flourished in France to a degree not since attained (*Flêchier*, *Bossuet*, *Bourdaloue*, *Bridaine*, *Fénélon*, and *Massillon*). In Vienna, *Ulrich Megerle* (Abraham de St. Clara) zealously denounced the corruption of the times, in odd, witty, and yet thoughtful addresses. Though he assumed the manners of a clown, he often gave utterance to most solemn and pungent truths. (Cf. § 44, 11.)

2. *Church Music.* — The Italian *Greg. Allegri* (*ob.* 1652) was the greatest master of the school founded by Palestrina. His *Miserere* was annually performed on Wednesday afternoon of Holy Week in the Sixtine Chapel, Rome, with powerful effect. The application of the operatic style to the lofty music of this school gave rise to the *oratories*, or musical dramas, composed of Biblical material, designed to be produced only with music, not theatrically. They were mainly practised in the school for music established by *Philip de Neri*, in his oratory; hence their name. This new style, which required that the music

should be closely suited to the word and to musical declamation, soon excluded the Canto fermo with its counterpoint combination of voices, and for it substituted a *religious concert*. Thus solo and recitative singing became very common, and attained great perfection. The chromatic scale was to furnish the means of producing feelings in the hearer corresponding with the sentiments of the words sung; the general bass, as the foundation of the piece, which, by the accompanying signatures, should indicate its entire harmony, was also to leave room for the freest action, and independent production of the several voices; and finally, by combining instrumental music with the singing, it was intended to call forth the most lively variety and fulness. This new style of Church music, meanwhile, became more secular and effeminate, and gradually sank into an operatic performance, from which it has not thus far been raised up.

3. *Christian Poetry.*—The Spanish poet *Calderon* (*ob.* 1681) composed 128 dramas, 95 autos sacramentales, and 200 preludes. The focus of his mostly allegorical compositions was religion. In fertility, variety, as well as in poetical geniality and religious depth, Calderon was excelled by his countryman *Lope de Vega* (*ob.* 1635, author of 1500 comedies and 320 autos). The noble German Jesuit *Fred. v. Spee* (*ob.* 1635) merits special prominence. His religious poems glow with sincere love to the Redeemer, combined with a child-like spirit, and a deep, thoughtful naturalness, and seem to be related both to the mediæval minstrel songs, and the cotemporaneous evangelical hymns. They appeared after his death under the title of "*Trutz-Nachtigall,*" but were unnoticed even by the Romish Church, until the German novelists of the 19th century drew them forth again from the dust. Spee was one of the first but unavailing opponents of the insane process for detecting witches. Vexation in regard to it early turned his hair gray. The Jesuit *Jacob Balde* of Munich (*ob.* 1688) was another eminent poetic genius of this period. His lyric compositions were the most brilliant. His few German poems are far inferior to those in Latin. A deep religious longing, which turns with fervor and spirit to the Queen of heaven, as the only deliverer from earthly troubles, pervades all his poems. He too was long forgotten, until *Herder* rescued him from oblivion. *Alb. Knapp* gives an excellent description of the noble poet in his Christoterpe 1848.

III. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

§ 38. LUTHERAN ORTHODOXY AND ITS STRUGGLES.

Cf. *J. G. Walch*, die Religionsstreitigk, in d. luth. K. Jena, 1733, 5 Bde.—*G. J. Planck*, Gesch. d. prot. Theol. v. d. Concordienf. bis Mitte d. 18. Jahrh. Göttg. 1831.—*W. Gass*, Gesch. d. prot. Dogmatik. Bd. I. Berl. 1854.—*A. Tholuck*, d. Geist. d. luth. Theol. Wittb. im Verlaufe d. 17. Jahrh. Hamb. 1852.—Die Theologie d. 17. Jahrh. In d. Zeitschr. für Protestantism. u. K. 1856, H. I., VII.

THE precision, clearness, and carefulness of the Form of Concord, gradually overcame all opposition to it. The result proved that, in spite of the ridicule of antagonists (cf. *Hospinian's* Concordia discors), it had really restored harmony. It now exercised authority not by means of the imperative power of princes, but through the free moral power of science, and introduced a flourishing period of Lutheran theology of more than a century, during which the teachers of the Church adhered as one man firmly and unitedly to its doctrine. Theology was most fully developed, and reared like a mighty Gothic dome with astonishing acuteness, harmonious in its minutest parts, and firmly knit together as a whole. But the tendency towards an extremely subtile development and precise definition of doctrines, which sprang from the controversies of the preceding century, became continually more *one-sided*. Hence it called into existence a dialectic scholasticism, which was in no way inferior to that of the most flourishing period of the middle ages, either in the greatness or minuteness of the careful and acute development of its scientific form, or in the full and accurate exhibition of its religious contents. But, like mediæval scholasticism, in its concern for logic it almost lost vitality. Orthodoxy degenerated into orthodoxism; *externally*, not only discerning essential diversities, but disregarding the broad basis of a common faith, and running into odious and unrestrained controversy; *internally*, holding to the form of pure doctrine, but neglecting cordially to embrace it, and to live consistently with it. Nevertheless, this scholastic orthodoxy, with all its one-sidedness, imparted to Lutheran theology a fulness and wealth, an acuteness and consistency of structure, the grandeur of which even a *Lessing* was compelled to acknowledge. And it cannot be denied that this period, so commonly reviled as that of "dead orthodoxy," possessed more

true piety and spiritual life, than the period (18th century) which most decried it. At the same time the one-sidedness and degeneracy of that orthodoxy is not to be denied, nor the propriety, necessity, and beneficial influence of the opposition to it which sprang from the bosom of the Church; though it cannot be disputed that this opposition was marked by a one-sidedness of another sort. The opposition was of a two-fold character: in the *syncretistic* controversy it was confined exclusively to the sphere of theology; in the *pietistic* controversy, it more largely concerned the Christian life.

1. *Orthodoxy in Conflict with itself.* — This includes the controversy between the theologians of *Tübingen* and *Giessen* concerning the *state of humiliation.* The Giessen theologians, with *Balth. Mentzer* at their head, referred the humiliation of Christ solely to his human nature, and pronounced it an actual κένωσις, that is, a complete, though free surrender of the omnipresence and omnipotence immanent in his divinity (κτῆσις but without χρῆσις), yet so that he might at any moment (as in working miracles) exercise them. The Tübingen theologians, on the contrary, with *Luc. Osiander* at their head, referred his humiliation to both natures, and taught that during it he was omnipresent even secundum carnem, and governed heaven and earth, though in a manner concealed from us. They said the humiliation was no κένωσις, but only a κρύψις. A commission from electoral Saxony (Hoe v. Hoenegg, Ægid. Strauch, etc.) decided in favor of the Giessen party (1624). The matter was attended with no further results.

2. *The Syncretistic Controversy.* (*E. Henke*, Helmst. im. 16. Jahrh. Halle, 1833; id. *G. Calixt's* Briefwechsel, Halle, 1833; id. G. Calixt u. s. Zeit. Halle, 1853, 56. 2 Bde.—*H. Schmid*, Gesch. d. synkr. Streitigkk. Erlg. 1846.—*W. Gass*, G. Calixt u. d. Synkr. Brsl. 1847.)—The university of *Helmstädt* followed a prevailingly humanistic tendency, and allowed, even in theology, larger liberty of views than was granted by the Form of Concord, which the city had not accepted. This school produced, and for 43 years (from 1613) employed, *George Calixtus*, a man of superior scientific and social accomplishments. A thorough study of Church History, and intercourse with distinguished theologians of all Churches, enjoyed during his extensive travels in Europe, had begotten in him not only an irenical turn of mind, but a more liberal judgment of foreign Churches, than was commonly indulged. He did, indeed, not desire a formal union of the various Churches, but that they should recognize, tolerate, and love each other. To this end he proposed, as a secondary principle of Christian theology (next to the Holy Scriptures as its primary principle), the concurrence of the first five centuries (Consensus quinquesecularis), as a common basis for all the Churches, and sought to show that subsequent diversities

were either non-essential, or less essential. But rigid Lutheran theologians, who were mistrustful of all irenical measures, ever since the trouble with crypto-Calvinism, pronounced this a religious medley (*syncretism*), and crypto-Catholicism. As early as 1639, *Statius Buscher*, a Hanoverian clergyman, denounced him, on this account, as a secret papist. His efforts were more generally assailed, after he attended the *Colloquy of Thorn* (§ 33, 5), as the assistant of the Reformed theologians of Brandenburg (1645). A most furious controversy arose, which divided the entire Lutheran Church into two parties. On the one side were the universities of *Helmstädt* and *Königsberg*, on the other especially the theologians of electoral Saxony, with *John Hülsemann*, in Leipsic, *Jacob Weller*, in Dresden, and above all, *Abr. Calov*, in Wittenberg, at their head; Calov alone wrote 26 controversial tracts. *Jena* sought in vain to mediate between the parties. The Wittenbergers hoped to fortify the Lutheran Church by a new symbol (which, however, was never legally ratified): Theologorum Saxonicorum *Consensus repetitus* fidei vere Lutheranæ (1655), in which, among other things, they rejected, as syncretistic errors, the assertions, that the Apostles' creed taught everything necessary to salvation; that the Catholic and Reformed Churches had not disturbed the real basis of the doctrines of grace; that original sin is only of a privative nature, that God is indirecte, improprie et par accidens the cause of sin; that the doctrine of the Trinity was first clearly revealed in the New Testament, etc. *Calixtus* died in the midst of the passionate contentions. But his son *Ulrich*, who possessed neither his father's spirit nor moderation, took his place. The strife was finally swallowed up by a suit for damages (between Ulr. Calixtus and his violent antagonist *Strauch* in Wittenberg), without anything important having been gained for the theology or science of that period. Weary of this barren controversy, the attention of theologians was turned to the pietistic movement which now commenced its career.

3. *The Pietistic Controversy in its First Stage.* (Cf. *C. H. v. Canstein*, Muster e. rechtsch. Lehrers in d. Leb. Spener's. Halle, 1740.—*W. Hossbach*, Ph. J. Spener u. s. Zeit. 2 A. v. *Ch. Schweder*. Berl. 1853.—*C. A. Wildenhahn*, Leb. Spener's; in d. Sonntagsbibl. 4, 5. Bielef 1845.—*H. E. F. Guericke*, A. H. Francke. Halle, 1827.—*C. F. Illgen*, Hist. collegii philobiblici Lipsiensis. 4 Pp. Lps. 1836–41.—*Ph. Spener*, wahrhaft. Erzähl. dess., was wegen d. s. g. Pietismi in. Deutsch. vorgeg. Frkf. 1697.—*Fr. Buddeus*, wahrh. u. gründl. Erzähl. alles dess. was zwischen d. s. g. Pietisten gesch. Jena, 1719.) — *Philip Jacob Spener*, of Rappoltsweiler, Elsace, on account of his distinguished talents and rare learning (which was profound, thorough, and comprehensive, extending even beyond the sphere of theology to that of heraldry, history, geography, and philosophy), and his religious zeal, was chosen senior of the eccles. ministerium of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in his 31st year (1666), then chief court-preacher at Dresden (1686), and, having

been forced to leave Dresden, on account of his great zeal for vital piety, finally provost in Berlin (1691), where he *died* in 1705. He was most heartily attached to the Lutheran Church, but believed that in adhering to its then prevalent orthodoxy, it had departed from the earnest lively gospel of the Reformers, and was in danger of burying its talent in a sterile theology of words, and dead orthodoxy; and that it therefore greatly needed to be reformed again. As he discovered in it an exuberance of pure doctrine and the most vigorous susceptibility to exhibit genuine Christian piety above all other Churches, it was far from his thought to seek the powers of the necessary resuscitation anywhere else than in that Church itself, (*i. e.*, in unionistic or syncretistic schemes). A return from scholastic theology to the Holy Scriptures as the living source of all saving knowledge, a conversion of the outward orthodox confession into an inner living theology of the heart, and a demonstration thereof in true piety of life—these were the ways and means by which he proposed to effect the desired reform. In his child-like, pious humility, he did not deem himself called to commence this reform, but simply regarded it as his duty to point out the need of it, and some means of effecting it. This was done, especially, in his (1678) "Pia desideria oder herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung d. wahren evangelischen Kirche;" and as his chief concern was to have every Christian become experimentally acquainted with practical Christianity, as taught in the Bible, he revived the well-nigh forgotten doctrine of "the spiritual priesthood" of all Christians, in a special work, and in 1680 published his "Allgemeine Gottesgelahrtheit aller gläubigen Christen und rechtschaffenen Theologen." At the same time he himself engaged in the work by holding religious meetings in his house (*Collegia pietatis*) for the revival of genuine piety in the congregation; similar meetings were soon started in other places.

Spener's position in Dresden gave him more decided and extensive influence over the Lutheran Church. Animated by his spirit, *Aug. Herm. Francke*, *Paul Anton*, and *John Casp. Schade*, three young magisters in Leipsic, began in 1686 to hold *Collegia philobiblica*, exclusively for mutual edification by a practical exposition of the Scriptures, in German (a thing unheard of at the universities). But the theological faculty of Leipsic, with John Bened. Carpzov at their head, accused them of contempt of regular public worship and theological science, and of promoting separatism. The Collegia philobiblica were prohibited, and the three friends, whose movement was designated *Pietism* (an effort to make display of extravagant piety), had to leave Leipsic (1690); thus the tedious *pietistic controversies* began. Soon after this, *Spener* was compelled to leave Dresden (1691), but in his new position in Berlin he acquired decided influence in the appointment of professors of theology in the new university, which the pacific Elector *Frederick* III. of Brandenburg founded in *Halle*, in opposition to the contentious institutions

at Wittenberg and Leipsic, and the organization of which he entrusted (1694) to the jurist *Christian Thomasius*, who also had been driven from Leipsic (on account of his indifferentism), and who had in Leipsic, already, been the advocate of the pietists. In connection with others of like sentiments (Anton, Breithaupt) *Francke* was appointed a member of the theol. faculty. *Halle* now, for a time, acquired almost the importance which *Wittenberg* and *Geneva* possessed in the period of the Reformation, and the pietistic controversy entered upon its second more general and violent stage (cf. § 46, 1).

4. *Theological Literature.*—*Solomon Glassius* (prof. in Jena, general-sup. in Gotha, *ob.* 1656) contributed to Biblical philology, his Philologia sacra (1623), which had, for nearly two centuries, almost classic authority. Planned upon a large scale, the German, Hebrew, and Greek concordance of the Bible, by *J. Lankish* (of which only the first, German, part was publ. 1677, and often) was an invaluable aid in the study of the Bible. From about 1675–1700 a lively controversy concerning the Greek of the New Testament was kept up, in which the Lutherans and (chiefly) the Reformed participated. The *Purists* violently contended for the classical purity of the N. T. idiom, because they thought the inspiration of the Scriptures was imperilled by the opposite view. *Michael Walther*, general-sup. in Celle, issued the first hist. critical introduction to the Bible (officina biblica, Lps. 1636). *Aug. Pfeiffer*, of Leipsic (*ob.* 1698), rendered good service to Bibl. crit. and Hermeneut. by his critica sacra (1680), and his Hermeneut. s. (1684). In spite of its servile adherence to the interpretation of dog matic proof-texts, traditionally fixed, and its mechanical theory of inspiration, the *exegesis* was valuable. The most distinguished exegetes were: *Erasmus Schmidt* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1637, Opus posthumum, a Lat. trans. of the N. T. with excellent notes). He also contributed a very useful concordance of the Greek N. T., entitled Ταμιεῖον (revised by *K. H. Bruder*, Lpz. 1841); *Theod. Hakspan* of Altdorf (*ob.* 1659. Notæ philol. theol. in difficiliora Scr. s. loca. 3 Pp. 1664); *Martin Geier*, of Leipsic (*ob.* 1680, an excellent comm. on Daniel and the poet. books of the O. T., even still worthy of notice); *Seb. Schmidt*, of Strassburg (*ob.* 1696, comm. on Joshua, the Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and several of Paul's epp.); *Aug. Pfeiffer* (Dubia vexata), and *Abraham Calov*, of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1686, Biblia illustrata, in 4 vols. fol., which took up and improved the comm. of *Grotius*, a work of stupendous labor, brilliant Biblical knowledge, and profound learning, but throughout too subservient to dogmatics).—The orthodox school gave still greater diligence to the study of dogmatics, the Lutheran fulness and depth of which was developed with amazing acuteness and brilliant learning, in a strictly scholastic form. Its greatest masters are: *Leonard Hutter* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1616, Loci communes theologici, and for the use of schools, Compendium loc. theol.); *John Gerhard*, prof. at Jena (*ob.* 1637, Loci theol. in 9 vols. fol. 1600, etc. The best ed. with notes by

J. F. Cotta, Tübg. 1762, etc., 22 vols. 4to. It is the opus palmare of Luth. theology); and *J. Andr. Quenstedt* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1688, Theol. didactico-polemica, the completion of Lutheran scholasticism, in its lights and shadows). Next to these were: *Brochmand*, prof. in Copenhagen (*ob.* 1652, Universæ theol. systema); *Conrad Dannhauer*, in Strassburg (*ob.* 1666, Hodosophia christiana); *Abr. Calov* (Systema loc. theol.); *König* in Rostock (*ob.* 1664, Theol. positiva acroamatica); *Scherzer* in Leipsic (*ob.* 1683, Systema theol.); *John Musäus* in Jena (*ob.* 1681); and *Baier* in Halle (*ob.* 1695). The most prominent theologian of the Calixtine school is *Conr. Horneius* (Comp. theol.) *Calixtus* himself did not publish a theol. work, but his lectures were printed. He, also, originated the division subsequently made between morals and theology (Epitome th. moralis). *John Gerhard's* Confessio Catholica was a complete refutation of Catholicism. But the most untiring controversialist was *Abr. Calov* (Hist. syncretistica; Mataelogia papistica; Socinianismus profligatus; Consideratt. Arminianismi; Theses de Labadismo; Anti-Bœhmius; Discussio controversiarum inter ecclesias orthod. et reformatas, etc.) *Nicholas Hunnius*, son of Ægid. H. (§ 21, 10), prof. in Wittenberg, and from 1623 superintdt. in Lübeck (*ob.* 1643), was also distinguished as an able opponent of *papism* (Demonstratio ministerii Lutherani; and when *Lancelot*, an Augustinian of Mechlen, fulminated a Capistrum Hunni against him, he retorted in his Capistrum Hunnio paratum, Lanceloto injectum), of *Socinianism* (Examen errorum Photinianorum), and of the enthusiasts (Christl. Betracht. d. neuen Paracelsischen u. Weigilianischen Theol.) Of chief importance is his Διάσκεψις de fundamentali dissensu doctrinæ Luth. et Calvin. s. Reform. His Epitome credendorum or Inhalt d. Christl. Lehre reached 19 editions. The syncretistic controversies led him, in his "Consultatio, oder wohlmeinendes Bedenken," to devise the plan of a Collegium irenicum s. pacificatorium (Collegium Hunnianum), as a permanent theol. senate for the adjustment of all theological disputes. (Cf. *L. Heller*, Nik. Hunnius, s. Leben u. Wirken. Lübeck, 1843.) Little was done, in the nature of the circumstances, in the department of Church History. Nevertheless, *Rechenberg*, *Kortholt*, *Ittig*, *Sagittarius*, *Veit Ludw. v. Seckendorf*, deserve to be named for their contributions to the history of the Reformation. *Calixtus*, however awakened new zeal and spirit for the study of Church History, and *Gottfried Arnold* of Giessen (*ob.* 1714), a thoroughly learned investigator, but so violently opposed to every form of orthodoxy, that he could not find true Christianity, since the 4th century, anywhere but among sects, separatists, and heretics, threw the entire theol. world into an uproar, by his Impartial History of Churches and Heretics. (I., § 4, 2.) (Cf. § 46, 2.)

§ 39. RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The great importance which the Lutheran Church of this period attached to pure doctrine and a genuine confession exposed it to the danger of a one-sided over-estimation and externalization of the same to a mere dead orthodoxy, an evil, indeed, which showed itself in various ways. But a great number of the most excellent and learned theologians, who recognized the influence of pure doctrine upon personal piety, as well as the necessity of possessing a theology of the heart, and of maintaining practical Christianity, opposed this evil tendency in a conciliatory but decided manner by their writings, preaching, and pastoral labors. During this whole century, but especially during its first half, there were many influential advocates of a noble Lutheran *mysticism*, which harmonized with orthodoxy both in faith and knowledge, and only opposed its threatening or actually existing externalization of Christianity. But by the side of this mysticism, we find that *separatism*, an *unchurchly mysticism*, and *theosophy*, broke forth as excrescences, or caricatures of the truth. *Church hymnology* acquired a new life, during the tribulations of the Thirty Years' war, but after that gradually lost its sublime objective churchly character, for which the fluent rhyme, the easy style, and more elegant form, were only a feeble, and in part questionable substitute. Church music was correspondingly developed.

1. *Mysticism and Asceticism.*—*John Arndt*, "the Fénélon of Lutheranism," stands at the head of those vigilant and faithful servants of the Church, who strove to vindicate the inalienable right, and urgent duty of the Lutheran Church to maintain a hearty sincere mysticism over against formal orthodoxy, which had allowed justifying faith and a correct belief to degenerate into a new opus operatum. His "Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum," and his "Paradiesgärtlein," which have been translated into almost every living tongue, conferred incalculable blessings both upon his own and subsequent generations; upon himself, however, they brought great reproach and hostility, from the advocates of a malevolent or dead orthodoxy. He died in 1621, whilst General-superintendent in Ceile, after he had been driven from Anhalt, as a confessor of Lutheran orthodoxy, for refusing to denounce exorcism as an ungodly superstition, and then openly accused by his colleague *Denecke* and other Lutheran zealots of papism, Calvinism, Osiandrianism, Flacianism, Schwenkfellianism, Paracelsism, Alchymy, etc. (Cf. *F. Arndt*, J. Arndt. Berl. 1838.—*H. L. Pertz*, de Joh. Arndtio

ejusque libris de vero Christ. Hann. 1852, 4to. Also, the lively descriptions of the historically faithful romance of *A. Wildenhahn*, J. A. ein Zeitbild aus Braunschweigs K. u. Stadtgesch. Lpz. 1847, 2 Bde.) Other successful advocates of a living Christianity are met with in the great theologian *John Gerhard*, of Jena (*ob.* 1637, Meditationes sacræ, and Schola pietatis d. i. Christl. u. heils. Unterricht v. d. Uebung d. wahren Gottseligk.); *Stephen Prätorius* of Salzwedel (*ob.* 1610, Geistl. Schatzkammer); *Herm. Rathmann* of Dantzig (*ob.* 1628, Jesu Christi Gnadenreich, cf. J. G. V. Engelhardt, üb. d. Rahtmannschen Streit, in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1854, 1); *Valerius Herberger* of Fraustadt (*ob.* 1627, Ev. Herzpostille; Geistlich. Trauerbinden; Magnalia Dei, etc.); *Heinrich Müller* of Rostock (*ob.* 1675, Himmlischer Liebeskuss; Geistl. Erquickstunden, etc.); *Christian Scriver* (Geistl. Seenlenschatz; Siech- und Siegesbette; Gottholds zufällige Andachten), *Ahasverus Fritsch*, privy councillor and chancellor in Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt (*ob.* 1701, Christenthums fragen), *Ph. Jak. Spener* and others. *Johann Valentin Andreä* of Würtemberg (*ob.* 1654), grandson of one of the authors of the Form of Concord, opposed the corruption of his time, by writings mostly satirical and allegorical, in an entirely original and genial manner, which, however, on account of its originality, was often misunderstood. Especially was his allegory of the union of the cross and the rose (as symbols of Christianity and science) in the society of the *Rosicrucians*, grossly misunderstood, as though such a society possessed the science of magical arts,— an assumption of which fanatics and impostors took great advantage (Fama fraternitas Rosaceæ Crucis or Brüderschaft d. hochlöbl. Ordens d. Rosenkr. an die Häupter, Stände u. Gelehrten Europas, 1614; Confess. u. Bekenntniss d. Brüdersch. d. R. Cr.; Menippus, s. dialogorum satyric. Centuria; Mythologia christ. s. de virtut. et vitiis hum. vitæ; Turris Babel, s. Ros. Crucis chaos; Reipublicæ christiana politanæ descriptio; Veræ unionis in Chr. J. specimen, etc.; cf. W. Hossbach, Val. Andr. u. s. Zeitalt. Berl. 1819.) (Cf. § 46, 6.)

2. *Mysticism and Theosophy.* (Cf. *Fr. Delitsch*, d. Naturphilos. Mysticism, innerh. d. luth. K.; in the Ztschr. f. Luth. Theol. 1841, III. —*Fr. v. Fuqué*, Jac. Böhme. Greiz, 1821.—*W. L. Wullen*, J. B.'s Leben. u. Lehre. Stuttg. 1836.—*A. E. Umbreit*, J. B. Heidelb. 1835.—*Jul. Hamberger*, d. Lehre d. deutsch. Philos. J. B. Munich, 1844.—*H. A. Fechner*, Jac. B. s. Leben u. s. Schriften. Görlitz, 1857.)—A mystical theosophy, though much despised, partly remained within the limits of outward Church union, and was preserved by ecclesiastical restraints from grosser theoretical and practical errors, and partly also tore loose from the Church as a degenerate Babel (§ 42, 1). This movement received impetus and strength from the works of Agrippa and Paracelsus upon natural philosophy and alchemy, from the devotional, mystical, and theosophic posthumous works of Val. Weigel, and above all from the profound revelations of the mighty cobbler of Görlitz, *Jacob Böhme*

(philosophus teutonicus), the greatest, most profound, and most ingenious of all theosophists who ever lived — a man who, with all his unchurchly speculations, nevertheless in his life sincerely maintained true piety, and faithfully adhered to the Lutheran Church. As a travelling journeyman, already, he experienced blessed peace for seven days, from being encompassed by a divine light. But he dates his fuller theosophic illumination from a certain moment when, as a young master, just married, he was thrown into an ecstacy by the reflection of the sun from a brightly polished pewter plate, and beheld the mysteries of Deity, even to the last principles of all things, so as to discern their inmost quality. His theosophy, like ancient Gnosticism, starts with the question concerning the origin of evil. He solves it by assuming an emanation of all things from God, who completely attempers and harmonizes in himself fire and light, the quality of bitterness and sweetness, which become separated in the creatures emanating from him, but are reconciled and united again, to godlike harmony, by regeneration in Christ. In speculative power, and poetic wealth, exhibited with epic and dramatic effect, his system surpasses everything of the kind ever written. His works (Aurora, oder die Morgenrothe im Aufgang; Mysterium magnum, a sort of comm. on Genesis; Psychologia vera; Der Weg zu Christo; Von der Gnadenwahl; Von d. heil. Taufe u. d. Abendmahl, etc.) were published by *Gichtel*, Amst. 1682, 2 Bde. 4to.; and recently by *K. W. Schiebler*, Lpz. 1831, etc., 6 Bde. The blustering fanaticism of *Gregorius Richter*, preacher in Görlitz, caused Böhme much trouble, for at his instigation B. was banished from the city, after the publication of the Aurora. Subsequently he was allowed to return, on giving a pledge not to write any more books. But as he could not keep this promise, the angry zeal of his ecclesiastical superior vented itself in increased severity. *Abr. Calov*, also, entered the lists as a watchman of Zion, against the fanaticism of the Görlitz cobbler (Anti-Bœhmius, etc.), whilst in the Dresden consistorium he found a favorable judgment and forbearing toleration. Böhme died in the arms of his family in Görlitz, after having long banished himself from his native place (1624). *Gottfr. Arnold* (*ob.* 1714), for a time prof. at Giessen, sustained an intimate relation to the Böhmists, separatists, and pietists, and yet fell out with all of them. In several writings he described in a fanciful way, martyrdom, marriage, and the entire life of the first Christians, wrote and sung about the mysteries of the divine Sophia (when Adam, originally a man-woman, fell, his female nature, the heavenly Sophia, was taken from him, and instead of it a carnal woman was formed out of his rib), reviled the orthodoxy of all ages and churches, and canonized all heretics. But notwithstanding all this, he remained externally in the Lutheran communion, and even entered the ministry in that Church. (Cf. § 42, 4.)

3. *Church Hymns.*—The first period of its development in this cen-

tury, embraces that of the Thirty Years' war (1618–48). David's Psalms become the model and type of the poets, and the most earnest hymns of comfort in trouble, of imperishable value, spring from the trials of the times. This, of course, caused prominence to be given to the personal element. The influence of Opitz is also seen in Church hymns, inasmuch as more care is given to precision and purity of language, as well as to a fluent and pleasing measure. Instead of the expressive brevity, and vigorous terseness of earlier times, we meet with a certain cordial expansion and enlargement of the thought. As deserving special prominence, we name: the pious sufferer *John Heerman*, pastor in the principality of Glogau (*ob.* 1647), who composed 400 hymns, including: "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen;" "Früh Morgens, da die Sonn aufsteht;" "So wahr ich lebe, spricht dein Gott;" "Wo soll ich fliehen hin;" "O Gott, du frommer Gott;" "Zion klagt mit Angst. u. Schmerzen;" "Gottlob, die Stund ist kommen;" etc.—*Heinr. Held*, a Silesian lawyer (*ob.* 1643), "Gott sey dank durch alle Welt;"—*Paul Flemming*, in Voigtland, a physician (*ob.* 1640), "In allen meinen Thaten," written on a journey to Persia;—*Matth. Meyffart*, prof. and pastor in Erfurt (*ob.* 1642), "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt;"—*Martin Rinkart*, pastor at Eilenberg in Saxony (*ob.* 1648), "Nun danket alle Gott;"—*Apelles v. Löwenstern* (*ob.* 1648), "Christe, du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeine;"—*Joshua Stegmann*, superintendent in Rinteln (*ob.* 1632), "Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade;"—*Joshua Wegelin*, minister in Augsburg and Presburg, "Auf Christi Himmelfahrt;"—*David Denicke*, consistorial councillor in Hanover (*ob.* 1680), "Wir Menschen sind zu dem, O Gott;"—*Just. Gesenius*, superint. in Hanover (*ob.* 1673), "Wenn meine Sünd mich kränken;"—*Tob. Clausnitzer*, pastor in the Palatinate (*ob.* 1648), "Liebster Jesu wir sind hier, dich und dein."—The poets just named belong mostly to the *first Silesian school*, which gathered around Opitz. *John Rist* (preacher in Holstein *ob.* 1667) occupies an independent position, though he too was somewhat influenced by Opitz. He wrote 658 spiritual songs, many of which are remarkable for vivacity, solemnity, and elevated thought; "Auf, auf, ihr Reichsgenossen," "Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist," "Jesu, der du meine Seele," "Du Lebensfürst, Herr Jesu Christ," "O Trauerigkeit, O Herzeleid," "Werde munter, mein Gemüthe." "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort," etc.—At the head of the cotemporaneous *Königsburg school* stood: *Simon Dach*, prof. of poetry in Königsb. (*ob.* 1658), who composed 150 religious poems, including: "O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen," etc. Distinguished among his cotemporaries were: *Henry Alberti*, organist in Königsburg (*ob.* 1668), "Gott des Himmels und der Erde," etc.—*Val. Thilo*, prof. of elocution in Königsb. (*ob.* 1662), "Mit Ernst, ihr Menschenkinder;"—*George Weissel*, minister in Königsb. (*ob.* 1655), "Macht hoch die Thür," "Such wer da will."

From the middle of the 17th century, hymns assumed more and

more of a subjective character, which gave rise to a great diversity of style and classes. The Church no longer sings in the words of the poet, but the poet makes his own feelings and state of mind predominate. Confessional hymns became more rare, and those of a purely edifying character, having reference to various events in life, death, suffering, consolation, the family, became more numerous. Thus, as the objective feature is given up, one characteristic of true Church hymns disappears from the religious poetry of this period. And yet some essential marks still remain, such as a popular form and matter, freshness, vivacity, and a naïve style, the reality of personal experience, and full assurance of faith, etc. Even subjective individual feelings and frames still spring from the soil of a churchly faith, and are firmly and immovably rooted therein. Thus then the best hymns of this period are still Church-hymns, and bear upon their brow the impress of immortality. The poets of this period form three classes: (1.) *The transition group* from objectivity to subjectivity. The great master of this class, and next to Luther the greatest religious poet of the evangelical church in general, is *Paul Gerhardt*, the faithful confessor of Luther in suffering and persecution (§ 34, 4). In him the new subjective tendency exhibits itself in its noblest, purest, and most vigorous form. And by its side we also discover the old objective tendency, with its direct Church-consciousness and immovable faith, with its noble, vigorous popular character, in all the fullness and vigor of Luther, and, as to form, even more perfect. His 120 hymns, if not all Church-hymns in the narrower sense, are nevertheless choice hymns of the finest gold (ex gr. "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," "Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen," "Wir singen dir Immanuel," "Nun lasst uns gehen und treten," "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt," "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben," "Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit," "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund," "Befiehl du deine Wege," "Gieb dich zufrieden," "Nun ruhen alle Wälder," "Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud," etc.) To this class belong, furthermore, *William* II., Duke of Saxe-Weimar (*ob.* 1662, "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend");—*Geo. Neumark*, Librarian in Weimar (*ob.* 1681, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten");—*Christian Keymann*, rector in Zittau (*ob.* 1663, "Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht");—*John Franck*, burgomaster of Guben, Lausatia (*ob.* 1677), next to Paul Gerhardt the greatest poet of this period, composer of 110 hymns, less popular and cordial, but more soaring than Gerhardt. ("Heut ist uns der Tag erschienen," "Jesu meine Freude," "Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele," "Unsre müden Augenlider," etc.);—*Christopher Homburg*, actuary in Naumburg (*ob.* 1681, "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben");—*Geo. Albinus*, pastor in Naumburg (*ob.* 1679, "Straff mich nicht in deinem Zorn," "Alle Menschen müssen sterben");—*Mich. Schirmer*, conrector in Berlin (*ob.* 1673, "O heilger Geist, kehr bei uns ein").—(2.) *The next class* of hymns is rather

moulded after the *Canticles* than the Psalms. The chief theme is the spousal relation of the soul to Christ. Feeling and fancy become predominant, and sometimes degenerate into sentimentalism and puerility. This tendency received a new impulse by a conjunction of the mystical contemplative element with it. To it belong: *Sigm. v. Bircken* (Betulius, *ob.* 1668, "Lasset uns mit Jesu ziehen"); — *Christopher Wegleiter*, prof. and preacher in Altdorf (*ob.* 1706, "Beschwertes Herz, leg ab die Sorgen"); —*Mich. Franck*, chief baker, then preceptor in Coburg (*ob.* 1667, "Gen Himmel aufgefahren ist"); —*Angelus Silesius* (§ 36, 1), the chief poet of this class, who wrote, as Protestant, many admirably sweet hymns ("Mir nach spricht Christus, unser Held," "Der am Kreuz ist meine Liebe," "Ich will dich lieben, meine Stärke," "Liebe, die du mich zum Bilde," etc.); —next to these, *Christian Knorr v. Rosenroth*, died in Sulzbach (1689) ("Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit"); — *Ludämilie Elizabeth*, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (*ob.* 1672, composer of 215 precious hymns to Jesus: "Zeuch uns nach dir") etc.; — *Caspar Neumann*, prof. and pastor at Breslau (*ob.* 1715, "Gottes und Mariens Sohn"). — (3.) *The cotemporaries and congenial friends of Spener*, men who longed for a resuscitation of practical piety in the Church. Their hymns are pervaded by a healthy and sincere piety. Spener's effusions are of small importance. *J. Jac. Schütz*, Spener's friend, a counsellor-at-law in Frankfürt (*ob.* 1690), composed only one, but an important hymn ("Sei Lob und Ehr"); —*Ad. Drese*, chapelmaster in Weimar (*ob.* 1718, three hymns, "Seelenbräutigam," etc.); — *Sam. Rodigast*, rector in Berlin (*ob.* 1708, "Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan"); — *Laurentius Laurentii*, director of music in Bremen (*ob.* 1722, "Wach auf mein Herz, die Nacht ist hin"); — *Cyriacus Günther*, gymnasial teacher in Gotha (*ob.* 1704, "Halt im Gedächtniss Jesum Christ"); — *Gottfr. Arnold* (*ob.* 1714, "O Durchbrecher aller Bande"). (Cf. § 46, 4.)

4. *Music.* — Simultaneously with the change effected, through the influence of Opitz, in the style and character of Church hymns, a corresponding change took place in Church music, through the influence of the new Italian school. Here also, as in the case of hymnology, we may discover a transition period, which retained the essential excellencies of the old style, but was ready, also, to adopt the more elegant and polished form, as well as the subjective emotionalism of the new style, impressing it with the fervor and energy of the German evangelical spirit. The first prominent master of this transition-stage is *John Herm. Schein*, cantor at the St. Thomas school in Leipsic (*ob.* 1630). Still more prominent than he was *John Crüger*, cantor at the Church of St. Nicholas, Berlin (*ob.* 1662). He did for music what Paul Gerhardt did for hymnology. He composed 71 new tunes, full of the energy of faith, and tender fervor, adapted to Gerhardt's, Heerman's, J. Franck's, Dach's, Rinkart's, etc., hymns, and his tunes held their place in the Church until the period of illumination. Next to him we

must name: *Jacob Hintze* in Berlin (*ob.* 1695); *John Ebeling*, Crüger's successor as cantor, who composed tunes for Gerhardt's 120 hymns *John Schop*, leader of a band in Hamburg (*ob.* 1660), who composed lively popular tunes to the best of Rist's hymns; and *Thom. Selle*, town cantor in Hamburg (*ob.* 1663), also an excellent singer of Rist's hymns.

In the second half of the 17th century, the modern style gained a decided preponderance over the antique method. Musical declamation, and expression suited to the words, prevail; rythmical irregularities and the old churchly tunes disappear before a regular measure, and modern softer tunes; so that psalmody becomes wholly alienated from its original vital element, as popular singing. Religious concert music, which contained no reminiscent traces even of the old Church melodies, and despised the form of hymns and strophes, was more constantly cultivated. Thus the congregation wholly ceased taking part in the singing. Among the masters of this concert style, in Italian fashion, *Heinrich Schütz*, master of the chapel of electoral Saxony (*ob.* 1672) was distinguished. He was the first to transplant to Germany the new artificial form, by elaborating single passages from the Psalms, Canticles, and the Prophets, into religious harmony ("Symphomiæ sacræ," 1629); and in these he entirely set aside the old popular Church tunes. But some time elapsed (forming the transition stage already spoken of), before so radical a reform could naturalize itself. This was effected by *John Rosenmüller*, leader of a band in Wolfenbüttel (*ob.* 1686), who published "Kernsprüche aus heiliger Schrift Alten u. Neuen Testaments," in concert style. A reaction against the exclusive predominance of the Italian fashion, and the unchurching influence of artificial religious music, was introduced by *Andr. Hammerschmidt*, organist in Zittau (1675), one of the noblest and most pious composers of the German nation. By interweaving old Church melodies with religious symphony, the old style of psalmody was combined with the new artificial style, somewhat in the form of a dialogue. The origin of *arias* is closely connected with this last movement, since, instead of the interwoven old Church melodies, suitable and stirring artificial tunes, according to the new taste, were invented for the hymns of cotemporaneous poets. The excellent composer *Rud. Ahle*, organist and burgomaster in Mühlhausen (*ob.* 1673), must be regarded as the proper author of the aria style. He introduced his own agreeable arias into the regular Lord's day and festival services. By being frequently repeated, the pleasant ornate sounds impressed themselves upon the memory of all that heard them, so that they were soon adopted in the congregational singing. His religious arias, besides appropriating all the ornaments of the modern style, are distinguished by their youthful freshness and vigor, breathe a holy earnestness, and are still free of the secularization and playful trivialities into which the aria style soon fel. Next to Ahle, mention must be made of *Peter Sohr*, schoolmaster in Elbing,

many of whose arial tunes passed into Church use. As the massive, grand forms of the old melodies by this time already appeared too hard and irregular, *Wolfg. Charles Briegel*, cantor at Gotha, undertook to modify them (1687), so as to suit the altered taste of the times. *John Pachelbel*, organist in Nuremberg (*ob.* 1706), the greatest performer of his day, belongs to this tendency as a composer. (Cf. § 46, 5.)

5. *Christian Life.* — Notwithstanding numerous orthodoxistic and separatistic excrescences, the *religious poetry* of this period furnishes brilliant testimony concerning the fulness, depth, and fervor of the religious life of the period. And an abundance of excellent devotional books, of imperishable value, as well as popular expositions (especially that of Ernesti, Nuremb. 1641) of the Bible, afford proof of pastoral fidelity and zeal, as well as of the favor with which these attentions were received by the Lutheran people. *Ernest the Pious*, of Saxe-Gotha, appears almost an ideal of a Christian prince (*ob.* 1675, cf. *J. Gelbke*, Herzog E. d. Fr. 1810, 3 Bde.) (Cf. § 46, 6.)

6. *Missions.* — The missionary efforts of the Lutheran Church are still limited to their relatively low level. *Gustavus Adolphus*, of Sweden, however, prosecuted the Lapland mission with increased zeal, and Denmark, also, cheerfully aided in the work. A Norwegian clergyman, *Thomas von Westen* (*ob.* 1727), may, on account of his efficient zeal, be called the apostle of this mission (completed more recently by *Stockfleth.* — Cf. *A. G. Rudelbach*, d. finnisch-lappische Mission u. Thom. v. Westen, in *A. Knapp's* Christoterpe, 1833). *Peter Heyling*, a German of Lübeck, went as a missionary to *Abyssinia* (1635), and several of his friends went to other countries of the East, at the same time, and for a similar purpose. Of the latter nothing was ever heard. But an Abyssinian abbot who visited Europe, brought tidings of Heyling. At first he was opposed by the machinations of the Jesuits. As soon, however, as they were driven off, he gained access to the court, became minister to the king, one of whose relatives he married. The ultimate fate of him and his mission is unknown.

IV. THE REFORMED CHURCH.

§ 40. REFORMED THEOLOGY AND ITS CONFLICTS.

Theological science flourished in the Reformed Church during the 17th century, to an unexampled degree. The contributions to Biblical philology, to antiquarian and historical researches, were especially remarkable. The Reformed theologians of France sought to out-rival the Maurines and Oratorians of that country, and those of the Netherlands, England, and Switzerland sought

to keep up with the reputation for learning acquired by their French brethren. But a union of the Reformed Churches of different countries, in faith and confession, and by means of general synods, failed at the first attempt to affect it, in Dort. Opposition to Calvin's rugged doctrine of predestination started a Pelagianizing current in the Reformed Church, which carried with it others besides ex professo *Arminians*. In England this opposition found its expression in *latitudinarianism*, and, still worse, in *deism* (§ 43, 2). In France it took a more moderate course, and led, in several respects, to an approximation to the *Lutheran doctrine*. In general, however, all these movements are to be regarded as a reaction of *Zwinglianism*, which, though repelled, had not been overcome by *Calvinism*. The intrusion of the *Cartesian* philosophy into the Reformed Church, was successfully resisted by *Voetius;* but then a *scholasticism* obtained the ascendancy, in comparison with which that of Quenstedt is only child's play. In opposition to it the *federal* theology of *Cocceius* forced its way back to the Scriptural life-source, and to a certain extent corresponds with the pietistic movement.

1. *The Arminian Controversy.* (Cf. *J. Regenboog*, Hist. d. Remonstranten. From the Dutch, Lemgo, 1781, 2 Bde.—*M. Graf*, Betr. zur Gesch. d. Syn. v. Dordr. Bas. 1825. [Herzog's Encycl. Philad. 1860, articles *Arminius*, *Dort*]).—Calvin's dogma of absolute predestination (which even the German Reformed Church evaded, or softened down), produced in the Netherlands a passionate controversy, which ended in the split of the Netherland Reformed Church. In the 16th century, already, the milder view of the *infralapsarians*, who held that the act of predestination followed the fall, was set up in opposition to that of the stricter Calvinists, who maintained that God had passed that act, before the fall, and who were therefore called *supralapsarians*. Drawn into this controversy, *James Arminius*, prof. in Leyden since 1603, became more and more convinced, that the dogma of an absolute predestination was anti-scriptural, but then wandered into Pelagian paths. His colleague, *Francis Gomarus*, violently opposed him. The conflict soon became so bitter and general, that the Holland States supposed they would have to interfere. A religious colloquy proved the more fruitless, as *Arminius* died during its progress (1609). The States, favoring the Arminians, declared the differences non-essential, and enjoined peace. *Simon Episcopius*, from 1611 prof. in Leyden, placed himself at the head of the Arminian party. But as the Arminians were continually reproached and assailed by the Gomarists as Pelagians, they laid a *Remonstrance* before the States (1610), which, in five

articles, set forth a carefully restricted semipelagianism. Thenceforth they were called *Remonstrants*, their opponents *Contra-Remonstrants*. There were influential men on the side of the Arminians, including the syndic *Oldenbarneveld*, and *Hugo Grotius*,[30] distinguished as a jurist, humanist, and theologian, — heads of the liberal, republican party. The Stadtholter *Maurice of Orange*, on the other hand, took part with the Gomarists, in order by their influence to pave his way to the throne. By a master-stroke he succeeded in overpowering the leaders of the opposing party. It was ordered that the religious controversy should be decided by a general *Synod at Dort* (1618–19). An invitation to attend was extended to theologians of all Reformed countries, and 28 foreigners were present. The synod held 154 sessions. The result could be foreseen. The doctrine of the Remonstrants was rejected, absolute predestination was established anew as a doctrine of the Church, but the infralapsarian view was allowed. *Remonstrant* congregations were not tolerated in Holland until 1630 (after the death of Maurice). Their original semipelagianism, however, gradually degenerated into decided Pelagianism. Concerning the Collegiants, see § 42, 1.

2. *Effects of the Arminian Controversy.* — The canons of Dort were by no means received by all the Reformed Churches. In *Germany*, Brandenburg, Hesse, and Bremen, expressly and decidedly refused assent to them. The tempered Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Confessio Marchica, continued to prevail there, with more or less sympathy for Arminianism. In *England* and *Scotland* spirited efforts were made by the *Presbyterians* to secure the ascendancy of Dort, whilst the *Episcopal Church* would have nothing to do with it, and, from its aversion to exclusive Calvinism, gave place to *latitudinarian* tendencies, which allowed the distinction of essential and non-essential articles of faith, and thus largely fell into a state of lukewarmness and indifferentism. The most distinguished latitudinarians of this period are: *William Chillingworth* (*ob.* 1644), who became disgusted with the theological collisions of his Church, and took refuge in Catholicism, but soon discovered his mistake, retraced his steps, and sought and found true peace in the Word of God alone. (Cf. *A. Neander*, Erinn. an Wil. Ch. Berlin, 1832.— [The works of Ch., etc., Philad., 1841]); the renowned pulpit orator, *John Tillotson*, Archb. of Cant. (*ob.* 1694); *Gilb. Burnet* (*ob.* 1715), author of a Hist. of the Ref. etc., and others. — The *French* reformed Church remained, in general, true to strict Calvinistic orthodoxy, although several of its esteemed theologians strove to soften down the sharp points of the predestinarian system. Thus *Moses Amyrault*, prof. at the Ref. acad. of Saumur (*ob.* 1664), who proposed the doctrine of a universalismus hypotheticus, which taught that God had determined by a Decretum universale et hypotheticum to save all men (even the heathen on the ground of a fides implicita) through Jesus Christ, on condition of faith, to effect

which gratia resistibilis is given to all, whilst, in consequence of a decretum absolutum et speciale, only the elect receive gratia irresistibilis. (Traité de la prédestination, 1634). Two French synods, at Alençon (1637) and Charenton (1644), pronounced this doctrine to be admissible, and many highly respected theologians (*Dav. Blondel*, *Jean Daillé*, and *J. Claude*) defended it. Others, however, (*Pet. du Moulin* in Sedan, *Andr. Rivet*, and *Fr. Spanheim* in Leyden, *Sam. Maresius* in Gröningen), assailed it most violently (cf. *A. Schweizer*, Mos. Amyraldus, in the Tüb. Jahrbb. 1852, I.) Amyrald's colleague, *Joshua de la Place* (Placæus, *ob.* 1655) went still further, and denied the unconditional imputation of Adam's sin, and regarded original sin only as an evil which does not involve guilt until actual sin has been committed. The synods above named condemned this doctrine. Some time afterwards, *Claude Pagon*, at Saumur (*ob.* 1685), excited a lively controversy by a declaration which pointed to universal grace, affirming that all the operations of Divine providence and of the Holy Spirit were designed to effect man's conversion, the former by the events of life, the latter by means of the Word of God. A number of French synods condemned this doctrine, and affirmed an immediate, as well as a mediate operation of the Holy Spirit and of providence (cf. *Al. Schweizer*, d. Pajonismus, in the tübg. Jahrbb. 1853, I.) — In *Switzerland*, genuine Calvinism was most rigidly adhered to. In its defence, the Zurich theologian *J. H. Heidegger*, aided by Prof. *Fr. Turretin* of Geneva, drew up a new symbol, the *Formula consensus helvetici*, which was recognized by most of the cantons in 1675. Besides setting forth a rigid predestinarian doctrine, this consensus also laid it down as a doctrine of the Church, that the Hebrew vowel points of the Old Testament were inspired, a view for which the two Basel professors, *John Buxtorf*, father (*ob.* 1629) and son (*ob.* 1664), contended, and which *Louis Capellus* of Saumur (*ob.* 1658) opposed.

3. *The Cartesian and Cocceian Controversies.*—Even after the subsidence of the Arminian controversy, the Netherlands were the scene of violent theological disputes. The philosophy of the French Catholic *René Descartes* (§ 43, 1) found great favor among the Reformed of Holland. It sustained, indeed, in itself, no immediate relation to Christianity, or the Church, and its theological adherents desired to have it used only as a means of formal cultivation. But its fundamental principle, that all real knowledge proceeds from doubt, was regarded by the leading representatives of a strict orthodoxy as most perilous to the Church. The most respected, talented, and violent of these opponents, was *Gisbert Voëtius*, prof. of theol. at Utrecht (1634–76). He succeeded in obtaining from the States' General a prohibition (1656) of the Cartesian philosophy. The system did, indeed, produce very suspicious fruits. One of its chief advocates, *Alex. Röll*, a German, and prof. at Utrecht (*ob.* 1718), not only taught that the divinity of the Holy Scriptures must be demonstrated by reason, inasmuch as

the testimonium Spir. s. internum was limited to believers, but he also disputed the imputation of original sin, the doctrine that the death of saints is a penalty of sin, and the eternal generation of the Son. Another zealous Cartesian, *Balth. Bekker* (preacher at Amsterdam, deposed 1692, *ob.* 1698), in his "De betooverde Weereld," denied the agency of the devil and of demons in general. Such evil fruits justified the cry of heresy raised by the orthodox party, and brought Cartesianism into very bad credit. But the theological scholasticism which Voëtius and his school so fully elaborated, called forth a more powerful reaction from another side, which successfully contended against it, as barren, and producing an ossification both of science and religious life. *John Cocceius* (Koch), prof. of theol. at Franeker and Leyden (*ob.* 1669), stood at the head of this reaction. The great aim of his life was to lead theology back to the Bible, as its only living source, and to supply it with a vital foundation, gathered from the Bible itself. He believed that he had found such a basis in the idea of a two-fold covenant of God with man (the fœdus naturæ *before*, and the fœdus gratiæ *after* the fall). Thus he became the author of the *federal theology*, which made the historical development of Revelation the ruling principle of theological inquiry, and of theology as a system, and thus became the founder of a purely biblical theology (as a history of Redemption). He adhered as closely as possible to predestinarian orthodoxy, but it was only a mechanical adhesion. It is not the idea of an *election* of grace, but of a *guidance* of grace, which predominates in his whole system. In exegesis he set up the rule: Id significant verba, quod significare possunt in integra oratione sic ut omnino inter se conveniant. But Christ is the centre of the history of Redemption, the Church, and the world; hence everything found in the Bible, history, doctrine, prophecy, stands in immediate and necessary relation to Christ. The Old Testament furnishes, everywhere, prophecies and types pointing to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and as all histories written after his coming, point to his second advent, both the Old and New Testaments foretell and foreshadow the history of the Church and the world to the end of time. Thus Typology becomes the essence and guide of Cocceian theology; but it also often wanders into innumerable arbitrary allegories, and an almost puerile trifling with external, incidental, and forced resemblances. Common opposition to scholasticism brought the Cartesians and Cocceians into a somewhat close relationship. The former took up with the favorite ideas of the Cocceians, and these prized the Cartesian philosophy as a formal means of culture. This, however, excited the scholastics to a violent assault upon both. They especially charged Cocceian theology with Judaism, Pelagianism, Chiliasm, and all conceivable heresies, whilst Cocceius and his adherents blamed orthodoxy à la mode with the radical ruin of the Reformed Church. Politics was mixed up with this controversy, also, as with the Arminian. The Orange party sought support among the Voëtians:

the liberal republican party looked to the Cocceians. A formal schism, as in the former case, was prevented only by the urgent entreaties and admonitions of foreign (German Reformed) synods. Cocceian theology secured toleration and even admission to theological chairs, and soon acquired a decided preponderance over scholastic theology. (Cf. *Melch. Leydecker*, Synopsis controversiarum de fœd. et testamentis Dei, quæ hodie in Belgio moventur, Traj. 1690.)

4. *Theological Literature.* — *Biblical oriental philology* flourished mightily in the Reformed Church of this period, especially through the labors of *John Drusius* of Franeker (*ob.* 1616), the greatest Old Testament exegete of his day; then through the two *Buxtorfs* in Basel (father, *ob.* 1629; and son, *ob.* 1664), who were the greatest rabbinical scholars in the Christian Church. The former wrote Chaldaic and Syriac grammars, and a Hebrew-Chaldee lexicon, Tiberias s. Commentarius Masorethicus (inspiration of the vowel points), etc. His two greatest works: Concordantiæ Bibl. hebr. and Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabinicum, proofs of his gigantic industry, were first completed by his no less laborious son, who also contributed a number of his own works to this department of learning. Both were rivalled by *J. Henry Hottinger* of Zurich (*ob.* 1667), who made himself master of oriental literature and languages, so far as they were then accessible, and made them subservient to Biblical philology in a great number of learned works, and found time, besides, to write a comprehensive and learned Church history. *Cocceius*, also, holds an important place among Hebrew lexicographers. In England, *Brian Walton* (*ob.* 1661), in connection with a number of English scholars, undertook to issue the *London Polyglott*, which far surpassed all previous similar publications in the completeness of its material and apparatus. *Edm. Castellus*, prof. at Cambridge, contributed his renowned Lexicon heptaglotton, as the 7th volume of this great work. The *Elzevir* printing-offices in Amsterdam and Leyden effected the issue of a textus receptus of the New Testament (1624). *J. Pearson* collected the most valuable exegetical contributions of earlier times, and published them in his great work: *Critici Sacri*, Lond. 1660, 9 vols. fol.; and *Matthew Pole* did the same in his Synopsis criticorum, Lond. 1669, 5 vols. fol. The most distinguished exegetes of this period were: in France, the brothers *Jacob Capellus*, in Sedan (*ob.* 1624), and *Louis Capellus* in Saumur (*ob.* 1658), for their thorough knowledge of languages, and liberal criticisms; in England, *Edw. Pococke* in Oxford (*ob.* 1691, Hosea, Joel, Micah, Malachi), and *John Lightfoot* in Cambridge (*ob.* 1695, Horæ hebraicæ et talmudicæ, in elucidation of the New Testament); in the Netherlands, *John Cocceius*, who wrote comm. on almost the whole Bible, giving, beside the typological significations, a thorough grammatical historical interpretation, — and his pupil *Campegius Vitringa* in Franeker (*ob.* 1716), the distinguished expositor of Isaiah and the Apocalypse. Among the Arminian exegetes we name the learned statesman and

jurist *Hugo Grotius* (*ob.* 1645), and *John Clericus* in Amsterdam (born 1657, *ob.* 1736), the two greatest masters of historico-grammatical exposition, of this and the succeeding century, and who also levied upon classical literature and philology for illustrations of the Scriptures. Specially deserving of notice is *John Andr. Eisenmenger*, prof. of the oriental languages in Heidelberg (*ob.* 1704), author of the renowned work: "Entdecktes Judenthum," 2 Bde. 4to., in which he collected from countless Jewish works, with stupendous industry, enormous learning, and fanatical partiality, the absurdities and blasphemies of the Rabbinical theology, having been prompted to the undertaking by the assumptions and arrogance of the Jews of that day. The book was published in Frankfürt (2000 copies), and Eisenmenger devoted his entire property to it. The Jews offered him 12,000 guilders to suppress it, but he demanded 30,000. They then procured an order from the court of Vienna, for the confiscation of the entire edition, before a single copy could be sold. Eisenmenger died soon after this (1704), and his heirs endeavored in vain to secure the release of the book. Even the urgent intervention of King *Frederick* of Prussia was unavailing. The king finally (1711) resolved to have another edition printed at his own cost, in Königsberg, from a copy which had been presented before the book was confiscated. After this was done the Frankfürt edition was likewise released. The Reformed Church of this period made truly brilliant contributions to the departments of *Biblical Archæology* and *History*, including those of the Englishmen *J. Selden* (de synedriis vett. Hebr.; De Diis Syris.; Uxor hebr.; De jure naturali et gentium juxta discipl. Hebr.), *Thomas Goodwin* (Moses and Aaron), *James Usher* (Usserius, Annales V. et N. T.), *J. Marsham* (Canon chronicus), *John Spencer* (*ob.* 1693, de legibus Hebr. ritual., with an arbitrary reference of them to Egyptian customs, on the ground of a divine accommodation); of the Frenchman *Sam. Bochart* (Hierozoicon, a nat. hist. of the Bible; Phaleg, or bibl. geography as a comm. on Genesis, c. 10; both works almost inexhaustible treasures of the most exquisite learning); in the Netherlands, *Pet. Cunæus* (de republ. Hebr.) *J. Braun* (de vestitu pontif. hebr.), *C. Vitringa* (de Synagoga vett.), etc.

Dogmatic theology throve most on Netherland soil. A Pole, *John Makowsky* (Maccopius, *ob.* 1644), as teacher of theol. at Franeker, introduced the *scholastic* method into Reformed dogmatics (Loci communes theol.) The synod of Dort acquitted him, indeed, of the charge of heresy, but disapproved of his scholastic method. Nevertheless it soon became predominant. Its most distinguished advocates are *Samuel Maresius* of Gröningen (*ob.* 1673), *Gisbert Voëtius* of Utrecht (*ob.* 1676, Selectæ disputt. theol.), *John Hoornbeck* of Leyden (*ob.* 1666); and among the Germans, *Fred. Wendelin*, Rector in Zerbst (*ob.* 1652). The most distinguished *federal* theologians, next to *Cocceius* (Summa doctrinæ de fœdere et testamentis Die 1648), are: *Francis Momma*, *Abr.*

Heidanus, *Casp. Wittig*, *Sol. v. Till*, and *Henry Hulsius*, of Leyden; *John Braun* of Gröningen; *Herman Witsius* of Franeker; *Francis Burmann* and *Melch. Leydecker* of Utrecht.—The Frenchman, *Is. Peyrerius*, attracted great attention by his declaration, based on Rom. 5 : 12, etc., that Adam was primogenitor of the Jews only, and that the Gentiles were of pre-Adamite origin, and that the flood was not universal (Syst. theol. ex Præadamitarum hypothesi, 1655). He escaped imprisonment by entering the Catholic Church ; he recanted, but still adhered to his views (*ob.* 1676).—Morality, which had been largely limited to an exposition of the decalogue, was raised by *Moses Amyrault* to an independent science (La morale chrétienne, 6 vols.) Casuistry was treated of by *W. Perkins* of Cambridge, and *W. Amesius* of Rotterdam. General polemics were prosecuted by *Hoornbeck*, *Francis Turretin*, of Geneva, *Fred. Spanheim* of Leyden, etc. The most extensive controversial work was produced by *Dan. Chamier* of Montauban (*ob.* 1621) against the Catholics (Panstratia catholica, 4 vols. fol.) The *historical* studies of the Reformed Church were, likewise, almost exclusively pursued for the purposes of controversy against the Catholics, and were prosecuted with a thoroughness and zeal which contributed largely to the elucidation of the science. General Church history was studied by *J. H. Hottinger* of Zurich, *Fred. Spanheim* of Leyden, *Jacob Basnage* of Zütphen, *ob.* 1691 (adv. Baronius). Among the numerous historical monographs, we must specially name the works of *Dav. Blondel*, *James Daillé* (Dallæus), *Claude Salmasius*, *J. Usher*, *Dodwell*, *Spanheim*, *Heidegger*, etc. (Cf. § 48, 3.)

§ 41. PIETY IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The piety of the Reformed Church is characterized by an austere legality, a rigoristic renunciation of the world, and a resolute earnestness which disregarded consequences, coupled with a decision and energy of will, which nothing in the world could break or bend. It was the spirit of Calvin which impressed this character upon it, and his doctrine which supported it. Only by countries where Calvin's spirit was enervated or repressed, as in the Lutheranizing German Reformed, or Catholicising Anglican Churches, was this tendency resisted. But it manifests itself in an enhanced degree, often to extreme harshness, among the English and Scotch Puritans, as well as among the French Huguenots, nourished, as it was, by persecution and oppression. Hemmed in by the narrowest legal limits, the religious life of the Reformed could not move so freely, and could not exhibit itself in such rich and various forms, as are expressed in the hymns and singing of the German Lutheran Church.

Nevertheless the Reformed Church furnished the pattern of a princely saint, in the person of the noble Electress *Louisa Henrietta*, who may be favorably compared with the pious Duke Ernest (§ 39, 5). She, likewise, composed several hymns of great merit, but they, and similar productions, breathe not a Romanic Calvinistic, but rather a German spirit, formed partly by Lutheran influences.—But the highest glory of the Romanic Reformed Church of this period, a glory which renders it honorable in all ages, is its incomparable martyr-spirit, which it displayed most brilliantly in France.

1. In its public singing, the Reformed Church still continued to use, mainly, Marot's and Lobwasser's metrical versions of the Psalms (§ 23, 1). *Maurice* of Hesse issued a new edition (1612) of the latter, with some new austere melodies, for the use of the Church in his country. But Lutheran psalmody gradually passed over into the Reformed Church, whilst the latter furnished a couple of religious poets during this period, whose hymns, as true Church hymns, were adopted by Lutheran hymn-books. They are: *Louisa Henrietta*, Princess of Orange, wife of the great Elector (*ob.* 1667). She furnished four hymns for a hymn-book provided by her for Reformed congregations (including "Jesus meine Zuversicht," and "Ich will von meiner Missethat"), and *Joachim Neander*, preacher in Bremen (*ob.* 1680. "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen König"). Among ascetic writers, *Richard Baxter* occupies the first rank. He was a moderate Puritan, and a chaplain in Cromwell's army (*ob.* 1691. "Saints' Rest," "Call to the Unconverted," "The Reformed Pastor," etc.) The Puritans can also boast of a most distinguished poet in *John Milton* (Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained), who, however, also handled a severe controversial pen, and vindicated the execution of Charles I.

2. The Reformed Church had two opportunities of proving the ardor of its Christian love in the work of *missions among the heathen*, one by the cession of the Portuguese East India colonies to the Netherlands, at the beginning of the 17th century, another by the colonies which went from England to North America, during that entire century. The Netherland government, in its missionary operations, followed in the footsteps of its Portuguese predecessor. It demanded of all the natives who sought any official position, that they should be baptized and subscribe the Belgic confession. Many thousands outwardly complied with these terms, who, morally, remained what they were before. On the other hand the English Puritans, who had emigrated to America on account of their faith, displayed a zeal in their efforts to convert the Indians, which was worthy of the Protestant name. One of their number, *John Eliot*, was called the apostle of the Indians. For fifty years he labored among them with untiring and self-denying zeal,

translated the Bible into their own language, and estalished 17 mission stations among them, 10 of which, however, were broken up during his lifetime by a bloody war. He died in 1690. Eliot's work was continued for five generations by the *Mayhew* family. English Puritans in London established a society for the propagation of the Gospel in 1647.

V. ANTI- AND EXTRA-ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.

§ 42. SECTS AND FANATICS.

All the four principal Churches contribute a share to the history of sectarianism and fanaticism, not excluding the Catholic (§ 36, 1) or even the Greek. The *Baptists* in England, like the Anabaptists of the continent, rejected infant baptism; whilst the *Quakers*, carrying this tendency to its furthest extreme, wholly rejected baptism and the Lord's Supper, adopted the old theory of an inner light, and made it the basis of their organization. A number of other fanatics and separatists did not get so far as to form a permanent organization. The chief rendezvous of these was in the Netherlands, where a free government afforded a refuge for all who were banished on account of their faith. There alone, also, did the press enjoy sufficient liberty to aid in the propagation of mystical and theosophic works, without hindrance. The sects of Russia, finally, which have been but little inquired after, possess very special interest, and claim our notice (Cf. § 49.)

1. *Netherland Anabaptists.* (Cf. § 27, 2).—Even during Menno's life, the Mennonites had divided into the moderate or *Waterlandians*, and rigid or *Flemingians*. The former, who departed in many respects from the original strictness of the sect, in regard to morals and discipline, and constituted a preponderant majority, soon separated, in consequence of the Arminian controversy, into a remonstrant and a predestinarian party. The former were designated *Galenists*, after their leader Galenus de Haen, and *Lammists*, because their church adopted the symbol of the Lamb. The others were called *Apostoolians*, from their leader Samuel Apostool, or *Sunnists*, because the sign of the sun was placed on the front of their churches. The Lammists, who rejected all confessions of faith, gradually gained a decided ascendency; but in 1800 the two parties united, and the Sunnists adopted the principles and doctrines of the Lammists. The Remonstrant Anabaptists received

a large accession from the Arminian Collegiants. During the time that the Arminians were not tolerated by the State, and when their teachers were banished, the lack of clergymen among them induced the three brothers *Van der Codde* to found another sect, called *Collegiants*, who abolished the office of the ministry, allowed laymen to preach and administer the sacraments, and admitted only adults to baptism, by immersion. Their place of immersion was the village of *Rhynsburg* on the Rhine; hence they were also called *Rhynsburgers*. They were called Collegiants from their assemblies, which were designated *Collegia*.

2. *The English Baptists.*—About the middle of the 17th century, the *Baptist* party sprang from the English Independents. They differed from the latter in the rejection of infant baptism, from the Anabaptists of the Continent, by retaining the independent or congregationalist constitution. They baptized by immersion. They also rejected ordination. Through the influence of Arminianism, they split (1791) into *Particular Baptists*, who hold to Calvinistic predestination (gratia particularis) and *General Baptists*, who reject that doctrine. The former were by far the more numerous. Another sect, the *Seventh-day Baptists*, was started toward the close of the 17th century by *Francis Bampfield*. They derive their name from their observance of the seventh instead of the first day of the week, as their Sabbath. From England the Baptists soon went to North America, which thenceforth became their chief seat. There the original English form of the sect was diversified with a great variety of shades. All the American Baptists retained the Congregational constitution. (Cf. § 49, 6.)

3. *The Quakers.* (Cf. William Penn, a summary of the hist. discipl. and doctrine of Friends. Lond. 1692.—*G. W. Alberti*, aufr. Nachricht von d. Rel., Gottesdienst Sitt. u. Gebr. d. Qu. Hann. 1750.—*H. Tuke*, Principles of Rel. as professed by the Quakers. [*Neal's* Hist. of the Puritans.—*Sewell's* and *Rutty's* Hist. of the Quakers]).—*George Fox* (*ob.* 1691), a shoemaker in the county of Leicester, arose (1647) as a preacher of repentance and a reformer, during the disturbances which then distracted Church and State in England. Rejecting all external Churchism, he desired to base Christianity wholly upon the inner light of the Spirit in man, as a continuous divine revelation. He gained many adherents, and in 1649 founded a distinct religious communion, which assumed the name of the *Society of Friends*, but their opponents, in ridicule, called them *Quakers* (tremblers, probably, from Philip. 2 : 12.) The doctrinal views of the Friends were reduced to a system, during Fox's life, by *George Keith* (who, however, subsequently returned to the Anglican Church, and assailed Quakerism), and especially by *Robert Barclay* (*ob.* 1690. Theologiæ verè Christ. apologia, and a Catechism or Confession of Faith, pronounced good by the general assembly of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles). Their refusal to serve in war, to take the oath, or to pay tithes, subjected them to severe

persecutions, imprisonment, etc. *William Penn* (*ob.* 1718), son of the English admiral, then appeared as their deliverer and second founder. In payment of a debt due his father, the Government conveyed to him a large tract of land along the Delaware, in North America, which he converted into an asylum for all the persecuted and oppressed, and not only from among Quakers. He founded, there, the colony of Pennsylvania (1682), under the English Government. Its chief city was Philadelphia, and the fundamental principle of its charter complete liberty of religion and conscience. In England, also, the Quakers soon obtained toleration, and were granted the same rights with other dissenters, all possible forbearance being exercised towards their views concerning the oath, war, etc. The Quakers acknowledge the Bible as the word of God, but regard the inner word of God in men as of superior force, the former being considered merely as the starting-point of the latter, and a means of exciting it. They wholly reject the ministry and theological learning. Their communion consists only of such as are enlightened. In their meetings, whoever is moved by the Spirit, man or woman, may speak, pray, or exhort. If none is thus moved, they continue sitting for a while in silent contemplation, and then as quietly separate. They have no singing or music. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not observed by them. In social life, the Quakers are distinguished by strict honesty, earnestness, an extremely simple mode of living, a contempt of all luxury, change of fashion, or conventional rules of society, etc. They conscientiously forbade taking the oath, and all military and civil service. Subsequently, however, many of them abated their rigorous severity in life and manners; such were called the *wet*, whilst those who adhered to their original rigor were called the *dry*, Quakers. During the present century a new party arose among the American Quakers, under *Elias Hicks*, who wholly tore loose from historical Christianity, by denying the divinity of Christ, and the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. This movement compelled the opposing party, called *Evangelical Friends*, to attach themselves more closely to the authority of the Holy Scriptures. (Cf. § 49, 7. [Also, *Gurney*, on the peculiarities of Friends, and *Is. Crewdson*, Beacon to the Friends, 1835]).

4. Many other fanatics arose during this period, who failed, however, to found permanent sects. *Jean de Labadie*, of France, whom the Jesuits educated, joined the Reformed Church, and by the aid of his talented and learned adherent, *Anna Maria von Schurmann*, founded the sect of Labadists in the Netherlands, who insisted upon an inner Christianity, in true mystic sectarian style. — *Peter Poiret*, court-preacher at Deux-Ponts in the Palatinate, previously a Cartesian philosopher, was a warm admirer of Bourignon and Guyon, whose writings he published, and whose genuine Catholic mysticism he caricatured by protestanizing it (L'économie divine. Amsterd. 1687, 7 Bde.).—*Jane Leade*, of the county of Norfolk, a great admirer of Böhme's writings,

had spasms and visions, in which divine wisdom appeared to her in the form of a virgin. She spread her Gnostic revelations by means of numerous tracts, founded the *Philadelphia Society*, and died in 1704, aged 81 years. The chief of her adherents was *John Pordage*, a physician, whose writings furnish the most insane specimen of the mystical gibberish.—From the Lutheran Church sprang *Fred. Breckling*, a Holstein preacher, who was called to account for his slanders against the Lutheran Church and its ministers, and fled to Holland. There he preached for some time at Zwoll, but was then deposed for his Chiliasm. After that he lived privately, and wrote a number of unimportant mystical works (*ob.* 1711).—*Quirinus Kuhlmann* of Breslau, who travelled through all Europe and part of Asia, advocating insane schemes of a reformation and union of all religions and sciences, and finally perished at the stake in Moscow (1689).—Of greater importance was *John Gichtel* (*ob.* 1710), previously procurator of the imperial chamber at Spires, an eccentric admirer of Böhme. He desired to tear himself loose from all natural bonds, and descend into the depths of the Godhead. He had revelations and visions, and zealously opposed the doctrine of justification. His adherents, *Gichtelians*, called themselves *Angelic Brethren* (Matt. 22 : 30), and strove, in the spirit of their master, to attain to an angelic sinlessness, by tearing loose from all carnal desires, cares, and toils, and to a priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, to appease the wrath of God. (Cf. § 49.)

5. *Russian Sects.* (Cf. *A. v. Harthausen*, Studien über d. innern Zustand Russlands. Hann. 1847, I. 337, etc.)—A great number of sects arose in the Russian empire, designated by the general name of *Raskolniki* (apostates). Their origin and history is involved in much obscurity. According to their fundamental character, they form two diametrically opposite leading classes: I. The *Starowerzi*, or those holding the ancient faith. Their origin was occasioned by the liturgical reformation of the learned and powerful patriarch *Nikon*, who (1652) attempted to effect a thorough improvement of the liturgical books, which had been greatly perverted by previous ignorance. But his movement was strongly opposed by the people, who adhered to their old forms. This opposition was by no means overcome, but led to a separation of many (farmers) from the parent Church. They combine with their stiff adherence to the old liturgical forms, a contracted aversion to all new customs, and articles of luxury, introduced into society (ex. gr. think it a sin to shave the beard, to smoke tobacco, to drink tea or coffee, etc.) This sect, which is still very numerous, is in general distinguished by a simple, moral, and temperate manner of life. There are three kinds of Starowerzi: (1.) The *Jedinowerzi* (holding the same faith), who approach nearest to the orthodox Church, recognize its priesthood, and differ from it only in their religious ceremonies and social manners. (2.) The *Starovbradzi* (adherents to the old customs), who differ from the last named only by their refusal to

recognize the priests of the orthodox Church. (3.) The *Bespopowtschina* (the priestless), who have no priests, but only elders. They are split up into numerous smaller sects, some of which have adopted decidedly Gnostic elements.—II. Extremely opposite to the Starowerzi we find a number of sects of a *fundamentally Gnostic, mystic, and fanatical tendency*, rejecting all external churchism, with its ceremonies and sacraments, or utterly diluting them. Many of these sects, whose Gnosticism is embraced in fanatical forms, probably perpetuated themselves from the Middle Ages, by means of secret traditions, that period having been exceedingly fertile in Gnostic and Manichæan productions. To this sect belong the *Morelschiki* (the self-sacrificing), who submit from time to time to a "baptism by fire," by burning themselves; the *Skopsi* (eunuchs) who mutilate themselves; the *Chlistowtschini* (flagellants), who are also accused of practising immoral orgies; the *Dumb*, whom no torture can constrain to utter an audible sound, etc. Other sorts of spiritualistic Gnostic fanatics arose in the 18th century, through occidental influences. (Cf. § 45, 1.)

§ 43. PHILOSOPHERS AND FREE-THINKERS.

The scholastic philosophy of the middle ages had outlived itself even during the pre-Reformation period. But a long time elapsed before the philosophical impulse of the new era created for itself independent and appropriate forms and methods. The Italian Dominican, *Thomas Campanella*, may be regarded as an echo of the philosophical movement of the 16th century, and *Bacon* of *Verulam*, England, as the forerunner of modern philosophy whilst *Descartes* of France must be acknowledged as its proper founder. After him we find the pinnacles of philosophical development occupied by *Spinoza*, *Locke*, and *Leibnitz*. By the side of philosophy, we see a number of *free-thinkers* starting up, and borrowing from its armory weapons of attack upon theology and the Church. They were the heralds of the universal predominance, in the following century, of that infidelity which declared the Bible and Revelation as only imaginary and deceptive sources of religious knowledge, and nature and reason to be alone reliable.

1. *Philosophy.* (Cf. *H. Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Philos. Bd. 6, 7.—*J. E. Erdmann*, Vers. e. Wsch. Darstell. d. Gesch. neueren Philos., Lpz., 1836, etc.)—*Thomas Campanella*, of Stilo in Calabria, entered the Dominican Order, but soon lost all taste for Aristotelian philosophy and scholastic theology, and turned to Plato, the Cabala, Astrology, magic, etc Suspected of holding republican sentiments, he was placed

in custody by the Spanish government (1599). Seven times he endured the rack for 24 hours without confessing, and then pined for 27 years in a hard imprisonment. Pope Urban VIII. at length (1626) effected his transfer to the prison of the papal Inquisition. In 1629 the Inquisition acquitted him, and a pension was bestowed on him. But the Spaniards laid new snares for him, and he was compelled to flee to France, to his patron Richelieu. He died in 1639. His most complete philosophical work is the Philosophia rationalis. In his Atheismus triumphatus he defended the Christian Religion, in the Romish form, but so unsatisfactorily that many thought Atheismus triumphans would have been a more appropriate title. His Monarchia Messiæ, also, seemed even to Catholics, an unfortunate apology for popery. In his Civitas solis, an imitation of Plato's Republic, he advanced communistic views. Herder, in his Adrastea, revived his memory as a poet. — *Francis Bacon of Verulam* (for a time Lord High-Chancellor of England), the great successor of Roger Bacon (I. § 104, 3), was the first prominent and successful reformer of the scholastic mode. With a most comprehensive mind, and as a prophet of science, he organized its entire sphere, and prognosticated its future development. ("De augmentis scientiarum," and "Novum organum scientiarum.") He strictly distinguished between sphere of *knowledge* (philosophy and nature), which can only be acquired by experience, and that of *faith* (theology and the Church), of which revelation is the only source of knowledge. But in spite of this distinction he uttered the sentiment: Philosophia obiter libata a Deo abducit, pleniter hausta ad Deum reducit. He earnestly insisted upon the close observance of nature, as the only way of perfecting knowledge, and rendering it available; thus he became the author of empiricism in philosophy, and the patriarch of the utilitarianism of modern times.—The honor of being the founder of modern philosophy (in the proper sense), really belongs to *René Descartes* of France (Renatus Cartesius, *ob.* 1650). The cornerstone of his system is the proposition: Cogito, ergo sum. The thinking essence is the soul. Philosophy starts with doubting, and by means of definite cogitation arrives at a knowledge of what is true and certain in surrounding objects. The consciousness of imperfection to which the soul thus attains, leads to the idea of a most perfect being, to whose perfection existence is also necessary (the ontological proof). His philosophy, which, however, did not pretend to sustain any relation to Christianity or the Church, gained many adherents among the French Jansenists and Oratorians, and even penetrated into the Reformed theology of Holland, where it provoked a passionate controversy, in which Catholic (*Huetius*, etc.) as well as Reformed (Voëtius, etc.) theologians participated.—*Benedict Spinoza*, a Jewish convert in Holland (*ob.* 1677), acquired but little influence over the philosophical studies of his day, by the profound but obviously pantheistic philosophy exhibited in his "Ethica." It was reserved for modern times to

be carried away by it. But his "Tractatus theologico-politicus," in which he critically assailed the Christian idea of Revelation, and the authenticity of the Old Testament books, especially the Pentateuch, and vindicated absolute free-thinking, called forth the theologians of his day in opposition to his views, and in defence of Christianity. (Cf. *Schlüter*, die Lehre d. Sp. Münst. 1836.—*Sigwart*, d. Spinozismus hist. u. philos. erläutert, Tüb. 1839.—*C. v. Orelli*, Spinoza's Leben u. Lehre. Aarau, 1843; Spinoza's Works, in German, by *Auerbach*, Stuttg. 1841.) —In the sensualism of *John Locke* (*ob.* 1704) we have a middle term between Bacon's empiricism and Descartes' rationalism on the one hand, and English deism and French materialism on the other. His "Essay on the Human Understanding" denies all innate ideas, and strives to prove that all our ideas are the products of outward or inward experience (sensation or reflection). Even in this work, and still more in his "Reasonableness of Christianity," which professes to be an apology for Christianity, and, indeed, admits the truth of the biblical history, of miracles, and of the Messiaship of Christ, we find concealed a lurking pelagianism, as the basis of his religious contemplation, which discards the ideas of sin and an atonement, and openly reduces Christianity to the low level of a sound human understanding.—*Gottfried Wilh. Leibnitz* (a Hanoverian statesman, *ob.* 1716), opened the first period of German philosophy. The philosophy of Leibnitz is equally opposed to the Paracelsian theosophy of Böhme, the empiricism of Bacon and Locke, the pantheism of Spinoza, and the skepticism and manichæism of Bayle, and is, indeed, a Christian philosophy, though, alas! it did not attain to its full, legitimate development. But as it took up, improved, and carried out the philosophical rationalism of Descartes, it furnished a starting-point for subsequent theological rationalism. The foundation of his system (which is most fully exhibited in his works: "Essai de Théodicée" against Bayle, "Nouveau essai sur l'entendement humain" against Locke, and "Principia philosophiæ ad principem Eugenium") is *the doctrine of monads*. In opposition to the atom theory of materialism, he regarded all terrestrial phenomena as concentrations of the so-called monads (*i. e.* most simple, indivisible substances), each one of which, according to its particular place and design, was an image or reflection of the entire universe. Of these monads, emanating from God as the Monas monadum, the world was made a harmony, permanently arranged by God (harmonia præstabilita). This world must be the best that could be made, or it would not exist at all (optimism). In opposition to Bayle, who had argued against the wisdom, goodness, and justice of God, in Manichæan style, because of the existence of evil and sin, Leibnitz endeavored to show that the presence of evil in the world did not conflict with the idea of a best possible world, nor with the goodness, wisdom, etc. of God, since the very idea of a creature necessarily involved finiteness and imperfection, or, in other words, metaphysical evil, and that this rendered moral and

physical evil an unavoidable consequence, but not a consequence which disturbed the harmonia præstabilita. Against Locke he vindicated the existence of innate ideas as eternal truths; he assailed indeterminism against *Clarke;* affirmed the agreement of philosophy with Revelation, which might be *above* reason, but not *against* it; and he hoped that he could demonstrate the truth of his system with the same measure of evidence employed in mathematics. (Cf. *Ludovici*, Entw. e. hist. d. Leibnitzischen Phil. Lpz. 1737, 2 Bde.—*G. E. Guhrauer*, G. W. v. Leibnitz, e. Biogr. Bresl. 1842, 2 Thle.) (Cf. § 50, 7.)

2. *Free-thinkers.* (Cf. *J. A. Trinius*, Freidenkerlexic. Lpz. 1759.—*U. G. Thorschmidt*, author of a complete English Free-thinker library. Halle, 1765, fol., 4 vols.—*Léland*, Abr. d. vornehmst. deist. Schr. aus d. Engl. v. *H. G. Schmidt.* Hann. 1755. 3 Bde.—*G. V. Lechler*, Gesch. d. engl. Deism. Stuttg. 1841.—*L. Noack*, die Freidenker in d. Rel. Bd. 1. Die englischen Deisten. Bern, 1853.) — The pressure of the spirit of the times and of worldliness, towards emancipation from all positive Christianity, first appeared amidst the political freedom and ecclesiastical ruptures of *England.* The tendency was called *Naturalism*, because it would acknowledge only a *natural* instead of revealed religion — and *Deism*, because it acknowledged only a general providence of the one God, instead of the triune God of redemption. The impossibility of revelation, inspiration, prophecies and miracles, was affirmed on philosophical grounds; their actual existence in the Bible and history was denied on critical grounds. The simple system of deism was: God, providence, freedom of the will, virtue and continuation of the soul after death. The Christian doctrines of the Trinity, original sin, satisfaction, justification, resurrection, etc., appeared absurd and irrational. Deism in England, however, only met with sympathy among educated and prominent worldlings; the people and the entire clergy adhered to positive religion. The theological refutations of the system were numerous, but their polemical power was broken by a latitudinarian spirit. The most important *English Deists* of this century were: (1.) *Edward Herbert of Cherbury*, knight and honorable statesman (*ob.* 1648). He reduced religion to five points: belief in God; obligation to honor him by an upright life; expiation of sin by sincere repentance; retribution in eternal life. (Writings: De veritate, De religione gentilium). (2.) *Thomas Hobbes* (*ob.* 1679), an acute and productive philosophico-political author, who regarded Christianity as an oriental phantom, only of importance as a support of absolute royalty and as an antidote against revolution. The state of nature is a bellum omnium contra omnes; religion is the means by which civilization and order is restored. It belongs to the State to determine the religion which shall be established. Every one, indeed, may believe what he chooses, but, in reference to worship and churchdom, he must submit entirely to the regulations of the State, whose representative is the king. (Chief work: Leviathan, or the matter, form, and

power of a commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil, 1651). (3.) *Charles Blount* (*ob.* 1693, by suicide), a rabid opponent of all miracles as pure priestly frauds. (Oracles of Reason, Religio Laici, Great is the Diana of the Ephesians, Translation of the life of Apollonius of Tyana, by Philostratus). (4.) *Thomas Brown*, a physician (*ob.* 1682, Religio Medici).—The most celebrated of the opponents of deism of this period are: *Richard Baxter* (§ 41, 1), *Ralph Cudworth* (*ob.* 1688), a latitudinarian theologian and platonizing philosopher, who attempted to prove the chief doctrines of Christianity by means of the theory of innate ideas (his principal treatise, Systema intellectuale, was published by *Lor v. Mosheim*, in a Lat. translation, with remarks), and *Samuel Clarke* (*ob.* 1729), who himself was charged with holding Arian views of the Trinity). The pious Irishman, *Robert Boyle*, in London founded (1691) an annual stipend of £40 sterling for combating deistic and atheistic unbelief, in eight annual sermons. (Cf. § 50, 1.)

The same hostility to positive religion which inspired the English deists, manifested itself also at the same time in other countries, although in more separate and transient forms. In *Germany*, since 1672, *Mathias Knutzen* ("Hans Friederich von der vernunft"), a travelling candidate of Holstein, endeavored, by scattering numberless tracts, to establish a sect of free-thinkers, under the name of the "conscientious" (conscientiarii). The Christian "Koran" was said to contain only lies and frauds; reason and conscience were the true Bible; neither a God, nor a hell, nor a heaven existed; priests and magistrates ought to be driven out of the world, etc. As he asserted that in Jena and the neighborhood there existed already more than 700 believers in his doctrines, the academic senate authorized the most careful and anxious investigation; the result proved his statement to be empty bragging. (Cf. *H. Rossel*, in the th. studd. u. Kritt. 1844. IV.) — In *France*, the path of a frivolous unbelief was opened by the talented but flippant sceptic *Peter Bayle* (*ob.* 1706). The Jesuits gained him, the son of a Reformed preacher, for their church; but within a year and a half afterwards he apostatized. He applied himself now to the study of Cartesian philosophy, defended Protestantism in several polemic treatises, and wrote his celebrated Dictionnaire historique et critique, in which, it is true, he avoids any open hostility to, or ridicule of, the facts of revelation, but nevertheless invites thereto by his frivolous treatment of them. (Cf § 44, 10.)

THIRD PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Cf. *J. A. C. Einem*, vers. e. vollet. K. G. 18. Jahrb. Lpz. 1782. 3 Bde.—*J. R. Schlegel*, K. G. d. 18. Jahrb. Heilbr. 1784. 2 Bde.—*J. v. Huth*, vers. e. K. G. d. 18. Iahrb. Augsb. 1807. 2 Bde.—*F. C. Schlosser*, Gesch. d. 18. Jahrb. 4. A. Heidelb. 1853. ff. 4 Bde.—*K. R. Hagenbach*, K. G. d. 18. 19. Jahrb. 2 A. Lpz. 1856. 2 Bde.—*J. C. L. Gieseler*, K. G. d. 18. Jahrb. Herausg. v. C. R. Redepenning. Bonn, 1857. — The *Weimar* Acta hist. ecclest. or gesamm. Nachr. v. d. neuest. K. G. Weim. 1734–58. 20 Bde.; Nova acta, 1758–74. 12 Bde.; acta nostri temp. 1774–90. 13 Bde.—*Fr. Walch*, Neueste Rel. Gesch. Lemgo, 1771, ff. 9 Bde.—*G. J. Planck*, Neueste Rel. Gesch. Lemgo, 1787, ff. 3 Bde. — *M. Grégoire*, Hist. des sectes réligieuses depuis le commenc. du siècle dernier. Par. 1828. 5 vols.

I. THE PROVINCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 44. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Even during the first half of this century, many slights and defeats, that were hard to bear, were inflicted upon the papal hierarchy by the Roman Catholic courts. In the second half, however, dangers, which threatened even its existence, encompassed it on every side. Portugal and the Bourbon court in France, Spain, and Italy, did not rest until the papacy pronounced the sentence of death upon the Jesuits, who had become its strong support, but also its master. Soon thereupon the German archbishops threatened to emancipate themselves and the German Church from Rome, and what *they* were not able to achieve in the way of ecclesiastical progress, that a German

emperor undertook in the way of civil reforms. This danger was scarcely avoided, before the horrors of the French Revolution began, which attempted to exterminate Christianity as well as the papacy. Nevertheless, Catholicism celebrated, especially during the first decennia of this century, many victories after its fashion, through contra-reformation and conversion. Its heathen missions, however, which had been so gloriously begun, came to a sad end, and home missions were also crippled everywhere. The Jansenist controversy entered upon a new stage at the beginning of this century, which drove the Roman Catholic Church into open semipelagianism, and the Jansenists into extreme fanaticism. Ecclesiastical theology sank gradually into complete impotency, and the Roman Catholic world contributed a quota to illumination, in comparison with which that of the Protestant world was only a dim twilight.

1. *The Popes of the first half of the Century.—Clement* XI. (1700–21) protested in vain against the Elector of Brandenburg placing a royal crown upon his head. He fell into a controversy with the Emperor *Joseph* I. about the Jus primarum precum (the right of proposal to vacant benefices, which Joseph treated as the right of nomination), and about Parma, which the pope declared to be a papal, the emperor an imperial fief. Clement even took up arms, but came off the loser. The sovereign power of the Sicilian crown in ecclesiastical matters he attempted to break by ban and interdict, but was compelled instead to support 3000 exiled priests. *Benedict* XIII. (1721–30) lived to see *John* V. of Portugal, who already under Clement XI. obtained by defiance a patriarch of Lisbon, suspend all intercourse with Rome, because the pope would not appoint the nuncio, recalled from Portugal, cardinal. He canonized Gregory VII. in the vain hope thereby also to canonize his system, but almost all courts forbade the acknowledgment of the new saint. His second successor, *Benedict* XIV. (1740–58), on the other hand, desired, from free conviction, to liberate the papistic theocratic principles from their mediæval character, and give them a proportion more adapted to the present circumstances; he also insisted upon the scientific culture of the clergy, and undertook to lessen the number of festival days, but abandoned the latter on account of violent opposition.

2. *Old and New Orders.* — The *Mechitarist-Congregation* traces its origin to the Armenian *Mekhitar*, who (1701) organized at Constantinople an association for the promotion of religious and scientific culture among his countrymen; but, being opposed by the Armenian bishop, he fled to Morea (then under Venetian rule) and connected himself with the united Armenians. The pope confirmed the congregation (1712), which, during the war with the Turks, emigrated to Venice,

and settled upon the island of *St. Lazaro*. Its members, mostly Armenians by birth, united in themselves, since then, Armenian and European learning, transplanted Roman Catholic literature to Armenia, and transmitted the knowledge of Armenian literature to the occident. In modern times a celebrated Mechitarist college has been founded at Vienna, which has done great service in educating the youth and people by publishing and selling books. The order of LIGUORIANS or REDEMPTIONISTS was founded (1732) by *Alphonsus Maria de Liguori* (formerly attorney at Naples), to aid the poorest and most abandoned among the people by pastoral care and instructing the young. The chief vehicles of its efficiency were the adoration of the most holy sacrament of the altar and the worship of the most blessed virgin. The founder died in 1782, and was canonized in 1839. His numerous devotional writings found great favor in the Roman Catholic Church, and have been translated into all the languages of Europe. His Order, meanwhile, only attained to great importance after receiving into its bosom crowds of Jesuits, who had been scattered by the abolition of their Order (1773). The Jesuits especially were active in promoting the silly *worship of the heart of Jesus* by establishing brotherhoods and sisterhoods among the people; but they met with much opposition, especially from the Dominicans, who dragged the anatomy of the heart into their mocking polemics. Rome also hesitated long in acknowledging it, until finally the friend of the Jesuits, Clement XIII., to please his protégés, introduced (1765) the *Festival of the Heart of Jesus* (Feb. 6). With regard to the old Orders, the fate of *Clugny* is worthy of special mention. After the 13th century, luxuriancy and worldliness spread without resistance, on account of the prevailing love of pomp and enormous wealth of this congregation. All attempts at reformation were fruitless. In order to escape the rapacity of the neighboring lords, Clugny placed itself under royal protection, and became now a royal commandry. At the time of the Reformation, its abbots were, for the most part, from the house of the Guises. But their attempts at reform were also without permanent results; they rather caused endless divisions and collisions. The plan to unite the party of the *Reformers* with the Maurinians, which Cardinal *Richelieu* carried out (1627), as also the later attempts of Cardinal *Mazarin*, to support them by a union with the congregation of St. Vanne, failed on account of the opposition of the Cluniacensians. The abbots squandered the revenues at the court, and allowed everything to go topsy-turvy in the monasteries. When (1790) all the monasteries in France were closed, the town of Clugny purchased the monastery and its church for 100,000 fr., and levelled them to the ground.

3. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. § 35, 3). — The accommodation controversy extended from the previous century also into the present. Finally the Dominicans were victorious. In 1742, all the Jesuit missionaries in *China* were compelled to swear that they would more strictly reject

all heathen customs and usages. But the rejection of native customs provoked, instead of the toleration hitherto existing, a long persecution, from which only some ruins of the church were saved. In *East India* labored at the beginning of this century the Italian Jesuit *Beschi*, a great linguist, who toiled zealously, and with incredible success, to secure the native literature for missionary purposes, and to substitute for it a Christian one. Besides, the Capuchins opposed the Jesuits also here with the same arguments, with the same result as in China. Violent persecutions were provoked by the enjoined renunciation of the accommodation system, and ruined the mission. The idyllic Jesuit state in *Paraguay* was also finally (1750) destroyed by a treaty between Portugal and Spain.

4. *Contra-Reformation.* — In *Poland*, the Protestants lost (1717) the right to build new churches, and were even declared (1733) incapable of holding civil offices, and of participating in the diets. In the Protestant city of *Thorn*, the Jesuits avenged a popular riot directed against their college there, by a fearful official *massacre* (1724). In *Salzburg* the Archbishop Count Firmian attempted forcibly to convert the evangelicals, who had been tolerated up to this time as quiet and industrious subjects (1729). But their elders swore upon the host and consecrated salt (2 Chron. 13 : 5) to remain true to their faith. This "salt covenant" was interpreted as rebellion, and in spite of the intervention of Protestant princes, all the evangelicals were banished from house and home in the bitter winter of 1731. About 20,000 were gladly welcomed in Prussian Litthauen, others emigrated to America. The pope highly praised the "glorious" Archbishop (cf. *J. J. Moser*, Actenmäsziger Bericht, etc., Erl. 1732, 2 Bde.—*K. Panse*, Gesch. d. ausw. d. ev. Salzb. Lpz. 1827).—*Charles* XII. of Sweden, who, being at war with August. II. of Poland, had taken military possession of Silesia and Saxony, compelled the Emperor Joseph I. in the Old-Ranstadt treaty (1707) again solemnly to confirm to the Protestants in *Silesia* the concessions of the Westphalian peace, and to restore to them a part of the churches taken from them by force.

In *France*, the persecutions continued against the Huguenots. Their pastors (the pasteurs du désert) could perform spiritual offices only in constant danger of death; and though many of them received the martyr's crown at the hands of the hangman, there were not wanting heroic men, who filled the gaps, and those committed to their care rewarded them by faithfulness and steadfastness in faith (cf. *C. H. Coquerel*, Hist. des églises du désert. Par. 1841, 2 vols.—*Peyrat*, Hist. des pasteurs du désert. Par. 1842, 2 vols.—*G. Schilling*, die verfolg. d. prot. K. in Frkr. nach Coquerel. Stuttg. 1846).—A terrible example of the fanaticism of Rom. Cath. France is presented in the judicial murder of *Jean Calas* at Toulouse (1762). One of his sons hung himself in an attack of melancholy. The report spread that it was done by his father, to anticipate the contemplated conversion of the son.

The Dominicans canonized the suicide as a martyr of the Roman Catholic faith; the excited mob cried for vengeance, and the parliament permitted the unfortunate father to be broken upon the wheel. The remaining sons were compelled to renounce their faith, and the daughters were placed in a nunnery. Two years later *Voltaire* brought this dreadful crime again to notice in his Treatise sur la tolérance, and, by agitating public opinion, he brought to pass a revision of the trial, which placed the entire innocence of the abused family in the clearest light. *Louis* XV. gave them a sum of 30,000 livres. The fanatical accusers, the false witnesses, and the judicial murderers, were not punished. Still this event contributed towards improving in a measure the condition of the Protestants, and in 1787 *Louis* XVI. issued the *edict of Versailles*, by which a legal civil existence was guaranteed to them. Only the French Revolution brought them (already 1789, by a decree of the *National Convention*) religious freedom, and Napoleon's organic law (1802) also renewed and confirmed to them this concession.

5. *Conversions.* — Pecuniary embarrassment and the prospect of marrying a rich heiress, influenced Duke *Charles Alexander von Würtemberg*, who was then in the military service of Austria, to permit himself to be converted by the Jesuits in 1712. But when he ascended the throne, he was bound in the most solemn manner to permit the old state of things to exist, and to allow no Roman Catholic worship in the land, outside of his court-chapel. The most important of the other converts of this century are *Winckelmann* and *Stolberg*. In the case of both, although in directly opposite ways, Protestant illumination was blamed with their apostacy from Protestantism. Whilst *Winckelmann*, the greatest art critic of all times, was not led by religious, but by artistic ultra-montanism, into the bosom of the only saving church (1754), the warm heart of a *Leop. v. Stolberg* was not able longer to hold out beneath the air-pump of Protestant rationalism, and escaped to the perfumed atmosphere of the Roman Catholic Church (1800).

6. *Jansenism in its Second Stage.* (Cf. § 36, 2.) — A new measure of violence, proceeding from the papal court, which was controlled by French influence, renewed the Jansenist controversy in a much more threatening form. A priest of the Oratorium, who had been driven from Paris, *Paschasius Quesnel* (*ob.* 1719), published in 1693 an edition of the New Testament, with excellent edifying remarks of an evangelical character. Many bishops used and recommended this book, among them also the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal *Noailles*, who had it previously examined by *Bossuet*. The Jesuits, who hated the energetic and honest archbishop as greatly as the "Jansenist" book, recommended by him, obtained, through the artful confessor of the king, the Jesuit *Le Tellier*, a papal bull (1713) from Clement XI., the so-called *Constitution* "Unigenitus," in which 101 sentences, taken from

Quesnel's New Testament, were condemned as heretical This act of papal indiscretion, by which the most palpable semipelagianism was stamped as Roman Catholic doctrine, and Augustine practically made a heretic, divided the French Church into the two parties, viz., the Constitutionalists or *Acceptants*, who accepted the constitution, and the *Appellants*, at the head of whom was *Noailles*, who formally and solemnly protested against it. The death of Louis XIV. (1715), and the regency of the Duke of Orleans, afforded the appellants free scope for a time; even the thunderbolt of excommunication hurled at them in 1718, had no effect. But *Dubois*, the favorite of the duke, strove after the cardinal's hat, and took sides against the appellants; and Louis XV., led by his former teacher, Cardinal *Fleury*, oppressed them in every way. *Noailles* was compelled (1728) to submit, and (1730) the constitution was formally registered as the law of the empire. A fanatical ascetic spirit now took possession of the extremely oppressed Jansenists. A young Jansenist clergyman, *Francis v. Paris*, died with an appellation document in his hand (1727). His followers honored him as a saint, and numerous reports of miracles, that occurred at his grave in the grave-yard of Medardus in Paris, made the same a daily place of pilgrimage for thousands of fanatics. The wild fanaticism, which manifested itself in convulsions and prophecies concerning the destruction of the State and Church, spread wider and wider, and seized also, with contagious power, many who were altogether frivolous and hitherto unbelieving men. The government had the church-yard walled up (1732), but portions of the earth from the grave of the saint also produced convulsions and worked miracles. Thousands of convulsionaires were now cast into prison, and the Archbishop *Beaumont* of Paris, in connection with many bishops, resolved (1752) to refuse the dying sacraments to all those who produced no evidence that they accepted the constitution. The grave of "St. Francis" became, meanwhile, the grave of Jansenism, for every fanaticism carries in itself the germ of death, and communicates it to every phenomenon, which it brings under its power. Nevertheless, remnants of Jansenists existed in *France* even to the Revolution, which they had prophesied; and in the *Netherlands* a Jansenist Roman Catholic Church, embracing 5000 souls in 25 congregations, independent of the pope, under the Archbishop of Utrecht and the Bishops of Harlem and Daintry, has continued to the present time. In the northern part of the Netherlands the Roman Catholic Church was abolished by the Reformation, except in Utrecht, where there remained a chapter and an archbishop in partibus. In 1704 the occupant of this position, *Peter Codde*, was charged by the Jesuits with being a Jansenist, and was deposed by the pope. The chapter, however, would not acknowledge his Jesuit successor. All later attempts at reconciliation were frustrated by the refusal of the citizens of Utrecht to receive the constitution unigenitus. (Cf. *Th. Fliedner*, Collectenreise nach Holland und England. Essen, 1831.)[31]

7. *The Abolition of the Order of the Jesuits* (1773). (Cf. *G. v. Murr*, Gesch. d. Jes. in Portug. Nürmb. 1787, 2 Bde. [*le Bret.*] Sanunl. d merkw. Schr. d. Aufh. d. Jes. betr. Frkf. 1773, 4 Bde. 4.—*Al. v. St. Priest*, Gesch. d. Sturzes d. Jes. deutsch v. *L. v. Moseler*, Hamm. 1845. —*Carracioli*, vie de Clem. XIV., Par. 1775.—*Aug. Theiner*, Gesch. d. Pontificats Clem. XIV. nach unedist. Staatsschr. Lpz., 1853, 2 Bde.)— The Jesuits strove continually with increasing zeal and success towards a dominion of the world, and in addition to or instead of the original absolute subjection to the interests of the papacy, the founding of an independent politico-hierarchical power seemed more and more to become the chief object in view. Their aspiration after sovereignty lost, it is true, its first support by the destruction of the Jesuit-state in Paraguay, but for that they obtained a part of the *commerce of the world*, and endeavored to control *the politics* of Europe. The Jansenist controversy also increased the hatred of the people towards them; *Pascal* exposed them before the whole educated world, the other orders of monks were from the beginning hostile to them: their participation in commerce excited the jealousy of traders, and their interference with politics finally overthrew them entirely. The government of *Portugal* took the first decided step. A rebellion in Paraguay, and an attempt upon the life of the king (Joseph Emanuel), were generally attributed to them; and the minister *Pombal*, whose plans of reform they opposed everywhere, accomplished their entire banishment from Portugal in 1759, together with the confiscation of their property. Pope *Clement* XIII. (1758–69), who was elected and ruled by the Jesuits, took them into his protection by a bull; but Portugal prohibited the bull, conveyed the papal nuncio beyond the frontiers, suspended all intercourse with Rome, and sent whole ship-loads of Jesuits to the pope. *France* followed the example of Portugal, when the General, *Lor. Ricci*, answered the demands of the king for a reformation of his order with the laconic words: Sint ut sunt, aut non sint. The whole order was held responsible for the great bankruptcy of the Jesuit *La Valette*, and it was at length (1764) banished from France as being dangerous to the State. *Spain* also, and *Naples*, and *Parma*, soon thereupon had all Jesuits arrested and carried beyond the frontiers. The new election for pope, after the death of Clement XIII., was a vital question for the Order, but the influence of the courts triumphed, and the liberal Minorite Ganganelli was elected as *Clement* XIV. (1769–74). Urged by the Bourbon courts, he finally, after long wavering and hesitation, pronounced, by the bull Dominus ac Redemtor noster (1773), the *abolition of the Order* (which now numbered 22,600 members), as an act of present necessity, but added thereto, sighing: Questa suppressione mi dara la morte. And it so happened, for in the next year he died, with all the signs of having been poisoned. All the Roman Catholic courts carried out the abolition, even Austria, after that the Spanish court had sent to the Empress *Maria Theresa* a copy

of their general confession from the confiscated papers of the Jesuits The heretic *Frederick* II., however, still tolerated the Order for a time in Silesia, and Catharine II. in her Polish provinces. (Clement XIV. also abolished the reading of the Lord's Supper bull on Maundy Thursday, § 115.) (Cf. § 57, 1, 2.)

8. *Anti-Hierarchical Movement in Germany.* (Cf. *E. v. Münch*, Gesch. d. emser Congresses u. s. Peructation. Karlsr. 1840.—*Ph. Wolf*, Gesch. d. röm. kath. K. unter Pius VI., 1802, 7 Bde.—*Grosz-Hoffinger*, Leb. u. Regier.-Gesch, Joseph's II. Stuttg. 1835, 3 Bde.—*M. C. Paganel*, Gesch. Joseph's II., aus d. Franz. v. *Fr. Köhler*. Lpz. 1844.—*E. v. Münch*, Leop. v. Oest. als Reformator; in dess. Denkwürdigkk. zur Gesch. p. 303, sq.—*De Potter*, Leb. u. Memoiren des Scipio v. Ricci, Aus d. Fr. Stuttg. 1826, 4 Bde.)—The suffragan Bishop of Treves, *Nicholas von Hontheim*, published, at the time when Clement XIII. was contending with the Bourbon courts, a treatise (De statu ecclesiae et legit. potestati Rom. Pontificis ad reuniendos dissidentes in rel. christ. composit. Bullioni [Frcf.] 1763–74, 4 vol. 4to.), in which he defended, with ability and learning, the superior authority of the general councils and the independence of the bishops against the hierarchical pretensions of the popes. The book produced a profound sensation in and beyond Germany, and the pope did not dare to harm the bold champion of the freedom of the Church. It was only his second successor, *Pius* VI. (1775–99) who had the poor satisfaction of extorting a retraction from the dying old man (1778), but he also lived to see other and more dangerous storms break loose upon the hierarchy. First, the Electors of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, together with the Archbishop of Salzburg, provoked by the arbitrary conduct of a papal nuncio, assembled together in a spiritual congress at Ems (1786), and resolved upon the restoration of a German Roman Catholic National Church, independent of Rome, in the so-called Ems Punctation. But the German bishops found it more convenient to obey the distant pope than the near archbishops. They joined their opposition with that of the pope, and the project of the archbishops produced no results. Still more threatening to the continuance of the hierarchy was the government of the Emperor *Joseph* II. in Austria (1765–90). He had scarcely come into possession of sole authority, after the death of his mother, before he began a radical reform of ecclesiastical affairs in his kingdom. Already in 1781 he issued the edict of tolerance, by which political rights and the free exercise of religion was secured to the Protestants. The Roman Catholic Church was to be torn from Roman influence, to be placed under a sovereign episcopate, and made serviceable for the religious and moral culture of the nation, and all its institutions, which could not be used to promote this object, were to be abolished. The bishops, as well as the pope, protested in vain; the latter even, trusting in the power of his personality, undertook a journey to Vienna (1782). He was politely and solemnly received, but was

not able to change the decision of the emperor in the least. Still Joseph's undertaking, which was carried on in haste, without proper discretion and reflection, without sparing what had been historically established, and generally more from a humanitarian than religious stand-point, failed on account of the brief reign of the emperor and the reaction of all those who had suffered from it. The Grand-Duke, *Leopold von Tuscany*, Joseph's brother, also attempted, since 1786, to reform in a similar way the Church of his province, with the co-operation of the pious (Jansenist) Bishop *Scipio of Ricci* (*Synod at Pistoja*, 1786), but in this case also the hierarchy was finally triumphant. (Cf. § 57, 5.)

9. *The French Revolution.* (Cf. Abbe *Baldassari*, Gesch. der Wegführung u. Gefangenschaft Pius VI., aus d. Franz. v. *H. Steck*, Lübg. 1844.)—*Pius* VI. was to survive a still worse state of affairs. In 1789 the horrors of the Revolution began to afflict the Church no less than the State. The *National Assembly* (1789–91) did not design to interfere with the faith of the people, but only with the hierarchy, and to deliver the State out of its financial embarrassments by the possessions of the Church. All monasteries were abolished (1790) and their possessions sold. (Concerning the fate of *Clugny*, cf. above 2, and of *La Trappe*, § 57, 2.) The clergy were to be paid by the State and elected by the people. The liberty of faith was declared to be an inalienable right of man. The National Assembly required the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution; the pope forbade it; both under the penalty of removal from office. Thus a formal schism took place; the priests, who refused to take the oath, for the most part emigrated. Avignon was united with the French State. The terroristic *National Convention* (1792–95) brought the king to the scaffold, destroyed all Christian customs, and formally abolished Christianity (cf. § 10). The *Directory* (1795–99), occupied more with foreign affairs, again, it is true, permitted Christian worship, but French armies overran Italy and avenged the opposition of the pope by proclaiming a Roman republic (1798). Pius VI. was taken as a prisoner to France, and died from the cruelties of the French, without doing anything to prejudice himself and his dignity (1799). (Cf. § 57, 1.)

10. *The Roman Catholic Contribution towards Illumination.* (Cf. *L. Noack*, d. Freidenker in d. Relig. Bd. II. Die Französ. Freidenker, Berne, 1854.) — The Siècle de Louis XIV., with the morality of its Jesuistic confessors, with its licentiousness, bigotry, and hypocrisy at the court, with its dragoon and Bastile polemics against all reactions of a living Christianity (among Huguenots, mystics, and Jansenists), with its Cevennes prophets and Jansenist convulsionaires, etc., called forth a free-thinking spirit in the educated *French* world, to which Catholicism, Jansenism, and Protestantism, appeared both ridiculous and absurd. This spirit was essentially different from English deism. The principle of English deism was Common-sense, the general moral

consciousness in man, advocated with the clumsy weapons of rational criticism; it still held fast to something ideal and moral in man, and had a kind of religion (providence, virtue, immortality). French Naturalism, on the other hand, was a philosophy of esprit, that peculiarly French, frivolous ingenuity, using the weapons of ridicule and wit, which denied and derided everything moral and ideal. Nevertheless, a close and causal connection existed between the two; the philosophy of Common-sense was carried over to France, and was here remodelled into a philosophy of esprit: *this* was a travesty of *that*. The birth-places of this French philosophy were the bureaux d'esprit, the clubs and salons of the metropolis, its common and widely circulating organ was the Encyclopédie, edited by *Diderot* and *D'Alembert*. Its most brilliant and influential representatives, whose numerous writings unchristianized and demoralized not only France, but also the educated and leading classes in remaining Europe, were, besides the two above-named: *Voltaire* (*ob.* 1778), *Helvetius*, *Montesquieu*, and *Rousseau* (*ob.* 1778). The physician *De la Mettrie* ("L'homme machine," etc.), and the German-French *Baron de Holbach* ("Système de la nature," etc.), reduced it to the most shameless materialism. The French Revolution ripened the fruit of this sowing. The *National Convention* formally abolished Christianity, permitted about 2000 churches to be burned and destroyed, and built a temple de la Raison, in which a harlot represented the goddess of reason (1794). The Archbishop of Paris, *Gobel*, appeared with his clergy before the bar of the Convention, and declared that his previous life had been a delusion; that he now acknowledged no other religion but that of liberty. *Robespierre*, however, had the resolution passed in 1794: Le peuple français reconnait l'Etre suprême et l'immortalité de l'âme, and had a stupid Fête de l'Etre suprême celebrated. The Directory, it is true, allowed Christian worship again, but it also favored, as it was able, the deistic sect of *Theophilanthropists*, which, with its hollow phrases, soon provoked the ridicule of public opinion.

The *German* Roman Catholic Church also suffered from this spirit of illumination, which, since the middle of this century, spread through Protestant Germany. Whilst the (magnetic?) exorcisms and cures of *Pater Gassner* in Regensburg still gained many triumphs for Roman Catholicism (certainly of so doubtful a character, that the bishops, the emperor, and finally the Roman court itself, found it necessary to check the doings of the wonder-worker), *Ad. Weishaupt*, professor in Ingolstadt, instituted, with the forms of Free-masonry, the secret *Order of Illuminati* (1776), which spread the most superficial ideas of progress and human perfectibility over the whole of Germany, although it was already dissolved in 1786 by the Bavarian government, in consequence of the treason of several members. But its secondary effects existed long afterwards. The spirit of illumination also influenced Roman Catholic theology. But that the Church still possessed power to check

it, is shown by the fate of Prof. *Lorenzo Isenbiehl* of Mayence, who applied the passage, Isaiah 7: 14, not to the mother of Christ, but to the betrothed bride of the prophet, and was therefor deposed and sent back to the seminary for two years on account of deficient theological knowledge (1774). When he later (1778) published a learned treatise on the same subject, he had to atone for it by imprisonment. The pope also condemned his interpretation, and Isenbiehl recanted as a good Catholic. It went still harder with a young jurist of *Salzburg*, named *Steinbühler*, who, on account of several satires on Roman Catholic ceremonies, was condemned to death (1781), but was afterwards pardoned, although he soon afterwards died from the cruel treatment he received.

11. *Roman Catholic Theology.*—The revocation of the edict of Nantes was the sentence of death for French Reformed theology, which was thereby deprived of all the conditions of life; but it at the same time also deprived *French Roman Catholic* theology of its stimulus and impulse. The latter could now lie peaceably on its lees, since Huguenot polemics were silenced, and Huguenot learning no longer provoked to rivalry, and resignedly commit the carrying on of polemics to the dragoons, the scaffold, and the Bastile. There was yet added to this the violent extermination of Jansenism, which deprived the French Roman Catholic Church of its noblest powers. The first half of this century has, nevertheless, a few distinguished names to show, as sporadic secondary effects of the previous brilliant epoch; in the second half, however, theology sank into absolute impotency. Retribution did not tarry. The Huguenot opposition to the papacy and the Jansenist to Pelagianism were destroyed, but the most shameless naturalism, atheism, and materialism, with the war-cry: Écrasez l'infame, stood now victorious on the plain; and Roman Catholic theology sunk into so deep a lethargy, that it could not even attempt earnestly to combat and resist, but was compelled to surrender itself and the entire French nation to the monster. Theological learning had also greatly declined in the other Roman Catholic countries. Only Italy had a few brilliant names in the first half of this century. In Roman Catholic Germany a self-dependent activity in theology only manifested itself in the time of Joseph II., and under the tolerance which he granted an almost cynical spirit of free-thinking (especially in judging matters of a Church-historical character) developed itself among many Roman Catholic theologians of the empire (*Royko*, *Wolff*, *Dannenmayr*, *Michl* etc.) On the other hand, from the school of the noble mystic, *Michael Sailer* (*ob.* 1832), there went forth a Catholicism that was as hearty and warm as it was mild and irenical, which could also be enjoyed by pious Protestants of a common faith and life, and whose brotherly spiritual communion needed not to be repelled. Sailer was removed from his office in Dillingen (1794), because he was not considered sufficiently orthodox, but he became later Prof. at Ingolstadt, and (*ob.* 1832) as Bishop of Regensburg.

Distinguished in the sphere of *Biblical Theology* are: the Oratorian *Jac. le Long* (*ob.* 1721), whose chief work, Bibliotheca Sacra, presents a very valuable historical apparatus for the study of the Bible,—especially in the essentially improved form, which has been given to it by the Protestant editors *Börner* and *Masch* (Halle, 1778, 4 Bde. 4to.). *John Martianay* (*ob.* 1717), the learned publisher of Jerome, also wrote an admirable work on Hermeneutics, in which he lays down the principle, that the Bible is to be explained by the Bible. The Benedictine, *Augustine Calmet* (*ob.* 1757), contributed a valuable Dictionnaire hist. chronol. géogr. de la Bible and a Commentaire littéral et critique on the whole Bible, in 23 vols. 4to. His exegesis is especially valuable as regards external matters, but its theology is superficial. The most valuable are the appended historical and critical Dissertations, which *Mosheim* had translated and accompanied with condensed remarks. The Oratorian *Houbigant* and the Italian *Bernard de Rossi* contributed much of importance for the criticism of the text of the Old Testament. In the time of Joseph II., the free-thinking, latitudinarian, supernaturalistic *John Jahn*, Prof. at Vienna, elevated the study of the Bible in the German Roman Catholic Church, by publishing a number of learned works (the most valuable of which are: Einleitung ins A. T. 4 Bde. u. Biblische Archäologie, 5 Bde.); but he was compelled to abandon his professorship, on account of unchurchly tendencies, and died in 1816, as canon at Vienna. In the sphere of *Church History*, the Italian *John Dominic Mansi* (*ob.* 1769) (Vollständigste u. beste Sammlung der Concilienacten 1759, sq. 31 vols. fol.) and *Ant. Muratori*, (*ob.* 1750), (Scriptores rerum Italic., 28 vols. fol.; Antiqu. Italic. med. aevi, 6 vols. fol.), gave proof of splendid scholarship and of unwearying industry in collecting material. There are no contributions of a dogmatic or polemic character of any importance. But amid the horrors of the French Revolution, the noble theosophist, *Louis Claude de St. Martin*, an ardent admirer of Jacob Böhme, wrote his spirited and profound works (Des erreurs et de la vérité, L'homme de désir, etc.), and the Viscount *Chateaubriand* praised the beauties of Christianity (Génie du Christianisme), and celebrated in song the Christian martyrs. (Cf. § 57, 6.)

§ 45. THE ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCH.

The oppressed condition of the orthodox Church in the Ottoman empire remained unchangeably *the same*. It developed itself more powerfully and richly in *Russia*, where it was the ruling Church. Although the Russian Church, since it possessed an independent patriarchate at Moscow (1589), was independent of the mother-church at Constantinople in regard to the form of government, it still stood in the most intimate religious connection with it, especially as the bond of a common confession had

been again lately strengthened by the confessional treatise of *Peter Mogila*. The patriarchal form of government was, meanwhile, only a temporary one in Russia, for the great Emperor *Peter* I. permitted the patriarchate to remain vacant after the death of the patriarch *Hadrian* (1702), connected ecclesiastical supremacy with the imperial power, and constituted (1721) the *holy directing Synod*, to which he transferred the supreme control of spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs; — to which also the patriarch of Constantinople gave his consent. *Theophanes Prokopowicz*, the metropolitan of Nowgorod, was the emperor's right hand in this reform of Church government.

Since the liturgical reformation of the Patriarch Nikon (§ 42, 5), a new and peculiar style of *Church Music* developed itself in the Russian Church, which was sung by pure and powerful male voices, without any instrumental accompaniment, a splendid foil for the rich liturgy. Russian Church music attained its perfection under *Catharine* II. Among the *Russian Theologians* the above-named *Prokopowicz* (*ob.* 1736) holds a prominent position. His dogmatic Handbook (in Lat. transl. Christ. orthod. theologia. Regiom, 1773, 5 vols.) is distinguished by learning, clearness of style, and moderation of judgment. Since the middle of this century, however, a Protestantizing tendency crept in among many representatives of theological science, especially among the higher clergy, which tendency, it is true, held firmly fast to the older œcumenical synodal theology, but avoided the later dogmatic forms, or at least attached no importance to them. Already the excellent catechism of orthodox doctrines (transl. into German. Riga, 1770), which the learned *Platon* (late metropolitan of Moscow) as tutor of the Grand-Duke *Paul Petrowitsch*, published, at first for the use of his noble pupil, is not entirely free from this tendency. It appears more decidedly in the dogmatic text-book of the archimandric *Theophylactus* of Moscow (1773). It was only in recent times that it was entirely overcome and suppressed. To the *Sects* of the 17th century (§ 42, 5), there were added in the 18th a number of new ones of spiritualistic gnostic tendency, in the organization of which probably occidental influences coöperated. To these belong especially the *Malacani* (milk-eaters) and *Duchoborzens* (champions of the spirit), which again divide into a number of minor sects, and which may also have absorbed many of the older (mediæval) sects. Their doctrines are a remarkable mixture of Gnosticism, theosophy, mysticism, Protestantism, and Rationalism. The Duchoborzens especially, although belonging only to the peasantry, have a completely finished theological system of a wonderful speculative character. (Cf. *A. v. Harthausen*, referred to at § 42, 5, and *T. E. Lentz*, de Duchoborzis. Dorpati. 1829, 4to.)

II. THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

§ 46. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH BEFORE THE ILLUMINATION.

By the founding of the University at Halle (1694), the pietistic controversy received a new impulse, and soon involved the whole German Church in a passionate strife, in which, on both sides, the right and true medium was only too often missed in establishing their own views, and those of the opponents were perverted by unwarranted inferences. *Spener* died as early as 1705, *Francke* in 1727, *Breithaupt* in 1732. Hallean pietism became, after the loss of its chiefs, continually weaker, more illiberal, unscientific, and indifferent towards purity of doctrine, more prone to fall into artificial pious feelings, more zealous and exclusive in pious phrases and methodistic forms of life. The conventicle mode of worship, originated and nourished by it, became a Pandora-box of all possible fanaticism and sectarianism (§ 49, 1). But still it produced a fermentation in theology and the Church, which worked wholesomely for many years. More than 6000 theologians from all parts of Germany, received, up to *Francke's* death, their theological education at Halle, and carried the leaven of his spirit into as many congregations and schools. In a short time, a large number of distinguished teachers of theology appeared in almost all the German Lutheran established Churches, who, being as far removed from the one-sidedness of the pietists as their opponents, practised and taught pure doctrines and pious living, without denying the orthodox stand-point, so far as it was authorized and beneficial, and derived benefit from the syncretistic as well as pietistic controversies. From *Calixtus* they learned mildness and justice towards the Reformed and Roman Catholic Church; by *Spener* they were incited to deep experimental piety, which also enriched their theological knowledge with a new stream of life; from Gottfr. Arnold's one-sidedness they learned to seek after distorted truth even among heretics and sectarians; and from *Calov* and *Loscher* they inherited a zeal for pure doctrines. The most prominent of them all were *Alb. Bengel* in Würtemberg (*ob.* 1752), and *Chr. Aug. Crusius* in Leipsic (*ob.* 1775), both stars of the first magnitude, and at the same time prophecies of a future time of blooming of Lutheran theology; a future one, for this stand-point, deepened

and ennobled in so many ways, did not at that time attain perfect development and dominion (§ 50). The deluge of illumination since the middle of this century rushed in upon the German Lutheran Church, and overflowed also the seed sown by these noble men. Nevertheless, the first five decades of this century still constitute, in spite of many excrescences, a blooming period of theological science and Christian life in the Lutheran Church.

1. *The Pietistic Controversies since the Founding of the University at Halle.* (Cf. the lit. at § 38, 3, and *Mor. v. Engelhardt*, Val. C. Löscher, 2d ed. Stuttg. 1855.) — That Pietism, which had been condemned by and excluded from the orthodox Universities of Leipsic and Wittenberg, now found a refuge at Halle, where, protected and encouraged by the civil power, it freely developed itself in practical life and in science, and from here could spread over all the provinces of Germany through crowds of students; this provoked the anger of the orthodox. The faculty of Wittenberg, with *John Deutschmann* at the head, published (1695) a controversial treatise (Christlich. Vorstellung, etc.), in which they charged Spener with holding not less than 264 errors. The faculty of Leipsic also was not silent, and *Carpzov* abused the mild and peace-loving Spener as a procella ecclesiæ. Next to Carpzov and Deutschmann, the most violent opponents of the pietists were *Sam. Schelwig* in Dantzic (*ob.* 1716), (Synopsis controverss. sub pietatis prætextu motarum 1701), *Friedr. Mayer* in Wittenberg, Hamburg and Greifswalde (*ob.* 1712), and *John Fecht* in Rostock (*ob.* 1716). When Spener died (1705), it was most earnestly disputed whether he could be called the sainted. *Fecht* (de beatit. mort. in Dom.) denied it. Among the later champions for the palladium of pure doctrines, the learned *Valent. Ernst Löscher*, superint. at Dresden (1709–47), who at least cannot be charged with *dead* orthodoxy, was the most estimable and able. He opened the contest (1702) by publishing an anti-pietistic journal (Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theol. Sachen), of which 31 vols. appeared up to 1751. His "Vollständiger Timotheus Verinus" is, without doubt, the most thorough of all the controversial treatises against Pietism (2 vols. 1718–21; the first sketch appeared already, 1711, in the Unschuldigen Nachrichten). *Franz Buddeus* of Jena carried on a mediation between Löscher and the Hallean theologians for a time, but without result. Francke and Breithaupt received (1710) an ever ready colleague and fellow-combatant in *Joachim Lange* (*ob.* 1744), (Antibarbarus orthodoxiæ dogmatico-hermeneuticus 1709–11;—die Gestalt des Kreuzreiches Christi, 1713;—Abfertig. d. Tim. Ver. 1719, etc.); who, however, was in no respect a match for his opponent Löscher. Pietism, meanwhile, penetrated the popular life more and more, and excited in many places even violent popular tumults. Many States prohibited the pietistic conventicles, others permitted

them (ex. gr. Würtemberg and Denmark). A very singular phenomenon were the *praying children* in Silesia (1707). Children of four years of age and above that assembled on the open field to sing and pray (especially for the recovery of the Churches taken possession of by the Roman Catholics). Proceeding, probably, from the imitative instinct of children, and from the impression which the open-air worship of the Swedish army made upon them, this phenomenon obtained an epidemic and contagious character, and spread over the entire country. In vain the pulpits declaimed against it, in vain the civil authorities proceeded against it; blows and confinement only increased the zeal of the children. Finally it was resolved to provide churches for their worship. After that the excitement gradually subsided. But the matter was discussed for a long time afterwards by the orthodox and pietists, the former (ex. gr. Erdm. Neumeister) declared it to be a work of the devil; the latter (Freylinghausen, Petersen, etc.) a wonderful awakening of divine grace. (Cf. *J. G. Walch*, l. c. I., 853, sq. and *Hagenbach*, d. Kinderkreuzzug u. die betenden Kinder; in A. Knapp's Christoterpe, 1853.)

The *Orthodox* regarded the *Pietists* as a new sect, holding doctrines that were dangerous and hostile to the pure doctrines of the Lutheran Church; whilst the Pietists themselves declared, that they only wished to preserve Lutheran orthodoxy unadulterated, and to substitute a biblical, practical Christianity for its then existing rigid form and dead externality. The single points of controversy concentrated especially around the doctrines of regeneration, of justification, of sanctification, of the Church, and of the millenium (Rev. 20 : 5, 7). (1.) *Regeneration.* The orthodox affirmed, that regeneration took place in baptism; that every baptized person was regenerated; but that the new birth required fostering, nourishment, and growth; and where these had been wanting, reawakening. The Pietists, on the other hand, identified awakening or conversion with regeneration, which was conditioned in subsequent life by the *Word of God*, mediated by spiritual and physical *conflicts of repentance*, and thereupon following *communication of grace*, and sealed by a very palpable approbation of God in the state of grace attained. With this sealing began the life of the child in Christ. Accordingly they distinguished between a theologia viatorum, viz., the churchly symbolical doctrine, and a theologia regenitorum, which has to do with the conditions of the soul after regeneration; on which account they were also charged with holding the doctrine, that a true Christian, who had attained the age of spiritual manhood, could and must be without sin even in this life. (2.) *Justification and Sanctification.* In opposition to a very common view of the doctrine of justification, which made it too external, Spener taught that living faith alone attained justification, and that it must be active in preserving it (although without any merit). A sure guarantee of attained justification existed only in a faith which gave

evidence of being alive in a pious life and active Christianity, and not already in a belief in the external, objective promise of the word of God. His opponents charged him, on this account, with confounding justification with sanctification, and with disregarding the former at the expense of the latter. And if the royal doctrine of justification was not allowed to recede into the back-ground by Spener himself, it was by many of his adherents; and an importance was attached, in a one-sided way, to practical Christianity, such as the Lutheran Church could never approve. Moreover, Spener and Francke preached against worldly dissipations and amusements, and against the dance, the theatre, card-playing (to which others in their blind zeal added even laughing, taking a walk, smoking tobacco, etc.), as inimical to earnestness and progress in sanctification, and therefore sinful; whilst the orthodox placed these things among the *adiaphora*. (3.) *The Church and Office.* Orthodoxy regarded the word, the sacraments, and the office, administering them, as the basis and foundation of the Church; Pietism, on the contrary, conditioned the nature and existence of the Church by individual believers; according to the former, the Church begat, nourished, and fostered believers; according to the latter, believers constituted, preserved, and renewed the Church; to which end, conventicles (ecclesiolæ in ecclesia), as meeting places and propaganda of living Christianity, were the most appropriate means. Orthodoxy lay all stress upon the office and the official grace vouchsafed to it; Pietism upon the person and his faith. Spener taught, that only he, who had experienced the grace of the Gospel in his heart, *i. e.*, who was regenerated, could be a true preacher and pastor; Löscher, on the contrary, affirmed, that the ministrations of even an unconverted, though decidedly orthodox preacher, were blessed just as much as those of a converted one, because the saving power resided not in the person of the preacher, but in the word of God, which he still preached in its purity, and in the sacraments, which he administered according to their appointment. The Pietists then went so far as entirely to deny that there was any saving power in the preaching of an unconverted person. The official promise of absolution without internal sealing had no significance for them; they even regarded it as dangerous and injurious, because it lulled the conscience to sleep and made sinners secure. Hence they cherished great aversion to *private confession* and priestly *absolution*. They altogether rejected such a thing as *official* grace; true ordination was regeneration; every regenerated person, and he alone, was a true preacher. Orthodoxy demanded above all else pure doctrines and churchly confession; Pietism also declared these to be necessary, but not as being the principal things. Spener held firmly fast to the necessity of *adhesion to the symbols;* but the later pietists disputed it, because the symbols as a work of man could contain errors. Among the orthodox, on the contrary, some went so far as to affirm a freedom from all error in the symbols, which rested

not only upon an accidental, but upon an indirect, divine illumination. Spener's aversion to *coercion as to the use of the pericopes*, to *prescribed prayers*, and to exorcism, became also a matter of violent controversy; on the contrary, his *re*introduction of *confirmation* before the first participation of the Lord's Supper met with approbation and imitation also among the orthodox. (4.) *Eschatology.* Spener interpreted the biblical doctrine of the millennium to mean, that at some future time, after the overthrow of the papacy, after the conversion of the heathens and Jews, there would come a period of the most glorious and undisturbed development and formation for the Church of Christ on earth, as ante-sabbath of the eternal sabbath. His opponents stigmatized this as Chiliasm and fanaticism; and they were right, not, however, as against Spener, but as against the abuse and misrepresentation of his doctrine by many of his adherents. Connected with this finally (5.) was a controversy about *divine providence*, occasioned by the founding of the orphans' house at Halle, by *A. H. Francke.* The Pietists spoke of the origin and prosperity of this institution as a fact of direct (miraculous) divine providence; whilst Löscher, by proving the use of the ordinary means, which were contributed towards it, exhibited the entire matter as lying within the sphere of general and daily providence, without thereby, meanwhile, denying the value of the strong faith in God, and of the active love possessed by its founder, as also the significance of the divine blessing, which rested upon the undertaking.

2. *Lutheran Theology.*—The last important representative of the *Old Orthodox School* was *Val. Ernst Löscher*, who, with his rich scholarship, contributed, besides his polemics against pietism, much that was valuable to biblical philosophy and Church history (De causis linguæ hebr.; Ausführl. Hist. motuum zw. d. Luth. u. Reform.; Vollständ. Ref. Acta; Histoire d. mittl. zeiten, etc.). The *Pietistic School*, which, from principle, was more concerned about making theology fruitful for practical Christianity than about its scientific advancement, only contributed works of permanent value to devotional literature (6). The learned, copious author, *Joachim Lange*, published, in 7 fol. vols., a prolix commentary on the whole Bible (Mosaisches, Biblisch-hist., Davidisch-salomonisches, Prophetisches, Evangelisches, Apostolisches, Apokalyptisches Licht und Recht). The jurist, *Christian Thomasius*, at first connected himself with the pietists, only, however, in mutual external contest against the enslavement of conscience by the orthodox; but he was soon disavowed by them as an indifferentist. To him belongs the honor of turning public opinion against prosecution for witchcraft. (Vernünftige u. christl. aber nicht scheinheil. Gedanken über allerhand Händel; — Kurze Lehrsätze vom Laster d. Zauberei mit d. Hexenprocess.)

But there came forth, out of the conflicts between the orthodox and pietistic schools, a *third school*, which cast off the errors and partiali-

ties of both, and united in itself their excellencies, in which Lutheran theology, uniting orthodoxy with free investigation, scholarship with religious fervor, penetration with depth, decided adhesion to confessions with mildness and justice, produced yet much splendid fruit. The most important theologians of this school are: *David Hollaz* in Pomerania (*ob.* 1713), (Examen theologicum acroamaticum), *Bened. Starck* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1727), (Notæ selectæ in loca dub. et diffic. V. T. et in N. T.), *Francis Buddeus* of Jena (*ob.* 1729), (Hist. ecclst. Vet. Test.; Institutiones theol. dogm. et theol. moralis, Isagoge hist. theol. ad theol. univ.), *Ernst. Sal. Cyprian* of Gotha (*ob.* 1745), Gesch. d. Papstth.; Hist. d. Augsb. Conf.); *John Christian Wolf* of Hamburg (*ob.* 1739), (Bibliotheca Hebraica; Curæ philol. et crit. in N. T.); *Eberh. Weismann* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1747), (Hist. ecclest.); *Sal. Deyling* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1755), (Observatt. ss.); *John Gottl. Carpzov* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1767), (Critica s. V. T.; Introductio ad libros can. V. T.; Apparatus antiquitt. s. Codicis); *J. Heinr. Michaelis* of Halle (*ob.* 1731), (Biblia hebr. s. variis lectionibus et brev. annott.; uberiores annott. in Hagiographos., 3 Bde. 4to; his nephew, *Christian Bened. Michaelis* of Halle (*ob.* 1764), assisted him in both these works); *John George Walch* of Jena (*ob.* 1775), Einl. in d. Religionsstreitigkk. ausser d. luth. K., 5 Bde., in d. luth. K., 5 Bde., Biblioth. theol. selecta, Biblioth. patristica, Luther's Werke); *Christoph. Matthew Pfaff* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1760), (K-G., K-Recht, Dogmatik, Moral); *Lorenz von Mosheim* of Helmstädt and Göttingen (*ob.* 1755), the father of modern Church history (Institutt. hist. eccl., Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constant. M.; Dissertationes, Sittenlehre, etc.); *John Alb. Bengel*, prelate at Stuttgard (*ob.* 1752), (eine Krit. Ausg. d. N. T.; Gnomon N. T., a commentary on the N. T., distinguished by pregnancy of expression and depth of comprehension; Erklärte Offb. Joh., which intimated that the dawning of the millennium could be looked for in the year 1836; Ordo temporum, etc. Cf. *J. C. Burk*, Bengel's Leben u. Wirken. Stuttg., 1831); and *Christian Aug. Crusius* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1775), (Hypomnemata ad theol. propheticum. Cf. *Fr. Delitzch*, d. bibl. proph. Theol., ihre Fortbild. durch Chr. A. Cr., etc. Lpz. 1845). — A *fourth* school of theologians was created by the application of the mathematical demonstration method of the philosopher *Christian von Wolf*, of Halle (*ob.* 1754). Wolf connected his philosophy with Leibnitz, and also endeavored to reconcile philosophy and Christianity; but under the manipulations of his dry, logical, mathematical method, the living breath of the Leibnitzian system departed; the harmonia præstabilita of the world became a machine, etc. The great evil done by his system of philosophising consisted in this, that, applied to the demonstration of Christian truth, it only proved its logical correctness without giving any insight into its nature and significance, that it only formally called the understanding into exercise, and left the soul empty and the heart cold, whereby a degeneration into natural theology, which rejected re-

velation and mysteries, was unavoidable. Consequently the polemics of the theologians, among which were not only narrow-minded pietists, like *Joach. Lange*, but also such able, calm, and enlightened men, like *Chr. A. Crusius* and *Fr. Buddeus*, were not without foundation, when they included them also in part in their accusations (which ex. gr. run into fatalism and atheism with Lange). Wolf was deposed (1723) by a government-order of Frederick William I., and was compelled to leave the Prussian States within two days, under penalty of the halter. But Frederick II. had scarcely ascended the throne before he recalled (1740) the philosopher to Halle, and heaped honors upon him. (Cf. *Tholuck*, Verm. Schr. II., p. 10, sq.)—Wolf's philosophical method introduced into theology, was first accepted by the pious and learned Prof. *Sigmund Jacob Baumgarten* in Halle (*ob.* 1757). His theology as to its contents was still based on orthodox ground (Ev. Glaubenslehre; Gesch. d. Religionsparteien; Theol. Bedenken). *J. Gust. Reinbeck*, provost in Berlin (*ob.* 1741), also belongs to the more moderate representatives of this tendency (Betrachtungen ü. d. in d. Augsb. Conf. enth. göttl. Wahrhh. 4 Bde. 4to., fortges. v. *J. G. Canz*, Bd. 5–9). The application of the mathematical method of demonstration was carried farthest by *Joh. Carpov* of Weimar (*ob.* 1768), (Theol. revelata methodo scientifica adornata, 4 vols. 4to). As applied to the *sermon*, the method degenerated into the most offensive insipidity. (Cf. § 50.)

3. *Theories of Canon Law.*—Church government passed, on account of the exigencies of the first century of the Protestant Church, into the hands of the princes, who, just because no one else existed for this purpose, exercised as præcipua membra ecclesiæ the jura episcopalia (§ 22, 1). This matter of exigency became in years by degrees a matter of right. Orthodox theology and the jurisprudence connected with it (especially *Benedict Carpzov* of Leipsic, *ob.* 1666) justified the change by the *Episcopal System*. This retained the mediæval distinction between spiritual and temporal authority, as two independent spheres appointed by God; but it at the same time made the prince to be the summus episcopus, in whose person, consequently, the highest spiritual authority was joined with the highest temporal authority. The deep contradictions of this system, however, appeared so glaringly in countries having mixed confessions (inasmuch as often a Reformed or even a Papist prince was the summus episcopus of the Lutheran Church of his country), that it was necessary to establish the existing right of princes on other grounds. These were found first in the *Territorial System*, according to which the prince possessed the highest spiritual authority, not as præcipuum membrum ecclesiæ, but as head of the State, which spiritual authority, therefore, was regarded not as independent by the side of civil authority, but only as *one* side of the same (Cujus regio, illius et religio). This system was already practically prepared for by the historical development of the German Reformation (Diet of Speiers a. 1526), and received a legal basis through

the Augsburg as well as the Westphalian peace. It lacked only a scientific foundation. This was given first by *Samuel Pufendorf* of Heidelberg (*ob.* 1694), adopting the views of Hobbes (§ 43, 2). It was more perfectly developed and more generally commended by *Christian Thomasius* of Halle (*ob.* 1728), and the celebrated *Justus Henning Böhmer* made it the foundation of his Jus ecclesiasticum protestantium. Thomasius' connection with the Pietists, and their indifference to creeds, obtained for it admission and favor among them. Spener himself preferred the Calvinistic Presbyterian form of government, because by it the equally authorized coöperation of the three Orders (Ministerium ecclesiasticum, Magistratus politicus, Status œconomicus) could most easily be realized. This protest by Spener against both systems was certainly not without influence in the construction of a third system, the *Collegiate System*, whose originator was the Chancellor *Pfaff* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1760). According to it, only the right of ecclesiastical sovereignty (jus *circa* sacra) is incumbent on the ruler of the country as such; whilst the jura in sacra (doctrines, worship, ecclesiastical legislation and its execution, appointment to the ministry and excommunication) are incumbent as jura collegialia on the totality of all church-members. The normal constitution would therefore be this, when all together carried it into execution in a collegiate way (through synods and elections in the congregation). External circumstances, however, at the period of the Reformation, made it also necessary to transfer the collegiate rights to the princes, which is also not in itself inadmissible, provided only that the principle is held fast, that the prince administers them ex commisso, and is always accountable and responsible to those who have committed them to him. This system, which, because it in fact left everything in the old way, could only claim the honor of an old theory, and if it was to be seriously carried out, would entirely destroy the ecclesiastical organism by its undervaluing the ministerii ecclesiastici (the ministry), found its most zealous defenders among the later rationalists, on account of its democratic tendency. Practically, however, neither of the three systems were purely and consistently introduced and carried through. In most of the churches the form of government vacillated among all three.

4. *Hymnology* also bore many precious fruits during the first half of this century. We distinguish the following groups of composers of hymns: (A.) *The Pietistic School*, with a scriptural-practical and devotional tendency. The spiritual life of believers, the breaking through of grace in conversion, growth in holiness, the changing conditions, experiences, and feelings in the life of the soul, were made the objects of contemplation and description. They are for the most part no longer hymns for the congregation, for the people, for common worship, but more for individual edification, and for the closet. There are only, relatively speaking, a few hymns of this school that make an exception, and still deserve the name of church-hymns. When pietism

declined, the spiritual poetical inspiration awakened by it declined also gradually; it lost its original truth, power, and depth, and degenerated into sentimentality and spiritless trifling with figures, allegories, and phrases. Moreover, among the Hallean pietists, we must distinguish between an older (1690–1720) and a younger poetical school (1720–52), the former characterized by a sound piety in the spirit of A. H. Francke, with hymns in a simple, tender, and profound tone. I. The most distinguished of the very numerous poets of this *older school* are: *Anastasius Freylinghausen*, Francke's son-in-law and director of the orphan's house at Halle (*ob.* 1739), ("Wer ist wohl wie du"); — *Breithaupt*, *Joach. Lange*, theological Professors at Halle; —*Dan. Herrnschmidt*, Prof. at Halle (*ob.* 1723), ("Lobe den Herrn, O meine Seele"); —*Christian Friedr. Richter*, physician to the orphan's house (*ob.* 1711), author of 33 excellent hymns ("Gott, den ich als die Liebe kenne," "Es glänzet der Christen invendiges Leben"); —*Emily Julianna*, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (*ob.* 1706), composed 587 hymns, among which also: "Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende," the authorship of which was also claimed by a cotemporary preacher, named *Pfefferkorn*; — *J. Heinrich Schröder*, pastor in Magdeburg (*ob.* 1728), ("Eins ist Noth"); — *J. Jos. Winckler*, pastor of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (*ob.* 1722), ("Ringe recht"); — *Christoph Dessler*, conrector in Nuremberg (*ob.* 1722), ("Wie wohl ist mir, o. Freund der Seelen"); —*Andr. Gotter*, aulic counsellor in Wernigerode (*ob.* 1735), ("Schaffet, schaffet, Menschenkinder"); —*Barth. Crasselius*, preacher at Dusseldörf ("Dir, dir, Jehova, will ich singen").—II. The *younger Hallean school* embraces the period of declining pietism. The superior poets of this school are: *E. H. v. Bogatzky* (*ob.* 1774), also an esteemed ascetic author; — *John Jak. Rambach*, Prof. in Giessen (*ob.* 1735), the most churchly of the poets of this school ("Grosser Mittler," etc.); — *Conrad Allendorf*, court-preacher at Köthen (*ob.* 1773), publisher of the so-called Köthnisen Lieder—a collection of spiritual love-hymns in the spirit of Solomon's Song — ("Unter Lilien jener Freuden"); — *Fried. Lehr*, deacon in Köthen (*ob.* 1744), ("Mein Jesus nimmt die Sünder au"); — *E. Gottl. Woltersdorf*, pastor in Bunzlau, founder of the orphan's house there (*ob.* 1761).

(B.) The poets of the *Orthodox Tendency*. Although the poets of this school were in part opponents of the pietists, they yet were all more or less incited to a more living apprehension of piety by the spirit which proceeded from Spener. Orthodox poets of the strictest observance were, *Val. E. Löscher* and *Erdmann Neumeister* (pastor and inspector of schools at Hamburg, *ob.* 1756), both being as zealous, and even violent in their opposition to the one-sidedness of pietism, as they were fresh and strong in their orthodoxy, as spiritual poets also not insignificant, without, however, being able to soar to the region of the genuine church-hymn, from which they were hindered especially by their didactic character. *Ad. Lehmus*, otherwise a pious and spirited man,

reduced the entire doctrinal system and all the pericopes to verse. *Benj. Schmolck's* (pastor at Schweidnitz, *ob.* 1737), and *Sal. Franck's* (secretary of the consistory at Weimar, *ob.* 1725) hymns have the same devout and tender expression, that we find among the better pietists. Franck composed about 300 hymns ("So ruhest du, O meine Ruh"); Schmolck even more than 1000 (among which the baptismal hymn: "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier").—To the tendency, mediating between pietism and orthodoxy, which was represented in theology by Bengel and Crusius, belong yet several very important poets: *John Andr. Rothe*, Zinzendorf's colleague at Berthelsdorf (*ob.* 1758), author of the beautiful hymn: "Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden;" *John Mentzer*, preacher in Oberlausitz, (*ob.* 1734), ("O dass ich tausend Zungen hätte"); and *Phil. Friedr. Hiller* of Würtemberg (*ob.* 1769), who composed more than 1000 hymns; and *Ludw. v. Pfeil*, statesman (*ob.* 1784). — In 1751, J. Jacob v. Moser collected a register of 50,000 printed hymns in the German language. (Cf. § 54, 1.)

5. *Church Music.* — The original inventive fullness of the national song (from which proceeded the old church hymn) was already exhausted in the 17th century, and finally even the taste for and pleasure in it gradually disappeared through the influence of the opera. The then existing secular national song borrowed its melodies from the opera, and in a short time found means of introducing it into the spiritual song. When usually the composers of hymns, towards the end of the 17th century, following the pattern of Solomon's Song, struck the keynotes of spiritual nuptial love for the bridegroom of souls, they sought after corresponding musical sounds, and found them in the flatteringly sweet and languishing melodies of the operatic national song of that period. Pietism, otherwise so exclusive of everything worldly, followed this example in a still more unlimited degree; and, in fact, the sweet, tender, and languishing tones of the secular national song must have appeared to it to be better adapted to the peculiarity of its hymns, than the old churchly tones, and the joyful, fresh, and powerful jubilee of the rythm of the old church music. Thus, through the mighty influence of pietism, a large number of this kind of melodies (the so-called *Hallean melodies*) were introduced to churchly use. *Anast. Freylinghausen*, is to be regarded as its proper father. He not only himself composed many of the so-called *Hallean melodies*, but he also collected the best composed by other musicians, and combined them in his hymn book, which appeared (1704) with the most mournful of the older melodies. The ablest musicians of this tendency, in addition to him, are: *Knorr v. Rosenroth, Adam Drese, Chr. Fr. Richter*, further, *H. George Reuss*, rector in Blankenburg (*ob.* 1716), and *J. G. Hille*, cantor in Glaucha about the year 1739.

The musicians of this period had already entirely lost all taste for the old choral, and the aria-style had degenerated greatly under the influence of pietism, when a master appeared, in whom was gathered

and concentrated everything grand and glorious that had been contributed by evangelical, churchly, congregational, and artistic music, a musician educated for the kingdom of heaven, like unto a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasury things new and old;—in whom also the development of church music was concluded for a whole century. This was *John Sebast. Bach,* since 1723 musical director in the Thomas-school in Leipsic (*ob.* 1750), the most perfect organist that ever lived. He returned, with unqualified predilection, to the old choral, which no one appreciated and understood more thoroughly than he. He harmonized it for the organ, unfolded his inmost being and his deepest thoughts in the richest fullness of harmony through four-voiced melodies; and made, after Hammerschmidt's manner, many old splendid chorals in the form of a dialogue in the language of Scripture, together with recitatives, duetts, and arias, echo with wonderful power in his sacred concerts. In the art of fugue, in knowledge of the mysteries of harmony, in richness of modulation, etc., he was the greatest master of all times. He advanced the aria-style to its most glorious and exalted development, and the greatest and most sublime thoughts of German Protestantism are clothed in heavenly music in his passion-oratorios. We have from him, besides, five annual church compositions for every Sunday and festival. (Cf. *C. L. Hilgenfeldt,* J. Seb. Bach's Leben, Wirk. u. Werke. Lpz. 1850.)—Besides Bach, there was also another master of unapproachable greatness in the oratorio, *George Friedr. Händel* of Halle, who, however, lived from 1710 to his death (1759) mostly in England. He labored for the opera for more than 25 years, and only turned to the oratorio in his later years. Whilst his operas have long since been forgotten, he will be distinguished in this department for all time. His most perfect oratorio is the "Messiah;" Herder called it a Christian epopee in sounds. Of his other great oratorios are to be mentioned: "Samson," "JudasMaccabeus," "Joshua," and "Jephtha." (Cf. § 81, 2.)

6. *Christian Life and Devotional Literature.* — Pietism poured a mighty religious stream into the national life, and sustained it by zealous preaching, pastoral care, devotional meetings, and an almost exuberant devotional literature. Orthodoxy, also, which had been enriched by pietism, manifested a not less efficient and still more sterling activity through the ministry, word, and pen. *August. Hermann Francke* (*ob.* 1727) founded, with seven florins in his hand, but with strong faith in his heart, the orphan's house at Halle; *Woltersdorf* proved himself to be Francke's successor in faith and love, by founding the orphan's house at Bunzlau; the Baron *von Canstein* (*ob.* 1719) devoted his wealth to founding the Bible institution at Halle, from which millions of Bibles have been already sent forth, etc. The newly awakened zeal for missions gives evidence of the stirring religious life and interest in the Lutheran church. The most important of the many ascetic authors are: *J. Anast. Freylinghausen* (Grundlegung der Theo

logie), *John Porst*, provost at Berlin (*ob.* 1728), (Göttl. Führung d. Seelen; Wachsthum d. Wiedergebornen; an excellent hymn-book); *George Nitsch* of Gotha (*ob.* 1729), (Theol. Sendschreiben); *John Jacob Rambach* of Giessen (*ob.* 1735), distinguished both as a learned theologian and as a spiritual poet and pulpit orator (Passionsbetrachtungen, etc.); *Benj. Schmolck* of Schweidnitz (*ob.* 1737), (Communionbuch; Morgen-und Abendsegen, etc.); *Dav. Hollaz*, son of the dogmatist (Evang. Gnadenordnung); *George Conrad Rieger* of Stutgärd (*ob.* 1743), (Herzenspostille, etc.); *J. A. Steinmetz*, Abbot of Klosterbergen (*ob.* 1763), (Sendschreiben; Sammlung auserlesener materien zum Bau des Reiches Gottes, etc.). Among those who were not theologians, the following are especially distinguished as ascetic authors: the Silesian nobleman *Charles Henry von Bogatzky* of Halle (*ob.* 1774), a man who was unweariedly laborious in promoting the kingdom of God in every way (Güldenes Schatzkastlein, Tägliches Hausbuch der Kinder Gottes, Communionbuch, etc.), and *John Jacob von Moser*, a celebrated statesman and publicist, a man of the most solid and approved piety (although the Moravian congregation at Ebersdorf excluded him from the Lord's Supper), died in 1785, at Stutgärd, after a life filled with persecutions and troubles (having been imprisoned for six years in the fortress of Hohentwiel). — How great also the need for solid and instructive edification was, is shown by the many popular expositions of the Bible, the best of which are the *Pfaffische Bibelwerk* (Tübg. 1730), the *Hirschberger Bibel* (1756), by Liebich und *Burg*, the Synopsis biblioth. exeg. or kurzgef. Auszug d. Auslegung, etc. (Lpz. 1741, 6 Bde. 4to.), by *Christoph Starke*, and the comprehensive *Hallesche Bibel* by *S. J. Baumgarten*, *Jacob Brucker*, *Romanus Teller*, etc. (Lpz. 1748, sq. 19 Bde. 4to.)

7. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. *A. H.* and *C. A. Francke*, Berichte d. Dän. miss. in Ostind. Halle, 1708–72.—*St. Schulz*, Leitungen des Höchsten, etc. Halle, 1771, sq. 5 Bde.—*J. F. Fenger*, Gesch. d. tranquebar'schen mission. aus d. Dän. v. C. Francke. Grimma, 1845.—*K. Graul*, Ausbr. u. Entwickl. d. chr. K. unter d. Tamulen; in the hist. theol. Ztschr., 1850, III. — *J. H. Brauer*, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Heidenbek. II. II.: Zeigenbalg. Alt. 1837. — *J. C. G. Schmidt*, kurzgef. Lebensbeschr. ev. miss. Bd. I. and III. Lpz. 1839.—*R. Vormbaum*, ev. missionsgesch. in Biographien, Bd. II. Düsseld. 1852. — *H. Egede*, Ausf. nachr. v. d. grönländ. miss. Hamb., 1740. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, H. Egede; in s. christl. Biogr. Bd. I. Lpz. 1850.) — The revival of practical Christianity, which proceeded from pietism, contributed greatly also to the extension of Heathen missions. Frederick IV. of Denmark founded the mission at Tranquebar for his *East India* possessions, for which *Francke* sent to him two very excellent and zealous laborers, *Henry Plützschau* and *Barth. Ziegenbalg*. The latter translated the New Testament into the Tamul language (*ob* 1719). This Danish East Indian mission extended its labors also into the English possessions

The orphan's house at Halle contributed to it quite a number of excellent missionaries, the most prominent of whom was *Christian Friederich Schwarz* (*ob.* 1798), the patriarch of Lutheran missions, who labored almost 50 years as a faithful missionary. In the last quarter of this century, however, the zeal for this mission expired under the influence of rationalism; the connection with the orphan's house was dissolved, and the rich Lutheran harvest was gathered almost entirely into the garners of the Anglican church. The Hallean Prof. *Callenberg* founded (1728) a special institute at Halle for the conversion of the *Jews*, under whose auspices *Stephen Schulz* travelled over Europe, Asia, and Africa, to preach the Gospel to the Jews. As early as the 11th century the Gospel had been carried to *Greenland*, since which time, however, the church there had been forgotten, and, as it now appears, had disappeared entirely from view. This negligence of Christendom pressed heavily on the heart of the preacher *Hans Egede*, in Norway; he did not rest until he, supported by a Danish-Norwegian commercial enterprise, could tread upon the icy land with his family in 1721. He labored unweariedly amid incredible hardships and privations, and at the beginning with but little success; and he also remained alone behind when the commercial enterprise was abandoned. In 1733 he had the unexpected joy of being joined by three Moravian missionaries, *Christian David*, and the brothers *Stach*. But, alas! this joy was only too soon embittered by the pride of the newcomers, who wished to model everything after their peculiar Moravian principles, and slandered and avoided the brave *Egede*, who could not submit to their demands, as an unholy and unconverted man; whilst he was justly offended at their confusion of justification and sanctification, at their contempt for pure doctrines, and their special, unscriptural notions and phrases, disposed as he also was, to overlook their want of theological education. He repaid their hostility with the most self-denying care when they were attacked by a contagious disease. In 1736, having transferred the prosecution of his work to his son *Paul*, he returned to Denmark, and labored since then in Copenhagen as superintendant of a Greenlandish missionary seminary (*ob.* 1758). (Cf. § 51, 5.)

§ 47. THE MORAVIANS.

Cf. *N. L. v. Zinzendorf*, Πεδὶ ἑαυτοῦ od. naturelle Reflexiones uber sich selbst. 1749. — *A. G. Spangenberg*, Leben d. Grafen v. Z. Barby, 1772, 8 Bde. — *J. W. Verbeek*, des Grafen v. Z. Leb. u. Char. Gnadau, 1845.—*L. C. v. Schrautenbach* (a younger contemporary of Z., not belonging to the denomination, but closely related to it), Erinner. an. d. Gr. Z. (1781). Berlin, 1828, and more thorough; Der G. v. Z. u. d. Brüdergem. sr. zeit; herausg. v. *F. W. Kölbing*. Gnadau, 1851. — *Barnhagen von Ense*, Leb. d. Gr. v. z. in d. Biogr. Denkmalen, Bd. V., Berlin, 1830.— *Fr. Pilgram*, Leb. u. Wirk. d. Gr. N. L. v. Z., aus (röm.)

Kath.-Glaubensprincipien betrachtet. Lpz., 1857. — *Jer. Risler*, Leb. Spangenberg's, Barby, 1794. — *K. F. Ledderhose*, Leb. Sp's. Heidlb., 1846. — (*Zinzendorf*), Büdingische Samml. einiger in d. K. G. einschlagender Schriften. Büd. 1742, ff. 3 Bde. — *A. G. Spangenberg*, kurzgef. hist. Nachr. v. d. gegenw. Verf. d. ev. Brüderunit. 5. A. Gnadau, 1833. *Dav. Cranz*, alte u. neue Brüderhist. Barby, 1774, continued (Bd. 2–4) by *J. K. Hegner*, 1791, ff. (*Kölbing*), *Die Gedenktage* der erneuerten Brüdergem. Gnadau, 1821. — *C. V. Lynar*, Nachr. v. d. Urspr. u. Fortg. d. Brüdernuit. Halle, 1781. — *F. Litiz*, Blicke in d. Gegenw. u. Vergangenh. d. ev. Brüdergem. Lpz., 1846. — *E. W. Cröger*, Gesch. d. erneuerten Brüderkirche. Gnadau, 1852, ff. 3 Bde. — *J. F. Schröder*, d. Gr. v. Z. u. Herrnh. od. Gesch. d. Brüderunität. Nordh. 1857. — *A. Bengel*, Abriss d. s. g. Brüdergem. Stuttg. 1751, 2 Thle. — *J. G. Walch*, theol. Bedenk. v. d. Beschaffenh. d. herrnhütischen Secti. Frkf. 1747. — *J. Ph. Fresenius*, bewärht Nachr. v. herrnhütischen Sachen. 2. A. Lpz. 1746, ff. 4 Bde. — *S. J. Baumgarten*, theol. Bedenk. 1741, ff. — *N. L. v Zinzendorf*, die gegenw. Gestalt. d. Kreuzreiches Christi. Lpz. 1745, 4to. — *A. G. Spangenberg*, apol. Schlussschrift, worinnen über tausend Beschuldigg. nach d. Wahrh. beantw. werden. Lpz. 1752, 2 Bde. 4 *Dess.*, Declaration ü. d. Beschuldigg., etc. Lpz. 1751, 4to. — *Max. Göbel*, Gesch. d. Inspirationsgemeinden, IV. Der herrnhütische Periodus 1730–43; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1855, I. — *A. Christiani*, d. Gr. Zinzend. u. d. Sattler Rock; in d. Mittheill. für. d. ev. K. Russl., 1855, V. [The Moravian Manual. *E. De Schweinitz.* Philada. 1859].

The talented *Count Zinzendorf*, captivated when but a boy, glowing with burning love towards the Saviour, by the idea of a spiritual fraternity of the friends of Jesus, obtained an opportunity to realize this idea in a way peculiar to himself, by the arrival of several Moravian exiles upon his estates. Upon Hutberg he cast the *mustard-seed* of his youthful dreams into fruitful ground, and it soon grew up to a stately tree under the unwearying culture of the noble gardener, and its vigorous sprouts were not only transplanted to all the Protestant countries of Europe, but also to all other parts of the world. The communion which he founded was called the "*renewed fraternity*," but in fact it was not a *renewed*, but a *new* fraternity, the most faithful copy of his altogether original peculiarity, which for a time ran into unheard-of *extravagances*. That the communion did not perish by these extravagances, that its fraternization with fanatics and persons professing to be inspired, its sectarian establishment of a special covenant with the Saviour, and the not too humble imagination of their philadelphian position in the kingdom of God, did not plunge it into bottomless fanaticism, and that it was able

to preserve itself upright upon the slippery and dangerous ground of its marriage-mystery, is a phenomenon that stands alone in Church History, and testifies stronger than everything else, how deeply and firmly the originator and the communion were rooted in the Gospel. The count himself laid aside many of his extravagances, and what remained were eradicated so far as they were not connected with the fundamental idea of the special covenant by his successor, the prudent and circumspect *Spangenberg*. He succeeded, not indeed in abolishing the sectarian character of the fraternity, but in modifying and concealing it. A great advantage to the fraternity in this view, was the contrast of its faithful adhesion to the foundation of salvation, with the general apostacy from faith which prevailed everywhere in the Church. In this period of general apostacy it preserved the faith of many pious souls, and afforded them a welcome refuge, with rich spiritual nourishment and care. But with the resuscitation of religious life in the 19th century, it lost more and more its significance for Europe, on account of its adhesion to its old one-sidedness, its continuing indifference to science, and aversion to conflict. In *one* respect, however, its efficiency is greatly felt, even to the present day,—that is, its heathen missions, and its widely ramified system of education also deserves special acknowledgment. They have now a half million members, with about a hundred settlements.

1. The *Founder of the Moravians, Nicholas Louis Count von Zinzendorf* and *Pottendorf*, was born in the year 1700, at Dresden. Spener was among his sponsors. As his father died early, and his mother married a second time, his pious, pietistically-inclined grandmother, a woman of *Gersdorf*, undertook the training of the boy, who was endowed with rich gifts of the head and heart. With her he learned, even in his tenderest youth, to seek his happiness in the most intimate personal communion with the Lord. But her training was directed only towards nourishing his religious feelings, and neglected to confine them within the limits of wholesome discipline, which was doubly necessary for his bold, rich, and aspiring spirit. At this time already the tendency of his whole life fixed itself. When 10 years old he entered the grammar-school at Halle under the direction of *A. H. Francke*, where the pietistic fundamental idea of the necessity of an ecclesiola in ecclesia, took root in his soul. Already in his 15th year he sought to realize it by founding a *mustard-seed order* (Matt. 13 : 31) among his fellow-pupils. Having completed his preparatory studies, his uncle and guardian, who began to have scruples about his pietistic extravagances, sent him to orthodox Wittenberg to study law. Here he at first found a kind of satisfaction, a morsel of martyr-happiness,

in swimming, as a rigid pietist, against the orthod x stream. Nevertheless, his residence at Wittenberg exerted a wholesome influence on him, for it liberated him insensibly from the narrow-mindedness of Hallean pietism, which, at all events, did not accord with the catholic tendency of his spirit. The fundamental idea of pietism (ecclesiola in ecclesia) he, meanwhile, held fast; but it assumed in his spirit a form so grand and comprehensive, such as pietism was not able to produce. His efforts to bring to pass a personal conference, and if possible a union between the Hallean and Wittenberg leaders, were fruitless. In 1719 he left Wittenberg, and during a two years' tour came into personal contact with the most distinguished Christian men of all confessions and sects (in Paris with Noailles and the Jansenists). After his return home (1721), he entered the civil service of Saxony, in obedience to the desire of his relatives. But a religious genius such as Zinzendorf could find no satisfaction in such service, and soon an opportunity was afforded him to realize the plan which ruled all his thoughts and feelings.

2. *The Founding of the Moravians* (1722–27). — Already the Smalcaldian, and much more the Thirty-years' war, inflicted unspeakable calamities and persecution upon the *Bohemian* and *Moravian Brethren*. Many of them sought a refuge for their faith and life in emigration to Poland and Prussia (among them also Bishop John Amos *Comenius*, *ob.* 1671). Those that remained were exposed to the most wicked oppression, even after the Westphalian peace. They could only serve God after the faith of their fathers in their houses secretly and in constant danger of death; externally and publicly they must belong to the Romish Church. Thus gradually the light of the Gospel went out in the dwellings of their descendants, and the remembrance of the faith and the Church of their fathers was preserved only in a tradition which continually faded more and more. A Moravian carpenter, *Christian David*, born and educated in the Roman Catholic Church, but awakened on his travels through evangelical preaching, rekindled, at the beginning of the 18th century, the dying flame in several families. They emigrated under David's guidance, and sought a refuge upon the estates of Count Zinzendorf in Lausatia (1722). The count was absent at the time, but his steward, with the approbation of the count's grandmother, allowed them to settle on Hutberg near Berthelsdorf. Uttering the words of Ps. 84 : 4, Christian David struck the axe into the tree, which was cut down to build the first house. Soon the village of *Herrnhut* sprung up, and became the centre of the society, which Zinzendorf now made every effort to establish. Gradually other Moravian exiles gathered in; but a much greater number of religiously awakened people of all nations flocked thither, Pietists, Separatists, Calvinists, Schwenkfeldians, etc. Zinzendorf did not contemplate a separation from the Lutheran Church. The colonists were placed in the parish of the excellent preacher *Rothe* of Berthelsdorf (§ 46, 4). It was no

easy matter to organize such a mixed crowd; and only the glowing enthusiasm of Zinzendorf for the idea of a collection of souls, his eminent talent for organization, the wonderful elasticity and tenacity of his will, the extraordinary prudence, circumspection, and wisdom of his understanding, were able to hold the diverse elements together, and to avoid an open rupture amid the constantly occurring dissensions. The Moravians demanded the re-establishment of the old Moravian constitution and discipline; and of the other elements, each one desired that to be placed in the foreground, which was the most important to it. All only sympathized with each other in the aversion to holding fast simply to the Lutheran Church and its preacher Rothe. Thus the count saw himself compelled to create a new and separate society of unity. The old Moravian constitution did not specially commend itself to him, but the lot decided in favor of it, and the consideration of being able to appear as the continuation of an ante-reformatory martyr-church, had also its weight. Thus then Zinzendorf formed a constitution with old Moravian forms and names, but pervaded throughout with a new spirit, and ruled by quite other tendencies. The Moravians did not venture to condemn the difference; the most able among them, who perhaps discovered it, were silenced by prominent positions; individual discontents left Herrnhut. On the basis of this constitution, chartered by Zinzendorf, the colony now constituted itself, Aug. 13, 1727, under the name of *Renewed Moravian Church.*

3. *The Progress of the Church to Zinzendorf's Death* (1727–60).—Immediately after the organization of the Church or Society, it began to manifest an astonishing activity in propagating itself, the life and soul of which Zinzendorf was, and remained until his death. New congregations were organized in Germany, Holland, England, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and North America; members of the society were sent to Protestant countries to form smaller societies among the dioaspora within the established churches, but with Moravian spirit and forms, thus for instance with special success in Livonia and Esthonia since 1729. Zinzendorf was examined (1734) at Tübingen as a candidate for the ministry, and received (1737) from the hand of *Jablonsky*, court-preacher at Berlin, who was at the same time Bishop of the Moravians, episcopal ordination, which the same had given already two years before to another member of the fraternity, *David Nitschmann* (a wheelwright by trade); as also generally increasing importance was attached to episcopal succession in proportion as the connection with England became more intimate. Meanwhile, the movements of the society attracted the greatest attention. The government of Saxony sent (1736) a commission to Herrnhut, of which *Val. E. Löscher* was a member. Although this commission made, upon the whole, a favorable report, nevertheless the originator of the society was banished from the country. This exile continued for ten years. Zinzendorf, like all religious fugitives then, fled to Wetteraw. He settled with his little

congregation at Ronneburg near Büdingen, established flourishing congregations at Marienborn and Herrnhaag, and made extensive journeys in Europe and America. This period of exile is the period of the greatest outward extension, but also (especially the years 1742–50) the period of the greatest internal dangers. The historians of the society designate these years as the *sifting-period*. At the same time a real flood of controversial treatises and lampoons began to break upon the society and its founders, partly in an earnest and dignified tone, with a sharply penetrating criticism from the side of most honorable, worthy, and learned representatives of Lutheran theology (*John Phil. Fresenius*, *S. J. Baumgarten*, *J. G. Walch*, Abbot *Steinmetz*, *Alb. Bengel*, et al.), partly in a coarse, offensive, and scandalous manner, ex. qr. by *J. Leonh. Fröreisen* (Abschilderung des Mahomet's und des Zinzendorf's als seines heutigen Affen. Strasb. 1747, etc.), the latter being done especially also by members who had withdrawn from the society, concerning whom we may presuppose the most exact knowledge of the internal condition of the society, but also the strongest disposition to misrepresent and ridicule it. (Cf. ex. gr. *B. Alex. Volck*, town-clerk of Büdingen, das entdeckte Geheimnisz d. Bosh. d. herrnh. Secte. Frkf. 1749, ff., and *H. Joach. Bothe*, tailor in Berlin, Zuverl. Nachr. des entd. herrnh. Ehegeheimnisses. Berl. 1751, 2 Bde.) It is, however, nevertheless true, that the count and his society at this time gave only too much matter and occasion for misrepresentation, perversion, and slander, by extravagances and peculiarities of the most obnoxious and dangerous kind. To *this* period belongs, first of all, the celebrated fiction of the *special covenant*—the Pandora-box of all other errors — and the bold political stratagem (1741) by which Zinzendorf made *Leonhard Dober* to "succeed" the *Lord Jesus* in the office of chief-elder. To *this* period belong also the greatest literary fruitfulness of the count, together with the development of his peculiar theological views, modes of speech, and doctrines; the composition and public use in worship of the notorious, later expelled, spiritual hymns, with their indescribably foolish trifling, and their partly blasphemous, partly obscene images and analogies; further, the mountebank laudation of his society, the not always honest proselytism, the introduction and practice of a very questionable and shameless matrimonial discipline; finally, the so-called *elegancies* (*i. e.* excepting joyful festivities, whose centre was the cultus of the "Seitenhöhlchens," with illuminated or transparent representations and tasteless emblems or decorations of the same, etc.), such as the "*mite-societies*" for preparing these elegancies, towards which especially the congregation at Herrnhaag, the model for all the others, contributed the non-plus-ultra of silly insipidity. Even the pietistic party, whose theory of repentance and conversion was certainly and justly offensive to the society, opposed it on account of its blessed resting in the favor of its Saviour, which inclined to Antinomism. (Cf. *K. H. v. Bogatzky*, Aufr. Declaration ü. e. gegen

ihn herausgek. herrnhutische Schrift. mit e. Vorr. v. Abt Steinmetz. Halle, 1751.—*G. Terstegen,* Warnungsschreiben wider die Leichtsinnigk. sc. der Herrnhuter, im weg d. Wahrh. St. V.). The controversial treatises of inspired fanatics in Wetteraw, with whom Zinzendorf formerly fraternized, but had now completely broken, brought things to light, of which those without had no idea, and which greatly compromised Zinzendorf's sincerity and integrity (§ 49, 2).—All this opposition, odious as it for the most part was, produced meanwhile a salutary effect. The count became gradually more careful as to himself, more cautious in his addresses, more discreet in his conduct, removed several of the worst excrescences in doctrine and practice, and exterminated also in great part the fanatical element. In 1747, finally, the government of Saxony revoked the edict of exile against the founder of the society; and as it two years later explicitly accepted the Augsburg Confession, it attained formal recognition in Saxony. At the same time it was recognized in England by an act of parliament (1749) as a church entitled to equal privileges with that of the Anglican Episcopal, with pure episcopal succession. Zinzendorf managed all the important matters of the society until his death, and it adhered to him with childlike confidence, and was a faithful copy of his character, inheriting not only his fervor, but also his extravagances in forms of expression, of doctrine, and of life. He died (1760) in the perfect enjoyment of that happiness which his glowing love to the Saviour had prepared for him.

4. *Zinzendorf's Plan and Labors.*—The pietistic idea of the necessity of an ecclesiola in ecclesia gave him the first impulse to the work of his life. But the weakness of this tendency could not remain concealed to his sharp and penetrating spirit. With clear vision he looked through the little, narrow-minded doings of Pietism, which never could accomplish anything rightly with its establishment of institutions, its unscriptural methods of piety, and theories of conversion and sealing. Zinzendorf, therefore, desired not a conventicle, but a society; not an ideal, invisible, but a real, visible Church; not a narrow-minded methodism, but a free, rich dominion of the Christian spirit. He did not aim at first at the conversion of the world, nor at the reformation of the Church, but at the collection and conservation of souls belonging to the Saviour. But he hoped to build a reservoir, into which all the rivulets of the water of life would flow together, and from which he would be able to water the whole world. And as he succeeded so well in forming a society, and it had progressed so rapidly, he was perfectly convinced that it was the Philadelphia of Revelations (3 : 7 ff.), that with it had begun the *Philadelphian period* of Church History, concerning which all the prophets and apostles had prophesied. His plan was designed originally for all Christendom, and he took steps to realize it in this form. To build a bridge between the Roman Catholic Church and his society, he published (1727) a small *Christian-Catholic* hymn and prayer-book, mostly taken from Angelus Silesius' "Holy Delight

of the Soul" and sketched a letter to the pope (published later by Walch) with which he intended to send this book to him. Zinzendorf positively denied the whole matter, and pronounced the letter to be a pasquil; but Spangenberg admitted that the count had sketched it, but never sent it off. He also endeavored to interest the Greek Church in his society by writing to the patriarch and to the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, whereby he brought the Greek descent of the Moravian brethren to bear. Practically, however, his collection of souls was confined within the limits of the Protestant Church, and within these limits contributions were made to it from *all* confessions, sects, and communions. He was personally attached sincerely to the Lutheran Church and its characteristic doctrines. But in a society which was in principle designed to be the rendezvous of the pious out of all nations, doctrine and creed could not be the uniting and cementing bond. It could only form a communion *of love*, not *of faith*. The inmost kernel of Lutheranism, reconciliation by the blood of Christ, was preserved, and even made to be the proper living element of the society, though only as the blessed *feeling* of his blood. But this continued to be the properly *Lutheran basis* in the society, which also, when it was divided into confessional tropes (into the Moravian, Lutheran, and Reformed trope), remained in all the common basis. This division first took place in 1744, and was occasioned by the founding of the new congregations at Marienborn and Herrnhaag in Wetteraw, in which the Reformed element was predominant. The uniting head of the three divisions was the count himself, who, in this capacity, bore the title *Ordinarius*. But this matter of division was also only something external, and introduced no confessional precision into the society; it was consequently also of no duration. The later adhesion to the *Augsburg Confession* (1749) was only an act of policy, which obtained civil recognition, otherwise it was without any effect. The society remained, as it had been before, without and indifferent to any confession. As now Zinzendorf's society rejected the unity of confession as a principle of communion, and as no permanent communion can be based on a mere feeling of love, consequently nothing remained to the founder but to make the *Constitution* the bond of unity instead of the confession. The forms of this constitution were borrowed, from external considerations, from the *Old Moravian* Church-discipline, but not Bradacz's, but Zinzendorf's spirit filled and ruled them. The old Moravian constitution was an episcopal-clerical one, and started from the idea of the Church; the new one was essentially Presbyterian, and started from the idea of the congregation, and that a congregation of saints. Moravian bishops are only titular ones; they have no dioceses, no church government, nor ban. All this resides in the power of the Unity-elders, among whom the lay-element is decidedly predominant. Further, Moravians have no pastors, but only preaching brethren; the care of souls is assigned to the elders and their assistants. In addition

to that half-Lutheran and this pseudo-Moravian element, the society had also as basis a *Donatist element.* This consisted already in the fundamental idea of a collection and communion of only true children of God, and found its completion as well as its dogmatic establishment in the conclusion of a *Special covenant* with the Saviour on Sept. 16, 1741, in London. The "Gedenktage" (p. 241, ff.) report the following concerning it: *Leonhard Dober* had filled the office of a General-elder for several years. But it was observed at a synod held in London that he had not the proper talents for this office. He now asked to be dismissed. In the anxiety to refill the office, "it occurred to all at the same time, to accept the Saviour for it." They looked after the watch-word of the day, and found Isaiah 45 : 11 (a passage not correctly translated by Luther). "Instantly we all resolved to accept no other than him as General-elder, and he gave us to understand that He approved (How?). We asked for permission; we obtained it. (How?). The question *was not,* whether the Saviour was generally the shepherd and bishop of our souls; but our purpose and concern was: that he should make a *special covenant* with his insignificant people, and receive us as his *special possession,* take care of all our concerns, specially watch over us, personally unite himself with each member of the society, and do everything in perfection that our former elder had done among us in weakness." In a circular addressed to "the Church of the Lamb," Zinzendorf announced the unheard-of favor which had been bestowed upon them; — and, as is customary on the accession of a new king to the throne, a letter of grace proclaimed "a universal forgiveness of sins, committed either against the society or its members," and offered "all apostates, to the last, whom the Lord according to his wonderful and inscrutable counsel had excluded," restoration to the society. In America, the congregation at Philadelphia issued a proclamation to all Christians, which begins with the words: To-day a visible Church of the Lord is finally seen and recognized here; we constitute the body of the Lord; hither to us, all ye who belong to the Lord!

Among the numberless *extravagances* perpetrated by Zinzendorf and the society, during the so-called *sifting-period,* which, however, Zinzendorf himself partly abandoned later, the following are the most remarkable and obnoxious: (1.) *The doctrine of the maternal office of the Holy Ghost.* Zinzendorf viewed the Holy Trinity as "man, wife, and child" ("papa, mamma, and their little flame, brother lambkin"). The Holy Ghost fills the position of mother (God the Father's eternal wife, heart-mamma); his maternal office is exercised in a three-fold way: at the eternal generation of the Son of God, at the conception of the man Jesus, at the regeneration of believers. (2.) *The doctrine of the paternal office of Jesus Christ* (according to Isaiah 9 : 6.) The creation of the world was accomplished alone and exclusively by the Son (the "blessed potter" according to Gen. 2 : 7), therefore Christ is our special father, our direct father. The father of our Lord Jesus

Christ is only ' what the world calls a father-in-law, a grandfather." (3.) Concerning the earthly life of our Saviour, Zinzendorf, in order to make prominent and clear the depth of his humiliation, loved to use the most disrespectful expressions (journeyman-carpenter, journeyman, he hung upon the cross as a gallows-bird, etc.). (4.) He spoke equally disrespectfully also of the "miserable fisherman's, shepherd's, and visitator stylo, of the classical obscurity and rabbinical scholastic terminology of the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, he pronounced his society to be a living Bible. (5.) The theory and practice of the *marriage-mystery*, according to Eph. 5 : 32. The society and every single soul in it is the spiritual bride of Christ, and to make the intimate character of this relation clear, marriage-life is depicted even to obscenity, and applied to the spiritual marriage with Christ, especially in the hymns. But Christ is also the proper husband in corporeal matrimony. The begetting of children is a work of Christ (belongs to his paternal office); earthly husbands are only "his procurators, in whose favor he has resigned it;" they are the vice-christs, vice-men of the wives. Marriage is a real sacrament, sanctified thereto by the circumcision of Christ and the opening of his side with the spear. The blood of Christ shed thereby is the oil of matrimony, and the begetting of children is a holy, divine work, that should be performed by true Christians without any sensation of fleshly lust, and consequently also without shame. The "dog-principiis tolerated" by the apostle (1 Cor. 7 : 9), which are now only practised by negroes and islanders, must be denied admission into the society. To this end the contraction of marriage and the copula carnalis were placed under the special supervision of the stewards of the society; and the latter was done for a time by the newly married amidst the singing and prayer of the society assembled in an adjoining room.

Zinzendorf, almost apotheosized by his adherents, has not met with a proper judgment, either as to his greatness or his weakness, from his opponents. His *greatness* lay in his heart glowing with love to the Saviour ("I have only *one* passion, that is He, only He"), in the universal love, with which he gladly embraced all believers, in order to gather them beneath the cross. This greatness, which he possessed, is not even acknowledged by his most estimable opponents, among whom *Bengel* is by far the most important. His *weakness* consisted almost less in the various extravagances of which he was guilty, than in the fact that he regarded himself as being called to establish a society. But apart from this, his *labors* bear the stamp of grandeur, on account of the great self-sacrifice, unwearied energy, and self-denying faithfulness with which he performed them. He devoted his whole life, soul, heart, and wealth, to his self-chosen calling. The advantages, also, which birth, position, and high secular culture offered him, he knew how to make subservient to his mission. He was personally persuaded of his divine calling, and as he was not accustomed to bow

to the written Word of God, but interpreted it according to his subjective canon: "It appears so to me," and made only this (together with the lot) the rule of his life and labors, it is easily explicable how he, in spite of great spiritual illumination and a rich fund of Christian sense, could fall into fanatical errors. And from this relation to his calling, the advancement of which by all imaginable means he had always and only in view, are explained also single impurities in his life (especially want of strict truthfulness, where it might appear to be injurious to his cause). Very much of what was crooked and perverse in his character must also be attributed to the distracted age in which he lived. Zinzendorf's writings, of which there are more than 100, are marked by originality, genial thoughts, and peculiar phrases. Among his more than 2000 hymns, many of them improvised in the act of worship, of which *Alb. Knapp* published (Stuttg. 1845) 700 of the best, there are many possessing great fervor and sweetness, some of really poetic merit, a few also ("Jesu, geh voran," "Du unser auserwähltes Haupt"), which have found their way into the hymn-books of the evangelical Church. The largest portion of them are mere rhymes, a repertorium of theological and spiritual extravagances.

5. *The Moravians since Spangenberg's Labors.*—The society owes its present form to the prudent, wise, and temperate bishop, *Aug. Gottlieb Spangenberg* (*ob.* 1792), who, after Zinzendorf's death, obtained a superior influence, and is justly regarded as its second founder. It received from him the measured forms which yet characterise it. The constitution was revised and perfected at the synod of Marienborn (1764). Zinzendorf's monarchical position was changed into the conference of unity-elders, and Spangenberg removed the yet remaining excrescences of fanaticism. But the *fundamental error of a special covenant* remained untouched, and still constituted the fundamental presupposition of everything that the society as such thought, taught, wrote, did, and accomplished, — and it continues to celebrate on the 16th Sept., "the blessed experience of the elder's office of Jesus," as its proper birth-day and special Whitsuntide. In the statutes of the evang. Brüdr.-Unit. Gnadau (1819, § 5), it defines itself in distinction from the existing churches as a "society of *true* children of God, as a family of God, which has Jesus for its head,"—in the Hist. Nachricht. v. d. Verfass. d. Brdr.-Unit. Gnadau, 1823, § 4, as "a collection of *living* members of the invisible body of Jesus Christ," and in its "Litanei am Ostermorgen" (Gesangb. Nr. 210), in immediate connection with the creed of universal Christendom is placed as fourth, specially Moravian credo: "*I believe*, that our brethren N. N. and our sisters N. N. (N. B. Here persons who have died at the place since the previous Easter are mentioned *by name*) have gone to the upper congregation, and have entered into the joy of their Lord." However, the synod of 1848 made a change in *this* article of faith, but not so great as to abandon the principle. But it is certain that the society

did not, in a public way, cause the consciousness of its special election to appear so prominently in the foreground. This considerate and purified Moravianism received, in Spangenberg's Idea Fidei fratrum, a *dogmatic* expression, which was connected with the Lutheran doctrine, but not the less thoroughly penetrated by the above-mentioned fundamental presupposition. Only a few new societies were established after Zinzendorf's death, and none of these were of much importance. Rather before this event, the flourishing congregations in Wetteraw were destroyed and scattered (1750) by the ruler of the country, Count von Isenburg-Büdingen (because they refused to take the oath of allegiance). The *labors among the Diaspora* in *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, after the first attempt to establish the society there (1729–43), had ended in the banishment of the Moravians, were more successful in the second half of this century, and assumed a form here as nowhere else in a national church. They organized here formally a church within the church, whose members, sustained by the conviction that they had been added to "the little band" of the elect by the infallible voice of the Lord in the lot, gave infinite trouble to the orthodox clergymen of the country, especially of Livonia who saw the destructive character of this course, and testified against it from the Word of God. This testimony manifested its conquering power here also, and Moravianism began to reform (1857) not only too late, but also in too lukewarm a manner, to save its institutions in Livonia from the certain destruction which impended over them. (Cf. *Th. Harnack*, d. luth. K. Livland's u. d. herrnhut. Brüdergemeine, in der kirchl. Zeitschr. v. Kleifoth u. Mejer 1855, V. VI. 1857, IX. X.)

With regard to the *doctrinal peculiarity* of the Moravians, the first thing to be made prominent is, that *freedom from all creeds* is a principle. The acceptance of the Augustana, in 1749, was not a real appropriation of them; and how merely external the relation of the society to them still is, is shown by the synodic indulgence of 1848. Consequently, it is difficult to say what the doctrines of the Moravians are. If we confine ourselves to Spangenberg's Idea Fidei, and to the sermons and devotional works, then their doctrinal views do not by any means appear to be either un-Lutheran or anti-Lutheran, but rather such as contain neither the extensive fulness nor the intensive wealth of the Lutheran doctrines,—and *Bengel's* sharp criticism: that the Moravians pluck off the leaves from the entire tree of wholesome doctrines, expose that which is most hidden, and even divide this in half, is even yet perfectly true. First of all they repudiate *science* (according to a wrong translation and application of Eph. 3: 19) as unnecessary to the appropriation of redemption, and seek to apprehend and preserve salvation by direct *faith* and *love*. As regards the objects of faith, the *Son* (the God-man) is regarded as the exclusive agent by whom salvation is applied and accomplished, so that the relations of the Father and the Holy Ghost to redemption are entirely

ignored. Further, entire redemption is again attributed, in a one-sided way, to the sufferings and death of the Son; and the other not less essential side of the same, which is grounded in his life and resurrection, is left out of view, or rather its fruits are likewise traced to his atoning death. Consequently not only justification, but also sanctification, are attributed exclusively to the death of Christ, and this is apprehended not so much as a legal satisfaction (without, however, expressly denying this directly), as a divine manifestation of love, which awakens reciprocal love. Redemption is viewed as emanating solely from the blood and wounds of Christ, and as in this aspect the justice of God comes less into view than His grace and love, so also the Gospel is made prominent to the almost entire exclusion of the law (almost to Antinomianism). Sermon and doctrine should be directed towards exciting pious feelings of love, and thus promote a certain religious *sentimentality*. The weak side of the society is, accordingly, its *inability* to religiously develop the *whole* man with all his capacities and powers, and to make the entire fulness of the gospel contribute to this end; — its strong side, on the other hand, is its *inwardness*, and even this is unsound, because it is penetrated with the idea of a special covenant with the Lord.

The peculiarity of their *worship* also contributed towards exciting pious feeling, including pleasant sacred music, affecting melodies, rich liturgical service, *love-feasts* (agapæ, with tea, rusk, and the singing of chorals), *feet-washing*, and the *fraternal kiss* at the communion, etc. The daily watch-words (from the O. T.) and doctrinal texts (from the N. T.) are designed to control and direct the feelings and meditations of each day, and are regarded as being a kind of oracle both for the congregation and for private life. So early as 1734 the society possessed a hymn-book of its own, with 972 hymns. The most of these hymns proceeded from the society itself, and are a faithful copy of its condition at that time. It contained, besides, the Bohemian and Moravian hymns translated by *M. Weiss*, and also many old choice hymns of the evangelical church; the latter, however, were most miserably mutilated and abbreviated. By degrees (to 1749) twelve appendices and four additions were made to it, so that the number of hymns increased to 2357. The one-sidedness of the emotional tendency degenerated, especially in these additions, and most of all in the twelfth, to the most offensive caricature, in the insipid, and more than childish trifling with the blood and wounds of Christ, etc. Zinzendorf himself discovered this degeneracy in time, struck off the twelve appendices in 1751, and prepared in London a new revised hymn-book (the so-called *London* hymn-book). Under Spangenberg's superintendence of the society, *Christian Gregor* (at that time music-director, later Bishop, *ob.* 1801) undertook the publication of the hymn-book yet in use. Without possessing poetical talent, he yet did good service by retouching and abbreviating the hymns then in use. He retained 542 of Zinzen-

dorf's hymns, and added not less than 308 of his own pious rhymes This "Neue Gesangbuch der Brüdergemeinen" appeared in 1778; in 1784, a book of chorals, likewise prepared by Gregor, was added to it. Zinzendorf is the chief religious poet of the society. The count's only, early deceased (1752) son, *Christian Renatus* (commonly called *Christel*) bequeathed to the society a number of hymns (among which is "Die wir uns allhier beisamen finden"). The other numerous religious poets are of no importance. Worthy of special mention is Spangenberg's hymn: "Heil'ge Einfalt! Gnadenwunder!". -The *Melodies* were of the Hallean type, but strayed even more than these into the sentimental, emotional, and unchurchly, until in 1784 *Gregor*, by his new choral-book, brought this tendency within the limits of the renewed spirit of the society.

The *Christian Practical Life* of the society, after it had come out of its sifting period, purified through Spangenberg's efforts, manifested itself in "an almost monkish contraction of civil and social life," with stereotyped phrases and peculiar usages, even as to clothing (the caps of the wives, widows, and maidens). Characteristic of the society is further the blessed, quietistic feeling of favor in personal communion with the Saviour, the peace, which avoided all conflict and controversy, the prudent, measured cutting-out of the whole life, etc. The unbelief that reigned in the Protestant Church, gave for a time an apparent justification to the separation, conditioned by the special covenant. Since the revival of Christian life in the Church, this separatism has also, at least in its external relations, receded into the background, but has not by any means entirely disappeared. The society still regards itself as being the preferred and favored people of the Lord.

Finally, with regard to the *Form of Church Government*, Christ himself is the *chief elder* of the Church, who governs it by means of the lot. The leaders of the society at least hold fast to the use of the lot, in spite of the opposition which has arisen in the society within several decades. With it the special covenant would lose all significance, and the existence of the society outside of the Church all justification. The lot is used in marriages, in filling ecclesiastical offices, in sending forth missionaries, in receiving into the society, etc. Nevertheless, the society has permitted a relaxation of the practice in marriages, inasmuch as it is only used with consent of the candidates of matrimony, and the result is not regarded as binding, which, in fact, involves a contradiction and an abandonment of the principle. The administration of the affairs of the society resides in the Unity-elders' conference (with three departments, one for ecclesiastical and educational affairs, another for economical affairs, and a third for missions). From time to time *General Synods* are also convoked, possessing legislative authority. The society is divided into separate bands, the married, the widowed, the unmarried brethren, the maidens and children, with special stewards, living for the most part also in separate houses, and holding special

religious services in addition to those that are general. The ecclesiastical officers are divided into bishops, presbyters, deacons, deaconesses, and acolytes.

6. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. *D. Cranz*, Hist. v. Grönl. Barby, 1762, 2 Thle. — *G. A. Oldendorp*, Gesch. d. Miss. d. ev. Br. auf den Caraib, Inseln. Barby, 1777, 2 Bde.—*G. H. Loskiel*, Gesch. d. Miss. d. ev. Br. unter d. Indianern in Nordamerika, Barby, 1789. — *F. L. Kölbing*, Gesch. d. Miss. in Grönl. u. Labrador. Gnadau, 1831, 2 Bde.) — Zeal for missions was early kindled in Zinzendorf's heart by meeting with a West Indian negro at Copenhagen. He laid the subject before his young society, and as early as 1732 the first Moravian missionaries, *Leonh. Dober* and *Dav. Nitschmann*, were sent to St. Thomas; and in the next following years the missions of the society were extended in every direction over Greenland (§ 46, 7), North America, almost all the West India islands, South America, Kapland (among the Hottentots), East India, Labrador (among the Esquimaux), etc. The missionary labors of the Moravians constitute the most beneficent and honorable portion of their history. Their mode of missionary operations was chiefly adapted to uncivilized nations, and *only* to such. In East India ex. gr. they were not able to accomplish anything. The society did not lack self-sacrificing missionaries, of whom nothing was demanded but love to the Saviour and devotion to their calling. They were for the most part pious, enlightened mechanics, who brought practical adaptedness to their new calling, which was of great importance, simply preached the cross, and cared for the bodily and spiritual welfare of those committed to them, with maternal solicitude. The Moravian guardianship of souls is here transfigured into a real patriarchal relationship. The brightest example of such a missionary patriarch was *Dav. Zeisberger*, who labored for 63 years (*ob.* 1808) among the North American Indians. In contrast with the enormous expenditure of money by Protestant missions, it is to be remarked with honor, that the Moravian missions were able to accomplish the greatest results with the least pecuniary means.

§ 48. THE REFORMED CHURCH AND METHODISM.

What Pietism and Moravianism was to the Lutheran Church, that Methodism was to the *Reformed* Church of England, from which it proceeded almost at the same time. In the Dutch and German Reformed Churches, *Coccejanism* (§ 40, 3), which was still in favor in the first decades of the 18th century, made its influence felt. After that the rigidly Calvinistic system had been softened by it, the antithesis between Calvinistic orthodoxy and *Arminian* heterodoxy lost its sharpness, and Arminian tendencies were felt more and more in Reformed theology. The sharp-

ness of the antithesis between Calvinism and Lutheranism was also moderated on both sides, although the *Union movements*, made from time to time, failed on account of Lutheran opposition.

1. *Methodism.* (Cf. *J. Hampson*, Life of J. Wesley, 2 vols.—*J. Rob. Southey*, Life of J. Wesley, 2 vols.—*H. Moore*, the Life of the Rev. J. Wesley. Lond. 1824, 2 vols.—*R. Watson*, Life of J. Wesley.—*G. Whitfield's* Leben, nach. d. Engl. herausg. v. *A. Tholuck*. Lpz. 1834. Leben *J. Fletcher's* mit vorw. v. *A. Tholuck*. Lpz. 1838.—*J. H. Burkhard*, Vollst. Gesch. d. Methodisten. Nürnb. 1795, 2 Bde.—*Th. Jackson*, Hist. of the Rise and Progress of Methodism.—*J. Taylor*, Wesley and Methodism. Lond. 1851.—*S. L. Jacoby*, Handb. d. Methodism, 2 A. Brem. 1855.—*J. W. Baum*, d. Methodismus. Zürich, 1838.)—The living power of the gospel was paralyzed in the English episcopal Church by the formalism of scholastic learning, and by the mechanism of a style of worship rich in forms. A reaction was produced by *John Wesley*, a young man of deep religious earnestness and glowing zeal to save souls. While pursuing his studies at Oxford, he formed a society with several friends, the object of which was to promote pious living and labors (1729). These united friends were now already called, in ridicule, *Methodists*, because they were charged, not unjustly, with practising piety in a methodical way. Wesley, by friendly intercourse with several Moravians, grew in Christian experience and in living faith. In 1732, he found a worthy co-laborer in *George Whitfield*, a young man, possessing like zeal with Wesley for his own salvation as well as for that of his fellow-men, and still greater talents. Both now labored with ceaseless activity to awaken and quicken the religious life of the people, not only in England, but also in America. After his return from America (1738), Wesley organized a comprehensive religious union, which, under the direction of a conference, sent local and travelling preachers into all the world. The Methodists did not desire to separate from the Episcopal Church; they rather wished to work in it as a spiritual leaven. Whitfield also returned to England in 1739. Both preached now powerfully and unceasingly, for the most part in the open air, often in the presence of 20,000 to 30,000 hearers, and were subjected to much insult and ridicule; but also called many hardened sinners, mostly from the lower classes, to repentance and faith. (Whitfield alone preached about 18,000 sermons in 34 years). The most distinguished of their co-laborers is *John Fletcher* (*ob.* 1785). Wesley founded a seminary at Kingswood to educate Methodist preachers. The connection with the Moravians was soon broken up, because the Methodist mode of salvation was directed (in glaring contrast with the quiet and emotional mode of the Moravians) towards an arousing of the secure sinner by all the terrors of the law and all the horrors of hell, as also towards producing a conflict of repentance with

a final violent conversion. But an irreconcilable rupture took place already (1741) among the leaders, concerning the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination, which caused a separation of the Methodists into *Arminian Wesleyans* and *Calvinistic Whitfieldians*, the former being the most numerous. Whitfield died in 1770, Wesley in 1791. The Methodists were, in various ways, in spite of all their extravagances, a wholesome salt for the Protestant Church of England and America, and remained such during the entire period of reigning unbelief down to the present time; when, however, their one-sidedness, over against the newly awakened life of the Church, ran frequently into the most extreme and glaring perversity. (Cf. § 55, 12.) Methodism also inherited from its founder a zeal for missions as a Christian duty, and has labored to promote them with wonderful energy, perseverance, and self-sacrifice.

2. *The Endeavors after Union.*—The Brandenburg dynasty made constant effort (§ 34, 2) to prepare the way for a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the country. *Frederick* I. (III.) established in 1703 a Collegium caritativum to this end under the presidency of the Reformed court-preacher *Ursinus*, in which the Reformed Church was also represented by Jablonsky, formerly Moravian bishop, and the Lutheran by cathedral-preacher *Winkler* of Magdeburg and the provost *Lütkens* of Cologne on the Spree. *Spener*, who did not wish a forced, but a spontaneous union, refused to participate in the movement; *Lütkens* withdrew displeased after a few sessions; and when *Winkler* published a plan of union (Arcanum regium), which surrendered the Lutheran Church into the hands of the Reformed king, there arose so great a storm against the project (*Val. E. Löscher* of Dresden also opposed it), that it had to be abandoned. But already in the following year the king took the plan up again, but in another form, namely: Jablonsky, with a commission from the king, entered upon negotiations with England concerning the introduction of the Anglican form of Church government into Prussia, in order to build a bridge by it for the union with the Lutheran Church. But this plan failed also (cf. Darleg. der im vor. Jahrh. wegen Einf. d. engl. K. Verf. in Pr. gepflog. unterhh. Lpz. 1842).—Equally fruitless were the union efforts which were made by the Chancellor *Chr. Matth. Pfaff* of Tübingen (Nubes testium pro moderato et pacifico de reb. theol. judicio, etc. Genev., 1719, 4to.), and by Prof. *J. Alf. Turretin* of Geneva. *Cyprian* of Gotha (Abgedrung. Unterr. von kirchl. Verein d. Prot. Frkf. 1722), and even *Weissmann* of Tübingen and *Mosheim* of Helmstedt opposed them. But several decades later even a Lutheran theologian, *Christopher Aug Heumann* of Göttingen, undertook to prove "that the doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper was the correct one." The treatise was published after his death (Göttg. 1764), and there was no Löscher or Cyprian living to refute it.

3. *Theological Literature.*—Arminian theology can point to the bril-

liant names of *John Clericus* (*ob.* 1736), (biblical criticism, hermeneutics, exegesis, Church History) and *John Jacob Wetstein.* The latter was Dean at Basle, but was deposed (1730) on account of heterodox views, and (*ob.* 1754) as Prof. of the Remonstrant gymnasium at Amsterdam. His critical edition of the N. T. (Amsterdam, 1751, 2 Bde., fol.) gained for him imperishable renown. *Alb. Schultens* of Leyden (*ob.* 1750) extended the science of philology by the comparison of kindred dialects, especially of the Arabic. He also wrote commentaries on Job and the Proverbs. Of the Coccejanian interpreters of the Scriptures are to be named *Fr. Ad. Lampe* of Bremen (*ob.* 1729), (Ev. Joh. 3 Bde., 4to.; Geheimnisz d. Gnadenbundes, 6 Bde., etc.) and *J. Mark* of Leyden (*ob.* 1731), (kl. Proph.) *Hadr. Reland* of Utrecht (*ob.* 1718) contributed much of importance to biblical antiquity (Palestina ex vett. monum. illustr., Antiquitt. ss.) Prominent among the anti-deistic apologists are the Englishmen *J. Leland* (*ob.* 1766) and *Th. Stackhouse* (*ob.*1752), (Biblical History), and the Frenchman *Jak. Saurin* (*ob.*1720), (Biblical History);—among the systematic theologians, *J. F. Stapper* of Berne (*ob.* 1775) (Institutt. theol. polem., 5 vols.; Grundlegung d. wahr. Rel., 12 vols.; Sittenlehre, 6 vols.); and *Dan. Wittenbach* of Marburg (*ob.* 1779) (Theol. elenchthicæ initia; Tentamen theolog. dogm., with the application of the Wolfian method); among the Church historians, *J. Alf. Turretin* of Geneva (*ob.* 1737) and *Herm. Venema* of Franeker (*ob.* 1787.)—Finally, mention is yet to be made of an unparalleled phenomenon in the Reformed Church, namely, a mystic, and that one of the noblest and most pious that ever lived: *Gerh. Tersteegen,* ribbon-weaver at Mühlheim on the Ruhr (*ob.* 1769), (he was not able to complete his preparation for a learned calling). He is also distinguished as a sacred poet ("Gott ist gegenwärtig"). He was a patriarchal hermit, to whom anxious souls came from far and near to receive spiritual counsel, comfort, and refreshment; and he was withal a child in humility and simplicity. Without being a separatist, he regarded the Church with indifference and neglect. The most popular of his numerous writings are: Geistl. Blumengärtlein, Geistl. Brosamen, Harfenspiel d. Kinder Zions, Der Frommen Lotterie, Geistl. Briefe, Weg d. Wahsh., Lebensbeschr. heiliger Seelen (R. Cath. mystics), 3 Bde., 4to. (Cf. *K. Barthel,* G. Terst's Leben, in the Bielefelder Sonntagsbibl. V. 6.) (Cf. § 50.)

§ 49. NEW SECTS AND FANATICS.

The same phenomenon, which appeared everywhere in the 16th century, viz., the Reformation having attached to it, as a caricature, fanatics and ultraists of all kinds,—repeated itself in the religious agitations which Pietism caused in the beginning of the 18th century. Even as Pietism gathered believers and the

awakened into small bands, which as ecclesiolæ in ecclesia were to be centres of life in the dead mass and alarm-voices for the sleeping; so also through the same excitant, a host of Separatists were produced, who denounced the Church as Babel, her means of grace as impure, and her preaching empty and hypocritical babbling. They derived their spiritual nourishment from the writings of Böhme, Gichtel, Guyon, Poiret, and other theosophists. Their most important rendezvous was Wetteraw, where the princely house of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg afforded a refuge for all exiled Pietists. Count *Casimir* formed his court and civil officers out of these, although he belonged to the National Reformed Church. Nevertheless, there was scarcely a section in Protestant Germany, in Switzerland, and in the Netherlands, where kindred phenomena did not appear. In *Swedenborgianism*, a new phenomenon appeared, independently of the pietistic movement. The *Baptists* and *Quakers*, among the older fanatical sects, furnished new off-shoots; while on the other side Dort orthodoxy also ran, in some of its forms, into sectarianism.

1. *Fanatics and Separatists in Germany.* (Cf. *Max. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens in d. rhein. westph. K. Bd. II. Kobl. 1852.—*F. W. Barthold*, d. Erweckten im prot. Deutschl., bes. d. frommen Grafenhöfe; in Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1852–53. — *F. W. Winkel*, Aus. d. Leb. Casimir's, Gr. v. Sayn Wittgenst. Frkf. 1842.—*The same*, Casimir u. d. rel. Leb. sr. Zeit. In the Sonntagsbibl. IV. 1. Bielef. 1851). — *Rosamond Juliana von Asseburg*, a young lady generally esteemed on account of her piety, in the neighborhood of Magdeburg, declared that from her seventh year she had received visions and revelations, chiefly concerning the millennium. She found in Dr. *John Wilh. Petersen*, superintendent at Lüneburg, a zealous adherent, who, especially after his marriage with *Joh. Elenore v. Merlau*, also pretended to have received divine revelations, promulgated by speaking and writing the most fantastic Chiliasm in connection with the heresy of the restoration of all things. He was deposed from his office in 1692, and died in 1727. *Henry Horch*, Prof. of theology at Herborn, and author of the mystic and prophetic Bible (Marb. 1712, 4to.), was a similar phenomenon in the Reformed Church. The most prominent among the itinerant apostles of a fanatical separatism are, the preacher *Tuchfeldt* of Magdeburg, the wig-maker *John Tennhardt* (as chancery clerk of the heavenly majesty), the spur-maker *Rosenbach*, and the hermit *Ernst Christoph. Hochmann*. The latter, a man of imposing appearance and captivating eloquence, labored for a long time at Mühlheim on the Ruhr, and was also highly esteemed by Tersteegen. Having

been expelled from here, he found a last refuge at Schwarzenau in Berleburg. In Würtemberg the pious court-preacher *Hedinger* of Stutgart (*ob.* 1703) was the father of Pietism and Separatism (cf. his life by *A. Knapp*, in the Christoterpe). The most important of his adherents were the learned preacher *Eberh. Ludw. Gruber* and the saddler *John Frederick Rock*. Being banished from Würtemberg, they emigrated to Wetteraw, the former following the occupation of a farmer, the latter that of court-saddler (1706). Here *they* and a multitude of other separatists, for whom the Wittgenstein count had provided a refuge, lived several years as anchorites, restricted to self-communion and to communion with this or that brother in prayer, without baptism, the Lord's Supper, and public worship. Count Casimir's court in particular was the rendezvous of saints from all nations. The most important of these were the count's physician in ordinary, *Dr. Carl*, the French mystic *Marsay*, the exile from Strasburg *John Frederick Haug*, learned in oriental languages, and later *Dippel*. Out of this circle proceeded a multitude of mystic, separatistic writings, especially the Berleburg Bible (7 vols. fol. 1726–42), of which *Haug* was the chief author. It renews interpretation according to the threefold sense, violently combats the orthodox doctrine of justification, confessional books, the clergy, the dead church, and contains many deep glimpses and profound observations, but also many trivialities and monstrosities. Its mysticism lacks originality, and is compiled from the theosophic writings of all centuries, from Origen to modern times. (Cf. *F. W. Winkel*, in d. bonner Monatsschr. 1851, I.)

2. *The Inspiration-Congregations in Wetteraw.* (Cf. *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. wahr. Insp. Gemd.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1854, II. III., 1855, I. III.)—Several of the chief Sevenna-prophets fled to England (1705) after the unfortunate issue of the Camisardian war. At first they met with much sympathy, but were afterwards excommunicated and placed in the pillory. They now went to the Netherlands, and wandered thence through Germany. They awakened at Halle the gift of inspiration, among others in three students, the brothers *Pott*, and these were the persons who transferred it to Wetteraw (1714). The chiefs of the Separatists there, *Gruber* and *Rock*, at first stoutly opposed the Inspiration-phenomenon, but they also were overpowered, and soon became the most powerful of the "instruments". Prayer associations were now formed, grand love-feasts were held, and an ecclesia ambulatoria was established by itinerant brethren, who carried spiritual nourishment to the scattered quiet ones in the country, and the children of the prophets were gathered from all lands. The utterances, which took place in an ecstatic state, were exhortations to repentance, to prayer, to imitation of Christ, revelations of the divine will in regard to the affairs of the society, and announcement of the approaching judgment of God over the degenerate world and church, although without fanatical, sensual Chiliasm. Apart from contempt for the

sacraments, the doctrines of the church were not essentially perverted. Nevertheless, already in 1715 a division took place between those who were *truly*, and those who, by their unbridled and impure utterances, were regarded as *falsely* inspired. Those who were truly inspired formed a church organization, and excluded from it all who would not submit to its discipline (1716). Hereby they lost many "instruments", and those who proved themselves to be genuine also gradually grew dumb. Only Rock possessed the gift of inspiration after 1719, and he continued to claim it to his death (1749). Gruber died in 1728, and with him a pillar of the societies fell. Rock was now the only support. A new epoch of their history begins with their contact with Moravianism. *Zinzendorf* formed a connection with them in 1730 through a deputation, and then he personally visited them in Berleburg. Rock's deep Christian character made a powerful impression on him. It is true, he was offended at his contempt for baptism and the Lord's Supper, and at the convulsive form of his utterances; but this did not withhold him from yielding to the high spirit of this powerful man, from pressing his companionship upon him, and from inviting him, the notorious blasphemer of baptism, to the sponsorship of his newborn daughter. In 1732 Rock visited Herrnhut. He took sides, in an utterance, with the fraternity against the Lutheran clergyman *Rothe* of Berthelsdorf, and departed after a love-feast, at which their souls flowed together in a renewed eternal brotherhood. But Zinzendorf had only the interests of *his* society in view; his crooked and ambiguous relation to those professing to be inspired drove him to many inconsistencies, which offended Rock's straightforward and open disposition, and estranged him. The establishment of a flourishing Moravian congregation in Wetteraw, which was chiefly composed of proselytes, completed the rupture. Rock denounced the "Hutberger" as Babel-cobblers. Zinzendorf, on the other hand, condemned *him* as a false prophet. When the Moravians were driven from Wetteraw in 1750 (§ 47, 5), the Inspirationists took possession of their property and splendid buildings. With Rock's death, however, the spirit of prophecy ceased entirely. The societies declined more and more from that time, both internally and externally, until the revival of religious life in the 19th century, when they also were revived. "Instruments" again made their appearance, and those who were awakened by them were newly organized. The refusal of governments to tolerate them, however, compelled the greater part of them to emigrate to America.

3. *John Conrad Dippel*, theologian, physician, and alchymist, discoverer of Prussian-blue and of the Oleum Dippelii, occupied a peculiar position among the Separatists of this period. He was at first an orthodox opponent of Pietism, then aroused by Gottfr. Arnold he became a champion of Pietism, and advanced to Separatism. Since 1697 he appeared under the name *Christianus Democritus* (orthodoxia orthodoxorum, oder die verkehrte Wahrh. u. d. wahrh. Lügen d. s. g. Lu-

theraner; Papismus Protestantium vapulans od. d. gestäupte Papstth. an d. blinden Verfechtern blinden Menschensatz.; Fatum fatuum, *i. e.* foolish necessity, etc.) in a mocking spirit as the opponent of all externally orthodox Christianity, mixing mysticism and rationalism in a remarkable manner, and yet not without Christian depth and experience. Persecuted, banished, and imprisoned everywhere, he roamed over Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and finally found a permanent refuge at the court of Casimir in Berleburg (1729–34). Here he came into contact with the Inspirationists, who offered everything to gain him, but he declared that he would rather submit to the devil than to this Spirit of God. He was most intimately associated with Zinzendorf for a time, but later he also assailed him with the bitterest sarcasm. He died in 1734, at the castle of Wittgenstein. His writings are collected under the title: Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und aller Creaturen. Berleb. 1747, 3 Bde. 4to. (Cf. *W. Klose* in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1851, III. and *K. Buchner* in Raumer's histor. Taschenbuch, 1857.)

4. *Hypocritical and Criminal Separatistic Sects.* — Whilst the Separatists and the inspired ones of this period preserved their moral life pure in general, some of their societies degenerated into the most scandalous debauchery. The most shameless of all was the *Buttlar Sect*, founded by *Eva von Buttlar*, at Allendorf in Hesse, 1702. Having been expelled from here within 6 weeks, the sect carried on its criminal proceedings at many other places, whither it emigrated. *Eva* was honored as the door of Paradise, as the New Jerusalem, as the Mother of us all, as the Sophia come down from heaven, the new Eve and the incarnation of the Holy Spirit. God the Father was incarnate in the candidate *Winter*, and God the Son in her youthful paramour *Appenfeller*. Marriage was declared to be sinful; sensual lust must be put to death in spiritual communion, then carnal communion is also holy. Eva lived in the most shameful harlotry with all the men of the sect; likewise the other women belonging to it, in whom the ovary had been crushed in Satanic foresight. At Sasmannshausen in Wittgenstein, where their secret worship had been watched, they were threatened with punishment, but escaped. In Cologne they connected themselves with the Roman Catholic Church. At Lüde, near Pyrmont, their criminal madness reached its highest point. *Winter* was condemned to death, but had his punishment commuted to scourging (1706). Eva escaped the same punishment by flight, and carried on her scandalous conduct for some years longer, but with more prudence. (Cf. *E. F. Keller*, in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1845, IV. and *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens II. 778 ff.). — Of a similar character was the *Bordelum Sect*, founded by the licentiate *David Bär*, at Bordelum near Flensburg, about 1739, and the *Brüggeler Sect* at Brüggelu, in the canton of Berne, where the two brothers *Kohler* announced themselves to be the two witnesses mentioned in Rev. ii. (1748).—The sect of the *Zionites* at Rons-

dorf in the duchy of Berg also belongs here. *Elias Eller*, overseer of a manufactory at Elberfield, being religiously excited by reading all kinds of mystic and theological writings, married in 1725 an elderly, rich widow; but he soon found greater pleasure in a pretty young maiden, *Anna von Buchel*, whom he drove into prophetic ecstasy by fanatical excitement. She prophesied the approaching dawn of the millennium. Eller appointed her the mother of Zion (Rev. 12 : 1 ff.) and himself father of Zion, while he assigned his wife the part of the harlot of Babylon. When the latter had been tormented to death by jealousy and confinement, he married Buchel, and founded, with his adherents, *Ronsdorf* (1737), as the new Zion. The colony obtained the privileges of a town, and Eller became burgomaster. When Anna died (1744), Eller gave to the faithful a new mother of Zion, and became more insane in his deception and tyranny. At length, after long infatuation, the eyes of the Reformed preacher *Schleiermacher* (the grandfather of the celebrated Frederick Daniel S.) were opened. He escaped, by flight to the Netherlands, the fate of another apostle, who, at Eller's instigation, had been condemned to death as a sorcerer at Dusseldorf. Eller was able to ward off every complaint against himself by bribery at the court. The sect was led for a time after his death (1750) by his step-son. (Cf. *F. W. Krug*, krit. Gesch. d. Schwarmerei in Groszherzogth. Berg. Elbf. 1851, p. 64, ff.)

5. *Swedenborgianism.* (Cf. *J. A. Möhler*, ü. d. Lehre Sw.'s; in the tübg. Quartalschr. 1830, IV.—*J. G. Vaihinger*, d. Swedenborgianism, nebst d. Katech. d. neuen K. Tübg. 1843.—*C. F. Nanz*, E. Sw. d. nord. Seher. Schw. Hall. 2. Q. 1850.—*Imm. Tafel*, Samml. v. Urkunden et Tübg. 1839, ff. 3 Abth.—*The same*, Vergleich. Darstell. d. Lehrgegens. d. Kath. u. Prot., zugleich Darstell. d. Unterscheidungslehre Sw.'s. Tübg. 1835.)—*Immanuel von Swedenborg*, son of the Lutheran bishop of West Gothland, *Jesper Swedberg* (cf. Rudelbach's chr. Biogr. I. 293, ff.), and councillor in the Bergwerks college at Stockholm, was a man of comprehensive learning in the natural sciences, and of speculative talents. After long investigation into the mysteries of nature, he fell into magnetic ecstatic states, in which, sometimes transported to heaven, sometimes to hell, he had intercourse with spirits. In 1734 he came to the conviction that he was called by such revelations to reform degenerate Christianity to a *Church of the New Jerusalem* as the completion of all churchdom. The apocalyptic revelations, which he imagined he received, he designated as a new gospel. After his death (1772) his writings were collected and published by his disciples; and in 1788 they formed themselves into congregations in Sweden and England. The new church began in the 19th century to spread in a threatening manner. In addition to Sweden, England, and North America, it also has many warm and zealous adherents in Germany, chiefly in Würtemberg. Here already since 1765 the prelate *Oetinger* called attention to Swedenborg's revelations, and took up many of their

elements into his own profound theosophy. Lately the procurator *Ludw. Hofacker*, and especially the librarian *Tafel*, have been active in propagating the new church, partly by their own writings, and partly by publishing and translating Swedenborg's works. A general conference of the church in Great Britain and Ireland published a confession of faith and a catechism in 1828. Swedenborg's *religious* system was a speculative mysticism with a physical foundation and rationalizing tendency. For him the object of religion is the opening of an intimate correspondence between the spirit and human world, and the penetrating into the mysteries of connection between both. The Bible (although with the exclusion of the Apostolic Epistles as mere explanatory treatises), above all the Apocalypse, was the word of God for him, although he despised the letter, and only acknowledged the validity of the spirit or inner sense. There is not one of the fundamental orthodox doctrines which he either did not reject or rationalize. He rejected the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity in the strongest terms. According to him, God is only *one* person, and this *one* Godhead is Christ, who manifests himself in a three-fold form: the Father is the principle of the manifesting God, the Son the form, the Spirit the activity of the manifested God. The design of the manifestation of Christ is the union of the human and divine; redemption is nothing more than the fighting with and overcoming hellish spirits. Angels and devils are the spirits of departed men, either in a state of bliss or of despair. There is no resurrection of the dead, but the spiritual form of the body continues to exist after death. The second coming of Christ is not to be personal and visible, but spiritual by means of the revelation of the spiritual sense of the Scriptures, whereby the church of the New Jerusalem is founded.

6. *New Baptistic Sects.*—In 1708 there were also Anabaptists (*Tunkers*) in Wetteraw, but, finding little sympathy and much difficulty in the way of their progress here, they for the most part emigrated in 1714 to North America, and founded several colonies here (Germantown and Ephrata), which yet number about 40,000 souls. From the Baptists, who emigrated from England, proceeded the *Christians* (now about 300,000 souls), who, rejecting every Christian party-name (almost like 1 Cor. 1 : 12), also reduced the Christian faith to a minimum. The Baptists, since the middle of the 18th century, also emigrated to *Scotland*, where the brothers *Haldane* founded the baptistic sect of the *Haldanites* ("Apostolic Church"), who likewise distinguished themselves by great indifference towards doctrines and the ministry, but also by great energy in practical life.

7. *New Quaker Sects.* — The *Jumpers*, who appeared in Cornwallis about 1760, were in principle at least related to the Quakers. Appealing to David's dancing before the ark of the covenant, they professed to give evidence of being possessed by the Spirit by convulsive leaping and dancing, connected with a kind of barking (whence they are also

called *Barkers*). The sect emigrated to North America, where there still are some adherents. A somewhat similar sect are the *Shakers* Its founder was *Anna Lee* (*ob.* 1782). She professed to be the bride of the Lamb, but died without giving birth to the promised Messiah. Nevertheless, this sect exists to the present day in several villages on the Hudson river. Its adherents live in celibacy and community of goods. They derive their name from the manner in which they move their bodies at their meetings, which often extends to exhaustive dancing and jumping, which is regarded as a symbol partly of trembling at the anger of God, partly of joy on account of salvation through Christ.

8. In contrast with the general apostacy from the rigid orthodoxy of Dort in the Netherlands, was the increase of the sect of the *Hebrews*, which traced its origin (about 1730) to a certain *Mirgam Vos* and a licentiate *Verschooren*, and run the doctrine of predestination to the affirmation, that an elect person could *not* sin, but a non-elect one could *only* sin. They derived their name from the circumstance, that they declared it to be the indispensable duty of all true Christians to read the word of God in the original languages. Another sect, that of the *Hattemists*, adherents of the Dutch preacher *Pontiaan van Hattem*, who was deposed in 1740, are said to have drawn from the doctrine of predestination the conclusion, that sin, because it was predestined by God, was only sin in the imagination of men, and that Christ delivered men from this imagination (Acta eccls. Weim. IV. 1060 ff.)

§ 50. THE THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD OF ILLUMINATION.

Cf. *L. Noack*, die Freidenker in d. Relig. Bd. III. Die Deutsche Aufkläning. Berne, 1855.—*F. Bialloblotzky* and *F. Sander*, das Aufkommen u. Sinken d. Rationalism. in Deutschl.; nach d. Engl. d. *E. B. Pusey* bearb. Elbf. 1829.—*Chr. G. Ficker*, krit. Gesch. d. Rationalism. in Deutschl.; nach d. Franz. d. *Amand Saintes* bearb. Lpz. 1847.—*K. F. A. Kahnis*, d. innere Gang d. deutsch. Protestsm. seit der Mitte d. vor Jahrh. Lpz. 1854. —*A. Tholuck*, Abrisz e. Gesch. d. Umwälz., die s. 1750, auf. d. Gebiete d. *Theol.* in Deutschl. stattgef.; in his miscellaneous works Bd. II. Hamb. 1839.—*J. A. H. Tittmann*, pragm. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Rel. in d. prot. K. seit 1750. Lpz. 1824.—*K. F. Stäudlin*, Gesch. d. Rationalism. u. Supranaturalism. Göttg. 1826.

Since the middle of this century, English deistic unbelief having already outlived itself, illumination under the name of *Rationalism* crept into the Protestant theology of the continent, especially of *Germany*. There proceeded, it is true, out of the agitation of the pietistic controversies, a theology (§ 46) which, overcoming as well the rigid objectivism of orthodoxy as the

weak subjectivism of Pietism, saving, however, from the former a firm basis and wholesome moderation, from the latter religious inwardness and freedom, was in itself able and worthy to inherit and control the future of the church. But this inheritance, to the possession of which it seemed to be called, was taken from it by the theology of illumination. It was yet too immature and unfinished, its representatives and champions were too few and scattered, to be able to resist successfully as a solid phalanx the storm of illumination. The storm came from abroad, but it was invested with the mighty power of the spirit of the age, and it found a dissolution and agitation going on within, which brought sympathies and allies to it from all sides, and promoted the transition of the one extreme into the other. *Arminian* Pelagianism, possessing brilliant learning (Clericus, Wetstein), English *Deism*, circulated by translations and refutations, and French *Naturalism*, introduced by a great and generally admired king, were the assailing powers from without. The *Free-Mason Lodges also*, which had been transplanted to Germany from England in 1733, mightily opposed illumination in their endeavor to realize a moral, practical, universal religion. And there was within especially the *Wolfian philosophy, popular philosophy*, and *Pietism*, with its step-brother *Separatism*, which directly made the ground productive for the growth of Rationalism. Orthodoxism, on account of the secondary effects, which survived it, can also be reckoned among the accessories. *German Rationalism*, however, is essentially different from Deism and Naturalism in this, that it does not, like these, altogether reject the Bible and the Church, but, rather adhering to both, supposes that it has presented their unperishable substance in its rational religion, purified from accommodation and the ideas of the age; and it has, therefore, retained the Bible as an indispensable record of religion, and the Church as a wholesome institution of religion. Nevertheless, Rationalism, during the whole period of its dominion, was opposed by a Supranaturalism, that held fast to revealed religion. It was a dilution of the old faith of the Church, effected by the water of illumination. The reaction which it caused was consequently from the beginning weak and feeble. The power of the vulgar Rationalism of that day, meanwhile, lay not in itself, but in the allies which it had in the hollowness and superficiality of the spirit of the age. Because now the philosophy and especially the national literature of the Germans

began to wage a successful warfare against this superficiality, they in a certain degree obtained the significance of a schoolmaster to Christ, although they were in themselves for the most part indifferent, even hostile to Christianity.

1. *The English Deists.* (Cf. § 43, 2.) — Deism entered upon a new stage of its development with *Locke's Philosophy* (§ 43, 1). It was henceforth the basis of its reasoning. The most important Deists of this period are: *John Toland*, an Irishman, first a Roman Catholic, then Arminian (*ob.* 1722), (Christianity not mysterious; Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity, etc.); the Earl of *Shaftesbury* (*ob.* 1713), (Characteristics of men, manners, opinions, times); *Anthony Collins*, justice of the peace in the county of Essex, and as such highly esteemed (*ob.* 1729), (Priestcraft in perfection, or a detection of the fraud, etc., A discourse of free-thinking, et al.); *Thomas Woolston*, fellow of Cambridge (*ob.* 1733, in prison), (A discourse on the miracles of our Saviour); *Bernh. v. Mandeville* from Dort, physician in London (*ob.* 1733), (Free thoughts on Religion); *Matthew Tindal*, professor of law at Oxford (*ob.* 1733), (Christianity as old as the Creation); *Thomas Morgan*, Nonconformist preacher, deposed as an Arian, then physician (*ob.* 1743), (The moral philosopher); *Thomas Chubb*, glove-maker and tallow-chandler at Salisbury (*ob.* 1747), popularizing compiler, (The true gospel of Jesus Christ); *Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke*, high civil officer, charged with high-treason and pardoned (*ob.* 1751), (Philosophical works). — Deism never found favor among the people, and an attempt was not once made to organize a congregation. The following of the numerous opponents of Deism are worthy of special mention: *Thomas Sherlock*, Bishop of London (*ob.* 1761); *Edward Chandler*, Bishop of Durham (*ob.* 1750); *John Leland*, Presbyterian preacher in Dublin (*ob.* 1766); *William Warburton*, Bishop of Gloucester (*ob.* 1779); *Nath. Lardner*, Dissenting preacher (*ob.* 1768). —The celebrated historian and skeptic, *David Hume*, librarian in Edinburg (*ob.* 1776), may yet be added to the Deists as an opponent of positive Christianity (Treatise upon human nature; Essays, moral, political, and literary; Enquiry concerning the human understanding; Natural history of religion; Dialogues concerning natural religion).

2. *The Forerunners of German Illumination.* — We have already learned to know *Knutzen* (§ 43, 2) and *Dippel* (§ 49, 3) as such. In their footsteps walked *John Christian Edelmann*, a vagabondizing licentiate of theology of Weissenfels (*ob.* 1767), who, since 1735, hawked about a multitude of fanatical works, written in rude and low, but powerful language, full of glowing wrath and scoffing wit against all positive Christianity. He passed from one Christian sect to another, but found in none what he sought. In 1741 he accepted an invitation from *Zinzendorf*, who at the same time furnished him with travelling

money, and lived for a time in his family. Then he connected himself with the Berleburg Separatists ("because they recognized baptism and the Lord's Supper," the abominations of the Church), and assisted on the commentary, although *Haug* had greatly to change his elaborations, in order to use them. This, and his contempt for prayer, ruptured the bond of union. After that he wandered over the whole of Germany. He regarded himself as being a favorite of providence, at least as a second Luther. He pronounced Christianity to be the most irrational and absurd of all religions; Church history a conglomerate of immorality, lies, hypocrisy, and fanaticism; the prophets and apostles bedlamites; and Christ was not even an example and teacher. The world needs only *one* salvation, viz., salvation from Christianity. Providence, virtue, and immortality (the latter established by manifestation of spirits), are the only objects of religion. His writings made a great noise (Unschuldige Wahrheiten; Bereitete Schläge auf der Narren Rücken; Moses mit aufgedecktem Angesicht von zwei ungleichen Brüdern, Lichtlieb und Blindlieb, beschauet; Christus and Belial, et al.), and called forth an incredible number of counter-treatises, of which *Trinius* mentions not less than 166 in the Freidenker lexicon. (Cf. *J. H. Pratje*, Hist. Nachr. v. J. Chr. Edelmann, 2. A. Hamb. 1755. Edelmann's Selbst-biographie, herausg. v. *C. W. Klose*. Berl. 1840, and also Ev. K. Z. 1851, No. 31, ff.) To the forerunners of illumination belongs also the private tutor *Lorenz Schmidt* of Wertheim in Baden, a pupil of the philosopher *Wolf* (§ 46, 2), (*ob.* 1749). He is the author of the notorious *Wertheim translation of the Bible* (First part, containing the laws of the Israelites, Werth. 1735), which paraphrases the language of the Bible, and thereby eviscerates all positive Christianity. His book was confiscated by the supreme court of the empire, and he was punished with severe imprisonment.

3. *Illumination in Germany since* 1750. — Hostility to all positive Christianity spread from England and France also over Germany. The writings of the English Deists were translated and refuted, but mostly in so weak a manner, that the refutation accomplished the opposite of what it designed. Whilst English Deism with its apparent profoundness found favor with the learned, the poison of frivolous French Naturalism tainted the higher classes. Prussia's great king, *Frederick* II. (1740–86), who surrounded himself with French free-thinkers (Voltaire, D'Argens, Le Mettrie, etc.), contributed largely to the spread of unbelief. He desired, that in his states every one should be saved according to his own fashion, in which desire he was also in earnest, although his personal aversion to churchly and pietistic piety often misled him to act unjustly and severely, as ex. gr. when he inflicted upon the "grumbler" *Francke* in Halle, who opposed the visiting of theatres by theological students, the punishment of himself visiting the theatre, and of obtaining the attestation of the director of the theatre that he had done so. Under the name of *German popular phi-*

losophy (*Mendelsschn, Garve, Eberhard, Platner, Steinbart*, etc.), which proceeded from the Wolfian philosophy emptied of its Christian contents, a bold, superficial, and self-sufficient reasoning of the common human understanding gave itself airs. *Basedow* became the reformer of pedagogy in the sense of illumination (Philanthropia in Dessau, pädagogisches Elementarwerk), and created quite a furor for a time by the charlatan trumpeting of his contributions; although Herder declared, that he would not commit calves, to say nothing of human beings, to the training of the *distinguished* pedagogue. Basedow's most distinguished pupils and co-laborers were *Salzmann* in Schnepfenthal near Gotha, and *Campe* in Braunschweig. The "*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*" (106 Bde. 1765–92), published by the bookseller *Nicolai* in Berlin, assumed the position of a literary inquisitorial tribunal against everything noble and profound, that the period was still able to produce, and branded it as superstition and Jesuitism. Illumination made itself felt in theology under the name of Rationalism. Pietistic *Halle* cast its skin, and in connection with *Berlin* stood at the head of the illuminatory movement. Soon numerous heralds of the new light sprung up also in the other universities, and rationalizing pastors arose in all sections of Germany, who only preached about a moral reformation of man; also, it is true, on Christmas, about the advantage of feeding cattle in the stable, and on Easter about the tokens of apparent death, or about the advantages of early rising. The old liturgies were mutilated or supplanted, and all the superficiality and insipidity of the period were called into requisition to eliminate the old faith out of the churchly hymn-books, and to smuggle in, in the place of the old choice hymns, the weakest hymns of moral reformation. *Wilh. Abraham Teller*, provost of Berlin, declared publicly, that he was willing to recognize the Jews as genuine Christians, on the basis of their faith in God, virtue, and immortality. *K. Friedr. Bahrdt*, after having been removed from various spiritual and academical offices on account of his immoral conduct, and proscribed by the theologians, gave the people as tavern-keeper in Halle the benefit of his wisdom, and died from a disgraceful disease (1792). The Prussian government, under *Frederick William* II., attempted in vain to secure to the church its old legal basis by the *edict concerning religion of* 1788, by which the severest punishment was threatened every departure in doctrine and preaching from the orthodox confessions: it accomplished nothing, with all its rigor, against the reigning spirit of the age (only *one* deposition, that of the preacher *Schulz* at Gielsdorf near Berlin, an old insolent rationalist, could be carried into effect), and *Frederick William* III. (1797–1840) suspended the edict at his accession to the throne.

4. *Transition Theology.*—It was four men, especially, who, although still adhering to the faith in a divine revelation, nevertheless prepared the way for the admission of Rationalism into theology: viz., *Ernesti* of Leipsic in exegesis of the New Testament, *Michaelis* of Göttingen

in exegesis of the Old Testament, *Semler* of Halle in biblical and historical criticism, *Töllner* of Frankfürt-on-the-Oder in dogmatic theology. *John Aug. Ernesti* (*ob.* 1781), since 1734 rector of the Thomasschool, since 1742 Prof. of the University of Leipsic, and there the rival and antipode of his colleague *Chr. Aug. Crusius*, was originally a classical philologist, and remained such also as professor of theology. His Institutio interpretis N. T. (1761) laid it down as a fundamental law of exegesis, that the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was to be conducted entirely in the same manner as the interpretation of a profane author. But it holds good also with regard to classical literature, that a full and complete understanding of an author can only be obtained in so far as the interpreter possesses, in addition to the necessary knowledge of the language, history, and age, also *the same* spirit in which the author thought and wrote. And because Ernesti lacked the conviction of this necessity, his biblical hermeneutics was rationalistic, and *he* the father of rationalistic exegesis, strongly as he adhered still to the idea of inspiration as also to orthodox doctrines. What Ernesti was in regard to the N. T., that *John David Michaelis* (son of the pious and orthodox Chr. Bened. M.), since 1750 Prof. at Göttingen (*ob.* 1791), became in regard to the O. T. He acknowledged openly, that he never perceived anything of the testimonium Sp. s. internum; and he based his demonstration of the divinity of the Scriptures alone upon external evidences, such as the miracles, prophesies, authenticity, etc., a web which unbelief tore to pieces with ease. No one was a greater master than he in the art of substituting his own empty, superficial, and conceited spirit for that of the sacred authors, and then to explain it at great length. His "Mosaisches Recht," 6 Bde., is classic in this view. He left behind 82 works, some very voluminous (among which are: Einl. ins N. T.; Uebers. des A. T. mit Anm. für Ungelehrte, 13 Bde. 4to. Orient. und exeg. Biblioth., 24 Bde.; Einl. ins A. T., etc.) *John Sal. Semler*, a pupil of Baumgarten, and since 1751 Prof. at Halle (*ob.* 1791), was a forerunner of Rationalism in a still greater and more comprehensive measure than Ernesti and Michaelis. Growing up under the influence of Hallean Pietism, and consequently possessing a kind of religion of habit, which he called his private religion, and of which he could never rid himself, endowed with uncommon understanding and acuteness, but without any depth of spirit, he acquired an immense mass of chaotic knowledge, and undermined, without wishing to touch Christianity, the pillars of orthodox theology, by arbitrarily disputing the genuineness of the biblical writings ("Abhandlung von der freien Unters. d. Kanons"); by laying down a theory of inspiration and accommodation, which allowed error, mistake, and well-meant delusion in the Scriptures; by an interpretation which disposed of everything disagreeable in the New Testament as "Jewish notions" (ex. gr. De dæmoniacis); by a critical treatment of church and dogmatic history which permitted the doctrine of the

church to appear as a result of misconception, want of judgment, and violence, etc. The number of his writings amounts to 151. He sowed the wind and reaped a whirlwind, at which he himself trembled. Therefore he opposed perseveringly the appointment of Bahrdt to Halle, and earnestly combated the *Wolfenbüttler Fragments*, written by *Reimarus*, Prof. at Hamburg (*ob.* 1765), discovered and published (1774 and 1778) in the Wolfenbüttler library as manuscript by *Lessing*, which attributed the introduction of Christianity to bold deception But Semler could not resist the storm, and he died broken-hearted, just when it reached its height. (Cf. *H. Schmid*, die Theologie Semler's. Erlg. 1858.)—*John Gottl. Töllner*, since 1756 Prof. at Frankfürt-on-the-Oder (*ob.* 1774), was by no means equal to the beforenamed in learning, influence, and authority; nevertheless, he is worthy of a place beside them, in so far as he first opened the way for the introduction of Rationalism into dogmatic theology. He also still adhered to the idea of revelation, miracle, and prophecy, but he also contributed the "proof, that God leads men to happiness already by the revelation of nature;" the revelation of Scripture is only a more certain and perfect means thereto. He investigated further "the divine inspiration of the Scriptures," and found that the sacred authors thought and wrote without any special divine aid, and God was thereby active only in a way not to be more particularly defined. Finally, he investigated "the active obedience of Jesus Christ," and in doing so he gives an example of how orthodox dogmas are to be set aside.

5. *Rationalistic Theology.*—From the schools formed by these men, especially from Semler's, went forth crowds of Rationalists, who, subsequent to 1770, occupied almost all the professors' chairs and pulpits in Protestant Germany. At their head stands *Charles Fred. Bahrdt* (since 1779 at Halle, *ob.* 1792), who, at first an author of orthodox text-books, then sinking deeper and deeper through vanity, want of principle, and immorality, and walking in Elderman's footsteps, first struck the shamelessly bold key (Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gotts, 4 Bde.; Briefe über die Bebel im volkston, 5 Thle.; Kirchen-und Ketzeralmanach; Selbstbragaophie, etc., altogether 102 works), which indeed the preacher *Charles Venturini* of Horndorf in Braunschweig (*ob.* 1807) was able to excel (Natürl. Gesch. d. groszen Proph. von Nazareth, 3 Bde.) Similar to them was the orientalist *J. Will. Fred. Hezel*, since 1802 Prof. at Dorpat, at the same also rum-distiller, millwright, and inventor of building clay-walls by stamping the layers (*ob.* 1829), (81 works, among which: Die Bibel mit vollst. erkl. Anm., 12 Bde.) In contrast with these, however, the majority of the Rationalists endeavored to obtain a reputation for respectability in life, doctrines, and literary productions. Subsequent to 1790 the Kantian philosophy exerted an important and, relatively, also an ennobling influence on rationalistic theology. *J. Jacob Griesbach* (of Jena, 1812) contributed much of importance in the sphere of the

criticism of the text of the New Testament. The introduction to the N. T. was prepared by *Charles Alex. v. Hänlein* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1829). *Will. Abr. Teller* of Berlin contributed a dictionary of the N. T. (5 A. 1792), which inaugurated the superficial mode of treating the ideas of the N. T. (ex. gr. sanctification, reformation, regeneration, resolution to lead a different life). Following his example, *J. Benj. Koppe* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1791), (N. T. græce e. perpet. illustr. continued by *H. Heinrichs* and *Jul. Pott*, 6 Bde.) and *J. George Rosenmüller* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1815), (Scholia in N. T., 6 Bde.), interpreted the N. T. with incredible superficiality. In the same spirit, *J. Chr. Schluze* of Giessen (*ob.* 1806), (Scholia in V. Y.), and *Lorenz Bauer* of Heidelberg (*ob* 1806) (Forts. der Scholia v. Schalze, Einl. ins A. T., Theol. d. A. T, Mythol. d. A. u. N. T., Moral d. A. T., Hebr. Allerthümer, etc.), labored in the sphere of the Old Testament. The contributions of *J. Gottfr. Eichhorn* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1827), Einl. ins A. T., 5 Bde.; Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Lit.; Bibl. Urgesch. fortges. v. *J. Ph. Gabler*) and *Leonh. Bertholdt* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1822), (Einl. ins A. T., Comm. z. Daniel; Dogmengesch.), are more profound and respectable. The rationalistic stand-point was represented in Church History by *H. Ph. Conrad Henke* of Helmstedt (*ob.* 1807), and the Würtemberg minister of state, *L. Tim. v. Spittler* (*ob.* 1810). Rationalistic doctrines of faith and morals were spread less in learned and scientific, than in popular and practical works. *Sam. Steinbart* of Frankfürt-on-the-Oder (*ob.* 1809), wrote and defended his "System der reinen Philos. od. Glückseligkeitslehre des Christenthums;" and *John Aug. Eberhard*, Prof. of philosophy at Halle (*ob.* 1809), apotheosized Socrates and classic heathenism ("Neue Apologie des Socrates," 2 Bde.), in the spirit of the popular philosophy. The acute *John Henry Tieftrunk*, Prof. of philosophy at Halle (*ob.* 1837), on the other hand, introduced Kantian philosophy with its rigid categories into theology (Einzig möglicher Zweck Jesu; Censur d. christl. prot. Lehrbegr., 3 Bde.; Die Mündigk in d. Rel., 2 Bde.). *Jerusalem* of Wolfenbüttel (*ob.* 1789), *Zollikoffer*, Ref. preacher in Leipsic (*ob.* 1784), *Spalding*, provost at Berlin (*ob.* 1804), (Werth der Gefühle im Christth.; Nutzbarkeit d. Predigtamtes), *Fr. Ad. Sach* of Berlin (*ob.* 1817), *Marezoll* of Jena (*ob.* 1828), *Löffler* of Gotha (*ob.* 1816), *J. G. Rosenmüller* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1815), *Tobler* of Zürich (*ob.* 1808), *Aug. Herm. Niemeyer* (A. H. Francke's great-grandson), Chancellor in Halle (*ob.* 1828), (Charakteristik d. Bibel., 5 Bde.; Gumdsätze d. Erzich., 3 Bde.; Lehrb. d. Rel. für gelehrte Schulen. 18 A. 1843), *Hufnagel* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1830), *Jonath. Schuderoff* of Ronneburg (*ob.* 1843), (kirchenreckl. Schriften, bes. zur. Vertheichgung des Collegialsystems), etc., contributed towards the spread of Rationalism by sermons and by popular doctrinal and devotional works. (Cf. § 56, 2.)

6. A theological tendency, abandoning the old orthodoxy, without, however, resigning itself to Rationalism, maintained itself in the most

various gradations between both, under the name of *Supranaturalism* which desired still to preserve faith in a supernatural revelation. This faith was certainly of a very weak kind among many so-called supranaturalists; a revelation remained, which scarcely revealed anything that was not already known to reason. But in addition to these, a not insignificant number of worthy men also labored, who were really in earnest to save the essential truths of salvation; but it is characteristic of almost all of them, that, although belonging to the Lutheran church, they approximated in principle at least to the Reformed church in their views and apprehensions of Scripture and of the Church. The most influential and able fosterer of Supranaturalism during this period was the university of Tübingen. The series of spiritless supranaturalistic dogmatists is opened by *Morus* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1792), (Epitome theol. christ.) *Less* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1797), *Döderlein* of Jena (*ob.* 1792), *Seiler* of Erlangen, and *Nösselt* of Halle (*ob.* 1807), became less and less spirited; the latter can even be numbered among the Rationalists. The ablest and most worthy representatives of Supranaturalism, who most powerfully and successfully resisted the current of the age, are *Gottl. Christian Storr* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1805), (Comm. z. Hebräerbr.; Zweck d. evang. Gesch.; Apologie d. Offb. Joh.; Doctrina christ. pars theoretica, translated by *C. C. Halt;* Lehrb. d. chr. Dogmatik. 1813. He also had a controversy with the Königsberg philosopher; Annott. quædam theol. ad philos. Cantii doctrinam 1793—by which he gained his high esteem); *G. Christian Knapp* of Halle (*ob.* 1825), (Vorless. u. d. chr. Glaubensl., published by Thilo; Scripta varii argumenti, etc.), and *Francis Volkmar Reinhard*, Prof. at Wittenberg, chief court-preacher at Dresden (*ob.* 1812), the most eloquent preacher of this age (System d. chr. moral, 5 Bde.; Versuch ü. d. Plan Jesu; Predigten, 35 Bde.; Geständnisse; Vorless. ü. d. Dogmatik). In a sermon on the anniversary of the Reformation in 1800, *Reinhard* professed his adhesion to the Lutheran doctrine of justification, with such decision, that all Germany was agitated by it, especially as a ministerial decree held this sermon up as a model for all the preachers of Saxony. Worthy of all honor as *Apologists* are the great mathematician *Leonh. Euler* of St. Petersburg (*ob.* 1783), (Rettung der Offenbarung gegen die Einwürfe der Freigeister), the not less great physiologist *Albr. Haller* of Zürich (*ob.* 1777), (Briefe ü. d. wicht. Wahrhh. d. Offenb., Briefe ü. einige Einwürfe noch lebender Freigeister). More comprehensive and thorough were the contributions of the theologians *Theod. Christopher Lilienthal* of Königsberg (*ob.* 1782), (Die gute Sache der göttl. Offb., 16 Bde., against the attacks of Deists); *John Fred. Klenker* of Kiel (*ob.* 1827), (Neue Prüfung u. Erklär. d. vorzügl. Beweire für d. Wahrh. d. Christth., 3 Bde.; Ausf. Unters. d. Gründe für die Echth. u. Glaubwürdigk. d. schriftl. Urk. d. Christth., 5 Bde.; Bibl. Sympathien, od. Betrachtt. ü. d. Berichte d. Evangelisten, etc.), and *Dan. Joach. Köppen*, preacher in Mecklenburg (Die Bibel. e. Werk d. göttl. Weish.)

The zealous preacher, who was abused beyond all measure, *John Melch. Götze*, chief pastor of Hamburg (*ob.* 1786), a *Löscher* redivivus, contended for the palladium of Lutheran orthodoxy against his rationalistic colleagues, against the theatre as a school for the German people, against Barth, Basedow, and consorts, against the Wolfenbüttler fragments, against Werther's Sorrows, etc. His polemics were not without passion and malice, and in spite of all his learning he was by no means a match for an opponent like *Lessing*. But he was not a blockhead, pettifogger, and fanatic; this is evident from the intimate friendship which existed between him and Lessing for many years, before the occurrence of the controversy. Worthy of special mention as authors in the sphere of *Biblical History* are: the excellent superintendent *John Jacob Hess* of Zürich (*ob.* 1828), (Gesch. d. Israel, vor d. Zeiten Jesu, 12 Bde.; Lebensgesch. Jesu, 3 Bde.; Lehre Jesu, 2 Bde.; Gesch. d. Apostel, 3 Bde.; Vom Reiche Gottes, 2 Bde.; Kern d. Lehre vom R. Gs.; Briefe ü. d. Offenb. Joh.); *J. Conr. Pfenninger*, deacon at Zürich (*ob.* 1792), (Jüdische Briefe, e. Messiade in Prosa, 12 Bde.); *Magn. Fred. Roos*, prelate of Würtemberg (*ob.* 1804), (Einl. in d. bibl. Gesch. bis auf Abraham; Fusstapfen d. Glaubens Abr. in d. Gesch. d. Patr. u. Proph.) *Lavater* and *Herder* also are to be named here. Supranaturalism was represented in the sphere of *Church History* by the industrious *John Matth. Schröckh* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1808); the profound *Christ. Will. Francis Walch* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1784), (Vollst. Hist. d. Päpste; Hist. d. K. Versammll.; Hist. d. Ketzereien, 11 Bde.; Neueste Rel. Gesch. 9 Bde.); the Kantian *Charles Fred. Stäudlin* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1826), (Universalgesch. d. K.; Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu, 4 Bde.; Gesch. d. theol. Wissch. s. 1500; K. G. v. Groszbrit., 2 Bde.; many historical monographs on the oath, prayer, conscience, marriage, friendship, the drama, etc.), and the "Venerable" *Gottl. Jacob Planck* of Göttingen, *ob.* 1833 (82 years old), a leading representative of "pragmatic" historiography (Gesch. d. Entsteh., d. Veränderungen u. d. Bildung unseres prot. Lehrbegr., 6 Bde.; Gesch. d. Entst. u. Ausbild. d. chr. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf., 5 Bde.; Gesch. d. Christth. in d. Per. sr. Einführung, 2 Bde., etc.). The Würtemberg prelate *Fred. Christopher Oetinger* (*ob.* 1782), the magus of the South, occupied a quite peculiar position (Theol. ex idea vitæ deducta; Etwas Ganzes vom Evangelio, on Isaiah 40 ff.; Biblisch-emblemat. Wörterbuch zum N. T., opposed to that by Teller; Selbstbiogr., published by *Hamberger*, Stuttg., 1845, etc.). He was a disciple of *Bengel*, deeply learned, like him, in the Scriptures, but also an admirer of Jacob Böhme, and even not opposed to Swedenborg's ghost-seeing revelations. But notwithstanding all this, he is still deeply rooted in Lutheran orthodoxy with his biblical realism and his theosophy, which acknowledges corporeity as the end of the ways of God, and the first representative of a theology of the future, which, it is true, in its development might need thorough purifying and close sifting, but yet might

be adapted to represent, in its fundamental idea, the basis for the final true reconciliation of Idealism and Realism. (Cf. *C. A. Auberlen*, die Theosophie Oettinger's nach ihren Grundzügen. Tübg. 1848.) (Cf. § 56, 3.)

7. *German Philosophy.* (Cf. *Erdmann*, s. c. § 163, 1.—*H. M. Chalybäus*, hist. Entw. d. spec. Phil. v. Kant. bis Hegel. 3 A. Dresd. 1843.—*K. Biedermann*, d. deutsche Phil. von Kant bis auf unsere Zeit. Lpz. 1842, 2 Bde.—*C. Fortlage*, Genet. Gesch. d. Phil. seit Kant. Lpz. 1852.) —As Locke fills the interval between Bacon and Deism and Materialism, so does *Christian v. Wolf* (§ 46, 2) constitute the centre and transition from Leibnitz to popular philosophy. *Immanuel Kant* of Königsberg (*ob.* 1804), saved philosophy from the superficial self-sufficiency and quackery of the latter, and led it upon the arena of a mental conflict, which is unparalleled in power, energy, extent, and continuance. Kant's philosophy ("Kritik der reinen Vernunft," "Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloszen Vernunft"), stood altogether outside of Christianity, and upon the same ground with theological Rationalism. Nevertheless, by digging deep into this ground, it brought out much superior ore, of whose existence vulgar Rationalism had no idea, and became, without wishing or knowing it, a schoolmaster to Christ in manifold ways. Kant demonstrated the impossibility of a knowledge of supersensuous things by means of the pure reason, but acknowledged the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality, as postulates of the practical reason (conscience) and as the principle of all religion, whose contents was alone the moral law; Christianity and the Bible, when they have become the foundations of national culture, are to be retained, but must be made efficient by moral interpretation. Whilst he thus, on the one hand, approached the sympathies of Rationalism, he also, on the other, powerfully opposed its superficiality and self-sufficiency, as it came to him in the form of popular philosophy. His sharp criticism of pure reason, his deep knowledge of human weakness and depravity revealed in his doctrine of the *radical evil*, his *categorical imperative* of the moral law, were well adapted to produce in profound minds a despair of themselves, a disgust with the hollowness of the age, and a want which Christianity alone could fully satisfy.—*Fr. H. Jacobi* (*ob.* 1819), in his heart a Christian, in his understanding a heathen, led religion from the limits of abstract reason back into the depths of the soul, and thus awakened a positive longing.—*John Gottl. Fichte* (*ob.* 1814) transformed Kantianism, which he at first unconditionally embraced, into an *idealistic "theory of the sciences,"* in which only the Ego appears as real,—but the Non-ego attains reality through the Ego, and thus the world and nature are only important as the reflex of the spirit. But when, having reached atheism, he was expelled from his position at Jena, a spiritual revolution took place in him, which led him away from the brink of atheism upon the way of mysticism nearer to Christianity. In his "Anweisung zum seligen

Leben" (1806), he frees religion from the mere service of morality, and seeks the blessedness of life in the loving surrender of the whole soul to the All-Spirit, the fullest expression of which he found in St. John's gospel. On the other hand, Pauline Christianity, with its fundamental doctrines of sin and atonement, appeared to him as a degeneration, and Christ himself as the most perfect representative of the incarnation of God, which is repeated in all ages and in every pious person. — Already in the last years of this century, *Schelling* came forward with his philosophy of identity, which became one of the most powerful agencies in creating a new age. (Cf. § 53, 1.)

8. *German National Literature.* (Cf. *H. Gelzer*, d. deutsche poet. Liter. seit Klopstock u. Lessing, nach ihren ethischen u. rel. Gesichtspunkten. 2. A. Lpz. 1848, f.)—When the loud tones of the evangelical hymn were about to expire in *Gellert's* (*ob.* 1789) pious hymns, *Klopstock* appeared (*ob.* 1803) to praise the Messiah in a new song. But the pathos of his odes had no effect, and his Messiade, as mistaken in form as in contents, had the fate of only being praised and not read. *Lessing* (*ob.* 1781) did not wish to have orthodoxy cast away, impure as it was, until there should be found to take its place something better than the new-fashioned theology. He could only see a patchwork of bunglers and half-philosophers in the new system, not in the old one; he rather declared that he knew of nothing in the world, on which human acuteness had been more exercised, than on it. It vexed him, that it was imagined possible to suspend the weight of an eternity upon the thin thread of external evidences; and therefore it was a pleasure to him to throw the Wolfenbüttler fragments at the heads of the theologians, and to cover the chief pastor *Götze*, who was offended at it, with ridicule and mockery ("Antigötze"). In his "Nathan" he permits, in an almost perfidious way, Christianity to be represented by a stupid zealot;—as the proper solution of the problem, the thought gleams through, that in the end all three of the rings were spurious. In another work he presents revelation from the stand-point of a gradual, progressive "training of the human race," which lost its significance as soon as it reached its end; and in confidential conversations with Jacobi he professed his belief in Spinoza's Ἓν καὶ Πᾶν. *Wieland* (*ob.* 1813) was soon transformed from a youthful zealot for orthodoxy to a refined voluptuary by the popular philosophy. *Herder* (*ob.* 1803), with his enthusiasm for the infinitely deep and sublimely *poetic* contents of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament, exposed at least the lifelessness and insipidity of the customary treatment of the Old Testament. *Goethe* (*ob.* 1832) hated thoroughly the vandalism of Neology, took pleasure in the "confessions of a beautiful soul," had, in his early youth, some sympathy for the Moravians, but believed, in the ripeness of his manhood, that he did not need Christianity. *Schiller* (*ob.* 1805), enthusiastic for everything that was noble, beautiful, and good, never-

theless disregarded Christianity and insinuated Kantian Rationalism clothed with poetic beauty into the hearts of the German people. His sorrow on account of the destruction of the mythology of old Hellas, was, consciously or otherwise, less in contrast with Christianity than with the poverty of Deism, which had banished the living God of Christianity, and supplied his place with the dead laws of nature. And even if he was earnest in supposing that he was able from religious feeling to profess no religion, still he unconsciously paid homage to Christianity in many Christian views. *Jacobi's* mental philosophy also had its poetical interpreters in *Jean Paul* (*ob.* 1825) and *Hebel* (*ob.* 1826), in whom the same disunion exists between the pious mind, which felt itself irresistibly drawn towards Christianity, and the cold understanding, which turned away from faith and towards the reigning unbelief. *J. H. Voss*, possessing a coarse Dutch rustic constitution, delineates in his Louisa the ideal of a rationalistic rural pastor, and persecuted with inquisitorial severity the blockheads and bondmen.—But by the side of these worldlings, and as much respected by them as they were insulted and slandered by the heroes of the "deutschen Bibliothek," stood two genuine sons of Luther, the *Wandsbecker Messenger* (*Matth. Claudius, ob.* 1815, cf. *W. Herbst*, M. Cl. d. Wandsb. Bote. Gotha, 1857), and *Hamann* (*ob.* 1788), the Magnus of the North of whom Jean Paul says, that his commas are planetary, his periods solar systems (cf. *C. H. Gildemeister*, J. G. Ham. d. Mag. d. Nord., Leb. u. Schriften, 3 Bde. Gotha, 1857), and two noble sons of the Reformed Church, the laborious *Lavater* (*ob.* 1801), and the prayerful *Jung-Stilling* (*ob.* 1817). Besides these, we must not forget the celebrated historian *John Von Müller* (*ob.* 1809), who recognized Christ as the centre of all ages in a way more profound than any historian before him. (Cf. § 53, 3.)

§ 51. ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE DURING THE PERIOD OF ILLUMINATION.

The old church faith, meanwhile, had still during this period of reigning unbelief its seven thousand who had not bowed their knees before the Baal of the spirit of the age. A *Lavater* and *Stilling*, a *Claudius* and *Hamann*, are not by far the only, though the most brilliant and best known names of the faithful sons of the Church. A high place of honor among them is also occupied by the preacher *John Fred. Oberlin* of Waldbach (Ban de la Roche) (*ob.* 1826), who is scarcely sufficiently honored by being called a saint of the Protestant Church. "*Father Oberlin*," by official labors extending through 60 years, elevated his morally and spiritually depraved and temporally poor congregation to a condition of industrial prosperity, noble civilization, and pure

churchly piety, and transformed the barren, waste Steinthal into a patriarchal Paradise. Among the supranaturalistic theologians there were also many who adhered in their hearts to the old faith, even though they also in their science clothed it with garments of the new fashion. The flower of the German people was still rooted in biblical and churchly Christianity. Where the pulpit permitted it to die out, there they derived rich spiritual nourishment from the writings of the fathers, and where the modern vandalism of Illumination had mutilated and diluted the churchly hymn-books, there the old choice hymns still lived in the hearts of the mothers and fathers, and resounded with power at family worship, and a *Hippel* exemplified in his "Lebenslaüfen" their wonderful power in the life, loving, and suffering of a Christian. The *Moravian Church* became often a haven of safety for the educated, who were more exposed to danger. The common danger also united pious Roman Catholics and pious Protestants in the love of a common Saviour. Thus in Münster a circle of the noblest souls of the Roman Catholic Church was formed around the noble princess *Galizin* and the able minister Fürstenberg, in which also ex. gr. a *Hamann* with his genuine Lutheran spirit found the most intimate communion and the warmest reception. *Pestalozzi* (*ob.* 1827) appeared already in 1775 in Switzerland to rescue the science of teaching from the superficiality of Basedow, reforming the national school in a spirit that was genuinely popular, and at least not hostile to Christianity.

1. *The Dilution of the Hymn-Books and Sacred Poetry.* — It was *Klopstock* who opened the way for the unparalleled hymn-book vandalism of this period, by remodelling 29 old church hymns (1758). He, as also his immediate successors, *Cramer* and *J. Ad. Schlegel*, only wished to improve the form, *i. e.*, modernize them, which, however, could not be done without diluting their contents. Their numberless successors among the champions of Illumination only made the more thorough havoc both with contents and form. General superintendents, consistorial counsellors, and court-preachers, rivalled each other in preparing and introducing new hymn-books, with diluted old and still more watery new hymns. Every town had its own and peculiarly amended hymn-book. Meanwhile, to the honor of the German people of this period, especially of Würtemberg, it must be said, that they with reluctance permitted the old treasure of their hymn-books to be taken from them, and the new fabrications to be forced upon them. Only a few voices from the educated classes, as ex. gr. the poet *Schubart*, were raised against the nuisance, but they were unheard. – As

poor as the spirit of Illumination was in faith and in poetry, so rich was it, nevertheless, in the production of so-called sacred hymns. These are almost entirely of a moral character, and where a well-meant hymn of faith appears, it bears not the least comparison with the hymns of the 16th and 17th centuries. Abstraction, dogmatic tone, and pathos, are the substitutes for the sublimity, inwardness, freshness, and nationality of the old hymns. The hymns of the noble and pious *Gellert* are by far the best contributed by this period. *Klopstock* repudiated Gellert's doctrinal tone, and sought to awaken and stir up religious feeling. On the other hand, he lacked popularity, of which Gellert possessed at least a minimum. Among the sacred poets who inherited his spirit, *Lavater* is the most able and Christian. (Cf. § 54, 8.)

2. *Sacred Music.* — Sacred music sunk also with the hymns of this period to the lowest degree of its existence. The old chorals were recast into modern forms, by which they altogether lost their ancient power and beauty. A multitude of new, unnational, and difficult melodies, in a dry pedantic style, appeared; the last trace of the old rhythm disappeared, and tedious, heavy monotony gained the ascendency, by which all sublimity and freshness was lost. Preludes and interludes of a secular character were introduced as substitutes. An operatic overture generally introduced the people into the church; a march or a waltz dismissed them from it. The church ceased to foster and to produce music; the theatre and concert-hall took its place. The operatic supplanted all taste for the oratorio style. Cantata of a thoroughly secular and effeminate spirit were composed for festival occasions. A proper church style in music no longer existed, on which account also *Winterfeld* closes his history of evangelical sacred music with *Seb. Bach*. It was almost worse with the *Roman Catholic* mass-music. Palestrina's earnest and elevated school had almost entirely disappeared in the polite operatic style, and a greater nuisance was and is still made of the organ than in the Protestant churches. (Cf. § 54, 8.)

3. *Religious Parties within the Church.*—From the secondary effects of Spener's Pietism, enriched by Oetinger's theosophy, proceeded in Würtemberg the party of the *Michelians*. Its founder was a layman, *Michael Hahn*, a butcher (*ob.* 1819). His writings are full of deep views of the Divine economy of salvation (among which especially s. Briefe von d. ersten Offenb. Gottes durch die ganze Schöpfung bis an das Ziel aller Dinge). The doctrine of a double fall (whence resulted a great disregard, but not rejection of marriage), of the restoration of all things; further and especially the disregarding of justification in favor of sanctification, of Christ for us in favor of Christ in us, the urging of uninterrupted repentance, etc., was peculiar to him. The latter was enhanced by the extreme contrast of the *Pregizerians* (with preacher Pregizer of Haiterbach at their head), who, laying all stress

upon baptism and justification, certain in the faith of their happiness, and not needing self-tormenting repentance, impressed upon their life and worship the character of great cheerfulness and joyfulness. Both parties, having spread over the whole of Würtemberg, still exist, but have approached each other very nearly in common opposition to the destructive tendencies of modern times. They had besides a common ground in their Chiliasm and in the doctrine of restoration. (Cf. *Haug*, d. Secte d. Michelianer; in d. Studien d. ev. Geistlichk. Würtb. XI. I.—*Grüneisen*, Gesch. d. rel. Gemeinschaften in Würtemb.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1841, 1.)—The party of the *Collenbuschians* in Berg stood also in a certain connection with Oetinger's theosophy and other Würtemberg elements. *Sam. Collenbusch*, practising physician at Wichlinghausen (*ob.* 1803), who, being offended by the orthodox doctrines of original sin as original guilt, of the wrath of God and of the representative satisfaction of Christ, formed a doctrinal system, in which Christ, laying aside his divine attributes, took upon himself with human flesh also the susceptibility of sinning, the sufferings of Christ were derived from the wrath of Satan, and have only the significance of the sufferings of trial and of steadfastness, and redemption consists in the fact, that Christ bore Satan's wrath *for us* and sends his Spirit *into us* to work sanctification. The most important of the theological adherents of the pious physician are both the *Hasenkamps* and the excellent *Gottfr. Menken*, Reformed preacher in Bremen (*ob.* 1831), (Homilien über die Gesch. d. Elias und zu Hebr. 11; Anleitung zum eigenen Unterricht in d. Wahrhh. d. h. Schrift). (Cf. *F. W. Krug*, Gesch. der Schwärmerei, etc., Elberf. 1851, p. 205, ff., and *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens, Bd. II.)

4. German Illumination found, *outside of Germany*, but little favor at first. It spread soonest and most in the *Netherlands*, then in *Denmark* and *Norway*, and but little in *Sweden*. In Amsterdam a part of the Lutheran congregation tore itself loose, when a neological preacher was forced upon it (1791), and organized itself independently as the "*Restored Lutheran Church*," or the "*Old Light*." It still numbers seven Dutch congregations, with 12,000 members. In 1797 several members of the Wallonian (French Reformed) congregation at Delft in the Netherlands formed a religious society under the name *Christo sacrum*, which wished to adopt all the Christian confessions, and to unite all in a true Church of Christ upon the foundation of faith common to all. The confessional doctrinal differences were to be regarded as unessential, and left to private conviction, on which account also a separation from the old churches was not regarded as necessary. But, although the new congregation at first made some progress, and the government formally guaranteed it religious freedom in 1802, it soon declined for want of internal strength and under the power of growing unbelief, and exists now only in several weak and needy remnants.—In *Norway* a powerful religious excitement was created by the peasant

Nielsen Hauge, who, since 1795, preached the gospel there. In *England* the Dissenters, especially the Methodists, exerted a wholesome influence on the national church. Here in the person of *W. Cowper* (*ob.* 1800) we meet with a noble sacred poet of high lyrical endowments, whose life and poetry, however, are consumed by melancholy, caused by the bugbears of predestinarian despair and methodistic care of his soul.

5. *Protestant Union and Missionary Labors.* (Cf. *Jul. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. ev. Miss. Hamb. 1845, 2 Bde.)—In order to establish propaganda to realize the grand thought of union effort for Christian, practical ends, the Augsburg senior *John Urlsperger* travelled over England, Holland, and Germany. But his zeal was first crowned with permanent success in *Basle* by establishing the *German Society of Christianity* ("Deutsche Gesellsch. zur Beförder. christl. Wahrh. u. Gottseligkeit") 1780. Soon a number of branch societies were formed in Switzerland and South Germany. A periodical: "Sammlungen für Liebhaber christl. Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit" became the organ of the society (1784), which drew within the province of its labors all possible Christian objects (Bible and tract distribution, care of the poor and sick, itinerant preaching, circulating libraries, evangelization of Roman Catholics, missions among the Jews, Turks, and Heathen, etc.). Gradually some of the branches grew strong enough to be independent, ex. gr. 1804, the Basle Bible Society, 1816, the Missionary Society, 1820, the Beuggen Institution for neglected children and the education of charity-school teachers; further, a union for the friends of Israel, a tract-union, a deaf and dumb-asylum, etc., whereby a dissolution of the society was prepared for in a way not to be regretted.—In the last decade of this century, a feeling for united labor for Christian objects was also awakened in *England*, and first of all for *Heathen Missions*. This took place in the year 1795, when a large number of Christians of all parties, mostly Dissenters, united to *found the general London Missionary Society*, and already in the following year the first missionary ship sailed to the South Sea islands under Captain *Wilson*, with 29 missionaries on board. They labored, almost hopelessly, but perseveringly, for 16 years, until finally King Pomare II. of Tahiti became the first of the converts. A victory over a heathen reaction-party (1815) secured full dominion for Christianity. The example of the London Missionary Society led to imitation in other quarters; thus arose in 1796 two Scotch, and in 1797 a Netherland Missionary Society, and in 1800 in London the *Episcopal Missionary Society* for the English possessions in Africa, Asia, etc. In the same year *Jänicke* of Berlin founded his mission institute. The Danish Lutheran (§ 47, 7) and the Moravian missions (§ 47, 6) carried on, meanwhile, their missionary operations vigorously, especially the latter. (Cf. § 54, 9, 10.)

FOURTH PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Cf. *K. R. Hagenbach*, K. G. d. 18 u. 19 Jahrh. 2. A. Lpz. 1856. Bd II.—*J. C. L. Gieseler*, K. G. d. neuesten Zeit. Herausg. v. C. R. Redepennig, Bonn 1855.—*F. A. Scharpff* (kath.), Vorless. üb d. neueste K G. Freib. 1852. — *B. Gams* (kath.), Gesch. d. K. Christi im 19. Jahrh. Innsbr. 1853, ff., 2 Bde.—*Jul. Wiggers*, kirchl. Statistic. Hamb. 1842, f. 2 Bde.—*Ders.* d. kirchl. Bewegung in Deutschl. Rost. 1848.—*K. Netz*, die Kirchen d. europ. Abendl. Frkf. 1847, Bd. I. — *D. Schenkel*, die rel. Zeitkämpfe. Hamb. 1847. — *G. Fr. Rheinwald*, Acta hist. ecclst Seculi XIX. Hamb. 1836–38, 3 Bde.—*K. Matthes*, allg. kirchl. Chronik. I -IV. Lpz. 1855–58.

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 52. REVIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS AGITATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The horrors of the French Revolution demonstrated what must become of the modern world without God and Christianity; the reign of the new divine scourge lifted the eyes and hearts of the people to Him, from whom alone help was yet to be hoped for; the wars for liberty in their enthusiasm ("with God for king and fatherland") did place their trust in this help, and the double victory (1813 and 1815) gloriously justified this trust Princes and people were filled with thankfulness to God. *Alexander* I., *Francis* I., and *Frederick William* III. (being at the same time representatives of the three principal churches) formed

after the Congress of Vienna had established the political relations, the *Holy Alliance* (1815), which had for its object the cultivation and preservation of Christian brotherly love among the nations as the branches of one family, and among the princes as the fathers of the same. "To make Christianity the highest law of national life, in spite of all confessional dissensions," was the declared object of the Holy Alliance, which was joined by all the princes of Europe, excepting the Pope, the Sultan, and the King of England, but which, nevertheless, soon became antiquated as a political idyll. *Alexander* II., at his accession to the throne (1855), first again recognized in this idyll an eternally true ideal of Christian rulers.—A religious fermentation had also been produced among the people; but what six decades had levelled to the ground could not rise again in a night. Old and new, and partly very heterogeneous elements, were commingling and fermenting in the national spiritual life, in poetry and philosophy, in theology and the church. Subsequent to 1830 a decided clarification has taken place, and the antitheses have manifested themselves purely and independently. The restitution of the papacy in 1814 already awakened a new enthusiasm for ultramontane Roman Catholicism, as also the jubilee of the Reformation in 1817 for Protestantism; whilst the theological and practical principles of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, which had been repressed, the former in Supranaturalism, the latter in Pietism, by a premature union, which regarded them as no longer existing, were likewise agitated anew. A powerful effort was also made by the old sects to obtain a wider influence, and new sects full of powerful errors appeared. Thus the ecclesiastical and religious principles were drawn out sharper and increased, and over against the church and Christianity a naked and bold anti-Christianity asserted itself in Socialism and Communism, in political, religious, and scientific Libertinism; whilst pauperism and proletarianism, a fruit chiefly of the largely multiplied manufactories, increased in a terrible way. In 1848 the igniting spark fell upon this accumulated mass of powder, and in a short time Western Europe was enveloped in the flames of political revolution. The two years of reaction (1849–50) succeeded in mastering this wild conflagration. But the fire still smouldered beneath the ashes. May God grant, that in a night, when the watchmen may sleep, another whirlwind may not kindle it anew! Within the sphere of religious life agitation existed

in every direction. Pantheism, Materialism, and Atheism devastated science and practical life, even to the lowest strata of the people. Old and new sects increased in a threatening manner. Ultramontanism bent its bow more tightly. The Protestant Union became in every direction a *concordia discors*, and even Lutheranism, which sundered itself from it, concealed a dangerous dissension in its bosom. The prophecies of Scripture alone opened a view, through all confusions and anxieties, to the final issue of all history, for which, whether it be near or far off, even the complications of the present must prepare the way.

§ 53. THE GENERAL BASIS OF THE CULTURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ITS CONNECTIONS WITH THEOLOGY AND THE CHURCH.

Philosophy exerted an important influence upon the religious development of this period, both as regards science and practical life. Whilst Rationalism in its philosophical development was not able to go beyond Kant, the other theological tendencies were more or less directed by the philosophy of this period. In addition to philosophy, *Belles Lettres*, which was also in manifold ways affected by philosophy, exerted a powerful influence upon the religious views of the educated classes. The *exact sciences* also were brought into a closer relation to Christianity, partly friendly and partly hostile. But, generally, a Christian tendency made itself felt more decidedly than ever in the sciences; and it appears as characteristic that, whilst formerly the Christian convictions of the learned had little or no influence in the formation of these sciences, now the endeavors of many educated Christian men were directed towards penetrating them with the Christian principle and permitting it to remodel them.

1. *German Philosophy.* (Cf. § 50, 7.)—*Fries* (*ob.* 1843) also acquired importance for the development of Protestant theology, by the influence which his philosophy exerted upon several distinguished theologians (De Wette, Hase). His philosophy started from Kantian Rationalism, which it regarded as standing in need of being made more profound and thorough, and which it sought to do in a method nearly similar to Jacobi's. *Schelling's* philosophy of identity, on the other hand, started from Fichte's idealism, and, in its progress, assumed the form of essentially pantheistic *Natural Philosophy.* He learned from Fichte that the world was null and void without the spirit, but he inverted the relation. Whilst Fichte allowed reality to the world (the Non-ego)

only in so far as man apprehended and penetrated it with his spirit, and this first gave it real existence, according to Schelling the spirit is nothing else than the life of nature itself, and consequently identical with it, or rather both are the opposite poles of the same phenomenon. The spirit still slumbers and dreams in the lower grades of natural life, but in man it has attained to self-consciousness. The total life of nature, or the soul of the world, is God. Man is a reflection of God and a microcosm. God reaches objective reality and the unfolding of his self-consciousness in the development or history of the world; Christianity is a turning-point in the history of the world; its fundamental doctrines of revelation, Trinity, incarnation, and reconciliation are regarded as prescient attempts to solve the enigma of the world. Schelling's living, poetic view of the world penetrated all the sciences and gave them a new and unprecedented inspiration. But it was an abomination to the reigning rationalistic theology. It returned its hatred with ridicule and contempt. It introduced a new and fresh element of life among the younger generation of theologians. As Schelling was connected with Fichte, so was *Hegel* with Schelling, whose pantheistic Natural Philosophy he transformed into pantheistic *Mental* Philosophy. According to this philosophy, divine revelation as an unfolding of the divine self-consciousness from non-existence to existence, *i. e.* from mere self-existence to real-existence, manifests itself not so much in the life of nature, as rather in the thinking and acting of the human spirit. Judaism, heathenism, and Christianity are the three progressive stages of the development of this process of revelation; Judaism is far inferior to classic heathenism, but in Christianity we have the perfect religion, of course only in the lower form of *conception*, which it is the mission of philosophy to convert into *knowledge*. It at least again brought Protestant orthodox doctrines into formal repute. When *Marheineke* again constructed Lutheran orthodoxy in its entire dialectic perfection into a speculative system of dogmatics, upon the basis of this philosophy; when, further, the talented and profound jurist *Göschel* united it with a refreshing Pietism, then the illusion was entertained for a time that the long-sought-for reconciliation of philosophy and theology had been finally discovered in this philosophy. (The berliner Jahrbücher was for a long time its organ.) But the condition of things changed immediately after the Master's death (1831). Hegel's school was divided into an orthodox and a numerically larger (or "young Hegelian") one; the former advancing the churchly tendency of the Master; the latter despising Christianity as an antiquated form of conception, and running his philosophical views into the most open self-deification and self-worship of the human spirit (Anthropotheism). *David Strauss*, *Bruno Bauer*, and *Louis Feuerbach* introduced this tendency into theology, whilst *Arnold Ruge* endeavored to introduce and make it felt in the social, æsthetic, and political relations of life. The organ of this tendency was since 1837 the "Hallesches (later

Deutsche Jahrbücher." When these were suppressed in 1843 by the State, the *Young-Hegelians*, in order to obtain a strong support, connected themselves with the Rationalists (now friends of light), whom but a short time before they ridiculed as the "antediluvian theologians". In the revolution of 1848, Ruge, with some of his companions, affiliated with the communistic Republicans. *Schelling*, who had been silent for almost three decades, and had meanwhile transformed his former Pantheism into Christian Gnosticism, occupied (1841) Hegel's chair in Berlin as his declared opponent, but was able to produce only a transient excitement among the younger generation of theologians with his dualistic doctrine of potencies, which was announced as the finally attained understanding of Christianity. He died upon a journey to Switzerland (1854), after his brilliant career at Berlin had come and gone like a meteor. His son has commenced to erect to him a worthy monument by publishing his collected works.

The hegemony of Hegelian philosophy was ruined by the division of the schools and by the radicalism of its adherents; and Schelling, in the second stadium of his philosophical development, was not able to found a peculiar school. On the other hand, quite a series of younger philosophers appeared, who, starting from Hegelian dialectics, purposed to free philosophy from the ban of Pantheism, and instead of it to substitute a speculative Theism, which made itself felt as Christian philosophy, and came in fact into a closer relation to historical Christianity, by acknowledging its positive contents. At the head of these most honorable men stood *Fichte's son;* besides him, *Weisse, Braniss, Chalybäus, Fischer, Ulrici, Wirth,* etc. Its organ is the "Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik," published by Fichte, Jr But important as the philosophical power of these men is, they still have not been able to obtain the influence in German science which Schelling and Hegel possessed in so large a degree. — *Herbart,* Kant's successor at Königsberg (*ob.* 1841 at Göttingen), challenged the entire new philosophy from Fichte the father to Fichte the son, by declaring that the metaphysical God lay altogether beyond the horizon of philosophy, which he would confine to the limits of empiricism. His Realism was the sharpest antithesis of Hegelian Idealism. His philosophy, abstractedly considered, stands indifferent to Christianity, but is not incapable of being brought into a friendly relation to it, as *Tuute's* philosophy of religion has demonstrated. Nevertheless, Herbart's philosophy also was not able to exert a great influence on practical life and science. The tendency of the present age, which is more decidedly in the direction of practical interests, is in the main not favorable to the cultivation of philosophy.

2. *The Exact Sciences.* — *Schelling's* profound views became so very significant in that they were not confined to the *philosophical* movements of the age, but also breathed a new life into the other sciences. This influence was most widely exerted upon the natural

sciences. There was not wanting, it is true, a certain wavering and mistiness, to which *mesmeric* magnetism especially contributed largely, but the turbid fermentation was gradually clarified, and the Christian views separated themselves from their pantheistic appendages. The genial *Henry Steffens* (*ob.* 1845), and in a much greater measure the profound and judicious *G. H. v. Schubert*, taught how to fathom and understand the book of nature as the reflection and supplement of the divine revelation in the Holy Scriptures. A congenial spirit of the latter was the Frankfürt senator *Fr. v. Meyer*, who contributed less, it is true, for and through his special science, but on that account more for and through deep Christian apprehension of the divine mysteries in nature and history. *Hegel's* philosophy also appeared at first to deepen and enrich, in a Christian way, the other sciences; at least it presents in *Göschel* a thinker, who in a Christian spirit transfigures jurisprudence, and confirms Christianity in a legal way. On the other side, however, *Hegel's* philosophy, in its application to the other departments of knowledge, brought into sway an abstruse, dialectical tendency; its disciples of the extreme left wing wished to construct all the sciences *à priori* from abstract ideas, and at the same time to eradicate from them the last reminiscences of a Christian spirit.

If we consider the sciences singly, and their relation to Christianity, it is the *Natural Sciences*, above all others, which here come into view. Their great and glorious names, which history praises as their proper founders (*Copernicus*, *ob.* 1543, *Kepler*, *ob.* 1630, *Newton*, *ob.* 1727, *Haller*, *ob.* 1777, *Davy*, *ob.* 1829, *Cuvier*, *ob.* 1832, etc.), have also a glorious and native sound for the Christian ear. All of them, and many others of the great masters of natural philosophy, professed their faith with heart and lips in Christian truth, which, in their opinion, was not the least endangered by their brilliant discoveries. It was otherwise with the theologians. Even a *Schleiermacher* (Sendschriften an Lücke in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1829) apprehended the foreseen destruction of all Christian views of the world through the irresistible results of natural philosophy; and *Bretschneider* (Sendschriften an einem Staatsmann, 1830) proclaimed to the world without pity, that what Schleiermacher had only feared, had already fully taken place. A natural philosopher (*K. v. Raumer*) proved to them, however, that there was yet no ground at all either for rationalistic rejoicing or for Christian fear, and convicted the superficial babbler *Ballenstedt*, a rationalistic rural pastor of the purest water ("Die Urwelt," 1819), of the most colossal ignorance. But the condition of things was soon advanced to a new stage. The investigation of nature, awakening from the intoxication of Schelling's natural philosophy, pronounced all speculation to be contraband and pure empiricism, and the prudent investigation of the actual to be the only admissible, the only useful object of its pursuit. This was well meant, and also honestly and judiciously carried out by the majority of natural philosophers. But whilst

they committed the spirit in and above nature to the investigation of theologians and philosophers, as not belonging to the province of empirical investigation of nature, those young in the natural sciences, here also effecting the emancipation of the flesh from the spirit, declared that the spirit was not at all present, because it could not be discovered by the dissecting knife. *Charles Vogt*, formerly regent of the empire of the year 1849, asserted in all earnestness, that thought was only a secretion of the brain, in the same way as urine was a secretion of the kidneys; and *Moleschott* declared all life to be a mere change of matter, and recognized no other destination of man after death than to be manure for the ground. The rabble of science and of life shouted its approbation of them, but men of true science (*Rud. Wagner, Andr. Wagner, Liebig*, and many others), chastised the irrational and unscientific spirit as it deserved, and openly and firmly professed their adhesion to Christian truth. The celebrated discoverer of electro-magnetism, *Oerstedt*, had earlier already sought "the spirit in nature;" but of course the spirit which he found was not the spirit of the Bible and of the Church. The grand-master of German Natural Philosophy, *Al. v. Humboldt*, also acknowledged the system of the world to be a Κόσμος full of grand harmony in the whole and in the parts; but he also discovered no Christian ideas and views in God's great book of nature.[32] *Medicine* stood and stands on the same level with the natural sciences. Only a *De Valenti* ("Medicina pastoralis") perceived, with Protestant soberness, in the Christian faith a vehicle of medical science; whilst a *Ringseis* in München pronounced even the entire Romish papacy with the adoration of saints and worship of the host to be a conditio sine qua non of all medicine. The physicians also, who believed in magnetism, stood for the most part personally and with their science in intimate relation to Christianity (ex. gr. *Passavant, Ennemoser*, etc.) — Magnetic *Somnambulism*, the Würtemberg ghost-seeing, the North American *Spirit-rappings*, and the universal *Table-moving* and *Table-writing*, have, in spite of the wrath of many natural philosophers, who saw therein only refined fraud or obstinate self-deception, and of many earnest Christians, who warned against Satan's deception and arts, found crowds of believers, who gave ear to the new revelation with rapture.

Of all the sciences, no one was so thoroughly pervaded by the Christian spirit as *Jurisprudence*. A large number of excellent jurists, who are reckoned among the most distinguished notabilities of this science, and who were always ready to give evidence of their zeal for the Church and Christianity in practical life as well as in science, adorned many German professorships and tribunals, or filled high civil offices. As examples we need only mention the names of *Fr. v. Meyer, Göschel, Stahl, Bethmann-Hollweg, Savigny. Puchta, Thibaut, Bickell, Jacobson, Richter, Mühler, Göschen, Wasserschleben, Huschke, Mejer, Scheuerl*, etc., and the Roman Catholics *Walter, Philipps*, et. al.—*Historiography*,

after it had surmounted the superficial pragmatism of the rationalistic period, and objectivity had again acquired its rights, also followed the Christian and churchly factors of history with love and recognition. Protestant historical inquiry especially manifested throughout an almost boundless readiness to acknowledge and admire the grand phenomena of mediæval Roman Catholicism, even with the denial of the Protestant consciousness; and proceeded from the apotheosis of a Boniface, Gregory VII., and Innocent III., to the defamation of the Reformation as a revolution (John Voigt, H. Leo, C. A. Menzel, Hurter, Gfrörer, etc.) Ultramontane historiography accepted such admissions, but by no means thought of recompensing like with like, but only intensified its old method of wickedly and perfidiously slandering everything Protestant (*Riffel*, *Döllinger*, etc.), and of making history instead of impartially investigating. *Geography*, which was first raised to a science by *Charles Ritter*, paid to Christianity the tribute of its recognition, which it also deserved from this quarter. Finally, ancient classic *Philology* also, in several important representatives, illumined ancient classic heathenism and its religion with the Christian spirit, and endeavored to interpret it in the sense of the apostle (Acts 14 : 16; 17 : 27; Rom. 1 : 19, ff.) *Creuzer* prepared the way thereto by a deeper apprehension of ancient heathen mythology. *Görres* walked in his footsteps, whose pupil *Sepp* (das Heidenth. u. dessen Bedentung für d. Christth. 1853, 3 Bde.) exposes without reserve the deep internal connection of Roman Catholicism with heathenism by proving that ancient heathen mythology and mysteriosophy are only a latent Catholicism. On the other hand, the Protestants *Nägelsbach* (Homerische und nachhomerische Theologie) and *Lübker* (Sophokleische Theologie) fathomed, with like depth and discretion, the religious life of the ancient world in its relation to Christian truth.

3. *National Literature.* (Cf. *J. V. Eichendorff* (Roman Catholic), über die ethische u. rel. Bedent. der neuern romant. Poesie in Deutschl. Lpz. 1847. — *K. Barthel*, d. deutsche Nationallit. d. Neuzeit. 4. A. Braunschw. 1855. — *J. A. Mor. Brühl* (Roman Catholic), Gesch. d. kath. Lit. Deutschl. vom 17. Jahrh. biz zur Gegenw. Lpz. 1854.) — As already Schiller's poetry introduced Kantian philosophy, clothed in poetic garb, into the national life, so did also the other phases of philosophical development find their poetical representatives. It is true, *Goethe* was too rich and independent a genius to be led captive by a philosophical school; nevertheless his views of life, and especially his views of nature, were related in many ways with Schelling's philosophy. His religion was a Spinozian Pantheism. The *Romantic School* connected itself more decidedly and unreservedly with Schelling. His Natural Philosophy is the ground out of which it grew, and out of which it received as well its proclivity to Pantheism as to Roman Catholicism (for the philosophy of identity is related, in principle, to Roman Catholicism, in so far as the latter also, only in a different

way [§ 20], likes to identify or confound the divine and the human). The antithesis between *romantic* and *classic* was in itself considered not *that* between *Christian* and *heathen*, and referred generally less to the religious contents than to the poetic form. Romanticism desired to liberate art and poetry from the bondage of strict, antique classic form, and to lead it back to genuine German forms. It was thereby directed to the rich fulness of the middle ages, whose contents it then sought to naturalize *with* the form in modern times. But since the mediæval view of the world was decidedly Christian, and the representatives of the classic school had in great part lapsed into the heathenism of illumination, the above-named antithesis had a certain justification. Romanticism, it is true, manifested a great religious inwardness (especially in *Novalis* and *La Motte Fouqué*), and became the sworn enemy of rationalistic Illumination, which it pursued in all its hiding-places, exposed and made ridiculous (*Tieck's* Zerbino); nevertheless, in its contest with the prudery of Rationalism, it ran into frivolity (*Fr. Schlegel's* Lucinde),—and the direct repristination of the mediæval forms and views, which had fallen *behind* the progress of the world, was ever an unnatural thing, which could not be atoned for by the superabundance of imagination, and which avenged itself on many, even the better and nobler ones (ex. gr. *Fr. Schlegel*,—to say nothing of the starved form of a *Zach. Werner*), by apostacy from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism. The twilight of Romanticism was fundamentally opposed to Hegelian philosophy, and its disciples of the left wing almost succeeded in stamping even the expression "romantic" as a term of abuse for Jesuitism and obscurantism of all kinds. On the other hand, the dissolute and destructive tendency which, after Hegel's death, mastered his school, contributed its part towards creating a later anti-Christian and revolutionary poetry. Closely connected with the Romantic School, for which the way was broken in Schlegel's Lucinde, was the *School of young Germany*, with its gospel of the rehabilitation of the flesh. Its leader was the gifted poet *H. Heine*. The pantheistic deification of Schelling's and the self-deification of Hegel's school received their expression in *Leop. Schefer's* "Laienbrevier" and Weltpriester, as also in *Sallet's* "Laienevangelium;" whilst the sympathies of the young Hegelians for the communistic spirit of the age were heralded by *Herwegh's* and later also by *Freiligrath's* poems.

Purer and clearer than in the Romantic School was the Christian element in the noble national poets *Mar. Arndt* and *Max. v. Schenkendorf*, who, being led to faith in the living God of the Bible by the distressed state of the fatherland and the enthusiasm of the war for liberty, sought to sing this same faith with fresh and inspired notes into the hearts of the German people. *Uhland's* sweet lyric poetry connected itself, through the enthusiasm for national interests of the present with the patriotic poets, and through the longing with which he penetrated into the rich mine of the German past, with the Roman-

tists, but excelled them far in clearness and sterling worth. Without being or claiming to be a specifically Christian poet, his rich and clear tenderness of heart, nevertheless, made the soil of German national life receptive for the Christian religion. The same is true also of *Rückert's* poems, which transplanted the fragrant flowers of Oriental poesy into the German garden. The Christian consecration of poetic genius appears still more decidedly in the noble and lovely lyric poet *Emanuel Geibel*, the greatest and most Christian of the secular poets of the present age.—Connected with those named was a long series of *specifically Christian poets*. The most important of these are: *Alb Knapp, C. A. Döring, Ph. Spitta, K. B. Garve, J. Friedr. v. Meyer, J. Pet. Lange, Henry Möwes, Gust. Knack, Gust. Jahn, P. F. Engstfeld, Jul. Sturm, Vict. Strauss, H. A. Seidel, Louisa Hensel*, and many others, who are worthily collected together in *Knapp's* Christoterpe (1833–53). Those named belong to the Evangelical Church. With all the Christian depth, inwardness, freshness, and enthusiasm which they revealed in their sacred poetry, still no one of them was able to elevate himself to the sublime simplicity, power, popularity, and churchly objectivity which characterized the old evangelical hymn; they all, in this regard, bore too much the signature of this age, the subjective temper of its struggles, conflicts, and excitements. Only one poet of modern times, *Fred. Rückert*, struck the key of the old hymns in *one* hymn (the advent hymn: "Dein König kommt in niedern Hüllen"). *Roman Catholic* Germany has no poet of the first degree, but many of the second and third, possessing great religious depth and feeling, ex. gr. *B. Clemens Brentano, Ed. v. Schenk, Guido Görres, Melchoir v. Diepenbrock, Fred. Beck, Annette v. Droste-Hülshof*, the excellent juvenile and popular poets *Franz v. Pocci, William Smets*, etc. The highly praised poet, *Oscar v. Redwitz*, dug an early grave for his poetic fame by the "Siegelinde," when, by a shallow Roman Catholic drama, "Thomas Morus," he kindled new hope among his ultramontane friends, that they would be able at some time to honor in him a "Roman Catholic" poet of the first. Another son of the Roman Catholic Church, the talented *Nicholas v. Lenau* (Niembsch v. Strehlenau), became insane (*ob.* 1850) through the distracted state of his inner life. He stood once, with his great master-work, "Savonarola," in the stronghold of the evangelical faith.

In *France, Lamartine*, soon after the Restoration, manifested a romantic, Christian tendency. The poetical sublimity and enthusiastic Spirit of his poems made a deep impression upon the excitable Frenchmen, but it was not lasting. His poetry gradually declined through his subsequent participation in the debates of the Chambers, and his Christian tendency degenerated into a vague cosmopolitanism. For the rest, the French romantic school since the Revolution of July (*Vict. Hugo, Balsac, George Sand, Eug. Sue*, etc.) continued to assume a more anti-Christian character, and promoted the communistic and

libertine spirit of the age.[38]—*England* had a highly gifted and Christianly disposed poet in *W. Wordsworth* (*ob.* 1850). In *Lord Byron*, on the other hand, appeared a poet of the first rank, who experienced in himself, more deeply than any other poet, the great chasm which runs through the consciousness of our age, and which he has delineated more faithfully in its awful greatness than any other. He permits the disharmony of nature and of human life to rush along in powerful and captivating notes. Incurable pain, despair, weariness of life, and misanthropy without hope, even without a desire for reconciliation, glowing enthusiasm for the glory of the past, burning passion for liberty and gigantic defiance of human power, surge through each other in scenes of woe. Whilst in England a ban still rests upon Byron's poems, which banishes them from social and family circles, their influence has only acquired the greater sway on the continent. His colossal spirit, however, also begat here a pigmy race of imitators, who strut so largely in continental literature.

4. *National Culture.*—Whilst the poetical national literature exerted an influence chiefly only on the higher and educated classes, an immense number of *popular* and *juvenile* works were published, which were designed for the lower classes and the youth. But only a few succeeded in striking the true popular and juvenile key, and still fewer is the number of those who offered the people and the youth that which was beneficial. *Pestalozzi's* "Lienhard and Gertrude," *Hebel's* "Sehatzkästlein," and *Zschokke's* "Goldmachendorf," spared at least the Christian consciousness of the people, even though they were not designed to strengthen and nourish it. *Berth. Auerbach*, a Jew, also delineates the Christian life of the people with admirable abnegation of his Spinozian unbelief, in his masterly village histories; although his subsequent authorship was devoted to democratic revolutionary movements and pantheistic propagandism. On the other hand, however, modern times have also produced a number of authors as genuinely national as Christian, who, writing and narrating *out of* the spirit of the people, became true apostles of Christian views, manners, and discipline *for* the people. The most important among these are: *Jeremiah Gotthelf*, (Albert Bitzius, *ob.* 1854), *W. O.* (Will. Oertel) *Von Horn*, *Carl Stöber*, *Otto Glaubrecht* (Rud. Ludw. Oeser), *Gust. Jahn*, *Aug. Wildenhahn*, *Mary Nathusius*, *Will. Redensbacher*, *Karl Wild*, et al. In the Roman Catholic Church *Albanus Stolz* displayed an admirable popular talent (Kalender für Zeit und Ewigkeit, since 1843). Comparatively few of the immense number of *juvenile works* correspond with their object and aim. The chief of the authors in this department of Christian narration is *G. H. v. Schubert.* Next to him are *Barth*, the author of "armen Heinrich," and *Stöber*, as also the Roman Catholic *Christopher Schmidt*, the author of "Ostereier." (Cf. *K. Bernhardi*, Wegweiser durch die deutschen Volks- und Jugendschriften, Lpz. 1852, and *H. Pröhle*, Hansbüchlein für das Volk u. s. Freunde. Lpz. 1852. Bd.

I. Einl.) The *common schools* became, especially through *Dinter's* (*ob* 1831) successful efforts, nurseries of the tame, shallow, and self-sufficient Rationalism of the ancient *régime*, whilst they owe especially to *Diesterweg's* labors during the last thirty years their transformation into propaganda of naturalistic democracy. Next to the army of literary Bohemians, the teachers of the common schools of this period labored most successfully in poisoning the German nation. The General Teachers' Convention of Germany formed a centre for this tendency. Not less than 6000 radical teachers were present at the meeting in Vienna, in 1870. At Hamburg, in 1872, where some 5100 teachers were present, individual voices ventured to speak of the Christian character of the common schools, and were answered with hisses. Thereafter no place could be found to entertain the convention. And yet, during the last forty years, both State and Church have made earnest efforts, and not without success, to reorganize the common schools upon a Christian basis. And in 1872, an *Evangelical Teachers' Conference* was arrayed against radicalism. The Christian spirit has also begun to take a position by the side of reigning heathenism in the German *gymnasia*. At least, religious instruction in many of the higher institutions of learning has again passed into the hands of Christian teachers; and only a few have been able to maintain a height of Illumination such as is occupied by the Homburg academical gymnasium, where Niemeyer's "Lehrbuch der Religion" is still the text-book. Nevertheless, but little is accomplished by religious Christian instruction in these institutions, if the other instructions given do not correspond with it, which, alas! is too much the case yet. From this want arose the Christian gymnasium at *Gütersloh* (since 1849), and lately (1855) a Lutheran gymnasium at *Rogasen* in Posen. In the Protestant Church *Eyth* (Classiker u. Bebel. 1838) took up arms against the heathen *classics* as the basis of culture, but the most influential voices defended them. This question was also largely discussed in the Roman Catholic Church. The Paris *Univers* (editor, *Veuillot*) desired, in order to cut off the nourishment of modern heathenism, to substitute the Church Fathers for the classics; the Archbishop *Sibour* of Paris and several other bishops protested energetically against it. The Pope brought the passionate controversy to an end (1853) by a compromising decree, which takes the side of the *Univers*, but with great forbearance towards the archbishop.

5. *Art.*[34]—The general mental agitation which was called forth by the new century also introduced new spirit and life into art. *Winckelmann* (*ob.* 1768) interpreted heathen classic art, and Romanticism awakened a sense and enthusiasm for mediæval Christian art. The greatest masters of *Architecture* were *Schinkel* (*ob.* 1841), *Klenze*, and *Heideloff*. A Protestant king (Frederick William IV.) began the completion of the cathedral at Cologne (1842), and a Protestant architect

(*Ernst Zwirner*) superintended it. — *Sculpture* has three great masters to point to, who impressed profound Christian views upon brass and marble. The Italian *Canova* (*ob.* 1822) was the renewer of this art. The German *Dannecker* (*ob.* 1841), inspired by him, excelled his master. His Christ represents the Divine Mediator in a sublime marble statue, as he beheld him in vision; his John embodies the image of the disciple meditating on the mystery of the holy Trinity. But greater than both of these is the Dane *Thorwaldsen* (*ob.* 1844), who sculptured Christ and his apostles, together with other groups, for the Church of our Lady in Copenhagen. — A new epoch in *Painting* also began. In 1810 a number of young German painters met together in Rome, who, enthusiastic for the mediæval ideals of art, formed a German painter's league, from which proceeded the Romantic school. *Overbeck*, the founder of the league, remained in Rome and went over to the Roman Catholic Church, because he could and would only paint that which he could also worship. The most profound inwardness and tenderness of religious feeling are revealed in all his works; but his contempt for that which was classic avenged itself in striking defects of form. His friends gradually emancipated themselves from this one-sidedness. *Cornelius*, the most distinguished of them, left Rome, and in 1819 took the control of the academy at Düsseldorf; in 1825 that of Munich; and in 1841 went to Berlin. He is the founder of the *Munich school* (*Schnorr*, *Veith*, *Kaulbach*, etc.), which combines religious inwardness with beautiful and sublime forms, and strives to spiritualize nature to ideal beauty; whilst the *Düsseldorf school*, under the control of *Karl Frederick Lessing*, restricted itself to a faithful copying of nature. Lessing's Protestant consciousness expressed itself, in contrast with the ultramontane zeal of his rigidly Roman Catholic art-companions, in his two great master-pieces, "Huss before the Council" and the "Imprisonment of Pope Paschalis by the Emperor Henry V.," and completed the long-prepared-for rupture of the schools (1842). Between these two German schools stood the Romantic French school, with *H. Vernet* at its head. — *Music* also made great progress, through the three great masters in Vienna. They devoted their best powers to secular music, but they also treated biblical and churchly subjects with imperishable success. *Mozart* (*ob.* 1791) wrote when dying his glorious requeim; *Haydn* (*ob.* 1809) set to music the seven words of Christ on the cross, and produced in his "Creation" a grand work of art, which, however, is almost more an opera than an oratorio. *Beethoven* (*ob.* 1827), having lost his hearing, withdrew into the magic world of his imagination, from which proceeded a Christ on the Mount of Olives and the second mass, "also a creation, which, however, did not reach the seventh day" (Hase), because the lofty spirit of the master was not the spirit of the church. The Berlin singing academy under the control of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (a nephew of the well known Jewish popular philosopher), has gained great credit in re

awakening the taste for the old churchly art music, by again performing the oratorios of Handel, Bach, etc. — an example which has been extensively imitated in other parts of Germany. Mendelssohn's own oratorios "Paulus" and "Elias," in which he permits the simple word of God to rule in its power and truth, as also his psalms, are the most glorious productions which have appeared in this department in modern times. He was removed by an early death (1847), before he was able to translate his ideal Christ into notes.[85]

II. PROTESTANTISM.

Cf. *J. G. Jörg*, Gesch. d. Protestantism, in sr. neuesten Entwickel. 2 Bde. Regensb. 1858.

§ 54. THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN GENERAL, ESPECIALLY IN GERMANY.

THE beginning of this century found Rationalism in its fullest bloom and dominion. But a new spirit began to stir already in philosophy and national literature, and the heart and mind of the noblest of the German nation became again receptive for the faith of the fathers, through the enthusiasm of the wars of liberty. A strong and energetic Pietism, which also was not deficient in martyr-joyfulness, entered the arena and fought Rationalism to the death, although appearing to yield in the single combats. The year 1830, with the Hallean controversy, constitutes a turning-point. From this time Rationalism began to decline; it was compelled to withdraw from the high places of science and culture, and to try its chances in the agitation of the popular masses. Meanwhile a new factor of churchly development had appeared in the Union. A division in the camp of Pietism was produced amid the actions and reactions of the agitation occasioned by it. On the one side Pietism rose to Confessionalism, and contended as such as decidedly and as powerfully for the palladium of what was specifically churchly, as it had formerly for the treasure of the general Christian confession. On the other side, it entered most heartily into the Union, and glorified in it the most blessed acquisition of the century. All theological tendencies flowed together gradually into these two antitheses, and the present

finds itself in the midst of a yet undecided conflict of the one against the other, which is carried on both in the sphere of science and of practical life with spiritual and carnal weapons.

1. Protestant *Rationalism* preserved itself with its peculiar self-sufficiency and unimprovableness also through the religious elevation which the mental life of the nations reached since the wars for freedom. Innumerable preachers and teachers in common and higher schools still adhered to it, and subsequent to 1830 it was also still represented in many theological professors' chairs. In the *Stunden der Andacht*, by *Zschokke*, further in *Tiedge's* Urania, and entirely caricatured in Witschel's Morgen und Abendopfern, etc., appeared a sentimental Rationalism, which, even though it became a bridge for many to true Christianity, nevertheless inflicted incalculable injury upon the religious development of the German nation, inasmuch as it drew the religious want, caused by the wars for freedom, away from its true spiritual nourishment. — Nevertheless, Rationalism lost respect and influence more and more, especially among the higher educated classes. Schelling's natural philosophy and Hegel's philosophy of conception, Romanticism and cosmopolitan literature, in which the spirit of modern times continually advanced forward in the most heterogeneous way, were equally opposed to it. It had to draw in its sails before Schleiermacher's theological science, and the then generalissimo and Patriarch of Rationalism, Röhr of Weimar, found in his own diocese in the person of *Hase* of Jena a not less pietistic than orthodox opponent, whose crushing polemics struck him (1834) as once Lessing's struck the chief pastor *Götze*. *Claus Harms* (*ob.* 1855) on the part of the church, opened the contest against the apostacy from the faith of the fathers on the occasion of the Reformation-jubilee (1817), with 95 new *theses*, which contrast Luther's almost forgotten doctrine with the unchurchly spirit of the age; and *Aug. Hahn* (1827) defended in an academical disputation at Leipsic the position, that the Rationalists ought to be dismissed from the church. Since 1827 the "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," by *Hengstenberg* of Berlin, began an opposition as fearless as energetic against Rationalism in all its forms. It created the greatest excitement by publishing an anonymous article (by the jurist *E. L. v. Gerlach*), which openly charged the professors *Gesenius* and *Wegscheider* of Halle with infidelity, even with the scoffing of what was holy, and advocated the interposition of the civil power (1830). But although the ex-minister *Stein* (to Gagern) expressed the hope that the state would not hesitate to place a dozen Rationalists extra statum nocendi, still the government only was concerned about silencing the controversy that had arisen, without examining the charges of the complainant. Pietism also vigorously opposed Rationalism in almost all the other German Protestant countries, and provoked many lively controversies. The scientific theolo-

gians disavowed it; the philosophers despised and ridiculed it; it even came so far, that men of scientific culture regarded it as an insult to be reckoned among the Rationalists. It was already believed that the time had come to perform its obsequies, — but it was too soon. Its power at this time lay in the masses of the people, who had been trained in unbelief, and it offered this to them. When the preacher *Sintenis* of Magdeburg declared in a newspaper that the worship of Christ was blasphemous superstition (1840), and the consistory instituted proceedings against him, the neighboring preachers *Uhlich* and *König* organized a union of so-called *Friends of Light*, which soon called thousands of laymen and clergymen to a public meeting at *Köthen*. In such a meeting (1844), *Wislicenus* of Halle destroyed the self-deception of Rationalism, that it still occupied the ground of Scriptures and the Church, by the question whether the Scriptures or the Spirit was to be the norm of faith. *Guericke*, who was present as "Church historian," made a note of it, and the evang. Kirchenzeitung contained numberless protests and excommunications. The left wing of Schleiermacher's school took offence at this, and issued, Aug. 15, 1846, from Berlin, a declaration with 88 signatures against the paper pope of the antiquated reformation confession and the inquisitorial conduct of the "Kirchenzeitung's" party, which disregarded all freedom of faith and of conscience, wishing to hold fast only to one thing — that Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, was the only ground of our salvation. The popular wit of Berlin called them *friends of twilight* or *bats*, because they neither wished to be *friends of light* nor *of darkness;* and the aged *Claus Harms*, "Einer gegen Achtundachtzig," attacked them with the bold defiance of a youth, and with the self-consciousness of an aged confessor, who labored and suffered more than they all, in crushing philippics. The friends of light, however, fraternizing with the German Catholics and Young-Hegelians, founded *free congregations* at Halle (*Wislicenus*), Königsburg (*Rupp*), Magdeburg (*Uhlich*) and at many other places. Saxony prohibited the assemblies already in 1845, as directed against churchly confession; — Prussia at least forbade the participation of the laity in the same; but by an edict of toleration (1847) guaranteed tolerance and free exercise of religion to their congregations. The religious emptiness of their assemblies and sermons filled the revolutionary movement of 1848 with politico-democratic agitation. This furnished the State with the welcome occasion to place them under strict police control, and to dissolve them one after the other.

2. *Pietism* did not entirely die out even during the years of spiritual famine, but, being purged of many eccentricities, found a refuge and nourishment chiefly in connection with the Moravians. It also developed itself in Würtemberg in an independent and peculiarly theosophical, chiliastic way (to which was added later a species of ghost-seeing with all kinds of revelations from Hades, practised especially

by *Justinus Kerner*). It was also strengthened to make a more decided impression by the religious agitations of the new century. In contrast with the clergy, who had almost entirely fallen under the baneful influence of Rationalism, it laid hold of the religious kernel of the national life, and as the weak rationalistic moral sermons could not satisfy its religious wants, it sought to do this by conventicles and meetings, which were led by gifted men, mostly mechanics, but well read in the Bible and ascetic works. As Pietism did not shun martyrdom of any kind, neither the ridicule and abuse of the infidel masses, nor the hatred of rationalistic pastors, nor yet the interposition of the civil power, were able to retard its progress. It also gradually penetrated the younger generation of the clergy, and even theologians at the universities. The energetic vigor of modern Pietism is manifested in its great labors for missions, foreign as well as home, in which it accomplished the most extraordinary results with the fewest means. A fresh and hearty religious poetry was again produced by it; the old choice hymns of the evangelical church were again used, and the ascetic treasures of the churchly past were again rescued from the dust. This modern Pietism was evangelical and Protestant from the beginning. As it did not, like the Pietism of the previous century, start from the antithesis against dead churchliness and orthodoxy, but rather from the antithesis against unchurchliness and Rationalism, it consequently was also distinguished from it advantageously by a more decided tendency towards what was generally churchly,—although the proper characteristics of Pietism, overrating the invisible above the visible church, sanctification above justification, the pain of repentance above the joy of faith, inclination towards Chiliasm, indifference towards the churchly apprehension of doctrines, etc., belonged more or less to it. But as the Pietism of the previous century indicated in its degeneracy the transition to Rationalism, so did that of the present in its elevation form the transition to the revival of churchly consciousness and life.—Of some significance for the revival of religious life in several sections of Germany, but especially in Switzerland, were the missionary labors of *Lady von Krüdener* (by birth Baroness Vietinghoff of Riga, 1766). This lady, after "having been brought up in the dwellings of vanity," and wasting many years in a worldly life, but then "humbled by her sins and errors," was seized by a glowing, fanatical love for the Saviour. She now (since 1814) travelled through the greatest portion of Europe, preached repentance, proclaimed salvation and condemnation, carried the consolation of the Gospel to the criminals in the prisons, preached the foolishness of the cross to the wise of this world, to kings and princes the majesty of Christ as the King of kings. Wherever she went, she disturbed secure sinners, melted the stony hearts of the hardened to tears of repentance, attracted great crowds of spiritually miserable ones of all kinds and of all classes, etc. By some she was honored as an elect saint, as a prc

phetess and a performer of miracles; by others she was ridiculed as a fool, and persecuted as a dangerous fanatic or deceiver. Banished from country to country, she finally died (1824) in the Crimea.[36]

3. *The Protestant Union.* (Cf. *J. G. Scheibel*, actenmäsz. Gesch. d. neuest. Union. Lpz. 1834, 2 Bde. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, Ref., Lutherth. u. Union. Lpz. 1839. — *O. Krabbe*, d. ev. Landeskirche Preuszens. Berl. 1849. — *C. W. Hering*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Unionsversuche. Lpz. 1836–38, 2 Bde.) — Since Prussia became one of the great powers of Europe, it became the centre of intelligence and the champion of Protestantism. This position, not less than the opposition to the Reformed confession among by far the greater portion of the population, made it highly desirable on the part of the Prussion government to bring to pass a union of both Protestant Churches. The circumstances were very favorable to it; the Lutheran separate consciousness had almost entirely vanished both in science and in practical life; Lutheran Supranaturalism had formally passed over into Reformed apprehension of principles, and willingly abandoned Luther's doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper; Calvinism had sunk into Zwinglianism, and rejoiced to see the doctrine of predestination set aside; Rationalism hoped that the peculiar and characteristic doctrines of Christianity would fall with those of Lutheranism, and Pietism with its enthusiasm and its indifference towards the theology of the creeds willingly gave its consent. Thus *Frederick William* III.'s summons (at the jubilee of the Reformation, 1817) to a Lutheran-Calvinistic *Union* in behalf of a regeneration of the Protestant Church, met with much sympathy. The introduction of a new *liturgy* (1822), in the formation of which the pious king himself participated, awakened, it is true, manifold opposition; its forms were considered too churchly, even Romanizing. A second edition of it (1829) conciliated by a large selection of its formularies, and soon the liturgy had the authority of a law, and the Union was a fait accompli. Under a common church government and a common liturgy there existed now in Prussia an evangelical national church with three sections,—a Lutheran and a Reformed, which held fast to their characteristic doctrines, but did not wish to regard them as separative,—and a real united section, which entirely abandoned the characteristic doctrines. But since these three sections did not remain separated, their commingling being rather designedly promoted,—since besides, Indifferentism, Rationalism, and infidelity, boasted of the Union as being a practical indifferentizing, even abolition of the confessions of faith,—since finally the continually increasing churchly consciousness opposed the Union more and more decidedly, the confusion in the Prussian united church became greater every year. The attempt to give it a firm basis in a confession of faith and in a constitution by a general synod, failed entirely, and only increased the difficulties (cf. § 55, 1). The largest ecclesiastical conferences, of which that of *Gnadauer* was the most important, also attempted in

vain to overcome and to remove the evil from within.—Prussia's example in the union of both churches was at once followed in Baden, Nassau, Rhenish Bavaria, Anhalt, Hesse, etc., and also provoked here similar evils and conflicts. (Cf. § 55.)

4. *Lutheran Opposition to the Union.*—The Prussian union expressly declared that it did not wish a change from one church to the other, but only a union in brotherly love upon the basis of a common faith. But it declared practically that the characteristic doctrines were non-essential, and thereby placed itself upon the stand-point of the Reformed Church, which at all times desired and strove after the union on this condition. Thus it was easily intelligible that, if it should meet with opposition from any particular church, it was not to be expected from the Reformed, but rather from the Lutheran. This was the case also. The contest for the continuance of ancient Lutheranism proceeded from Breslau, where *Dr. Scheibel* was dismissed from his offices as preacher and professor (1832) for his opposition (*ob.* in exile, 1843). *H. Steffens* also, who again attained to the consciousness of his native northern Lutheranism through friendly and confidential intercourse with Scheibel, connected himself with the reaction ("Wie ich wieder Lutheraner wurde," 1831). Outside of Breslau also Scheibel's example was imitated, especially in Silesia. The remonstrant clergy were punished with deposition, and, if they continued their opposition, with imprisonment, and the congregations were threatened with sharp police measures. In the village of Hönigern, under the preacher *Kellner*, the church was even opened for the use of the liturgy against the passive resistance of the congregation, by military force (1834). The suspended clergy held a synod at Breslau in 1835, and resolved to use every lawful means to save the Lutheran Church. The police measures were, on this account, made more severe against the resistants, and a large number of Lutherans emigrated to Australia and North America. *Guericke* of Halle, who, having been secretly ordained as a minister, served a small congregation of Lutherans in his house, was, after manifold police punishments, dismissed from his professorship (1835), and was only restored (1840) after making some concessions. Since 1838 the coercive measures have been generally modified. *Frederick William* IV. released the arrested clergy from prison (1840), and in 1841 a Lutheran Church entirely independent of the established church was formed at Breslau by a General Synod, which received a general concession in 1845 through royal favor. It was governed by a church college residing in Breslau, of which the excellent jurist *Huschke* was president. Meanwhile, the Lutheran consciousness was awakened also in many other congregations (especially in Pomerania, etc.), which, however, were still kept in the established church by ready concessions in regard to worship and the liturgy. Nevertheless, the Lutheran protestations and secessions of single clergymen (often with a large portion of their congregations)

multiplied, the latter connecting with the church college of Breslau. These were designated as "the churchly constituted Lutherans in Prussia," in distinction from those Lutherans who remained in the united established church. In the other German countries also, where the Union had been accomplished, especially in Baden, Nassau, Rhenish Bavaria, the Lutheran consciousness has been awakened here and there within the last few years, and is striving after emancipation from the embrace of the union police of the established churches. (Cf. § 55.)

5. *Protestant Confederation.* — The Union endeavored to unite, strengthen, and rejuvenate the Protestant Church by fusion. But almost the very opposite was the result. Another way to preserve the collective interests of Protestantism, was that of the *Confederation*, by which the peculiarity and independence of the confessions could be protected, and their common interests be represented with united strength. This way has been largely followed in modern times. The *Gustave-Adolphus Union*, occasioned by the bi-centennial anniversary of the Swedish saviour of the Protestant Church (1832), was formed Oct. 31, 1841, to aid feeble Protestant churches, especially in Roman Catholic countries. All the German States, except Bavaria and Austria, took part in it. The want of a positive creed on the part of the Union, which had a bond of union only in the negation of Roman Catholicism, aroused suspicion from the start in the minds of many churchly persons. But it was just this want of a positive creed which secured for it the sympathies of the masses. The infidel, demagogic element soon gained the ascendency. It is true, a general convention of the Union at Berlin (Sept., 1846) was yet able to exclude the Königsberg delegate *Rupp*, because he with his congregation had apostatized from the Protestant principle; but numberless protestations from branch unions opposed this act in the most decided terms. Those of a churchly spirit now went out of the Union, and in 1847 made the attempt to form a separate churchly one (Berlin, Königsberg). The whole movement fell into stagnation amid the complications of the revolution of 1848; nevertheless in 1849 another general convention (the seventh) was held at Breslau, at which an important decrease of co-operation and of income, but also of unchurchly infidel agitation, was revealed. Since that time, however, the Union has again greatly increased under the superintendence of the prelate *K. Zimmermann* of Darmstadt. Its income has increased from year to year. In 1853 it was $67,244; in the following year $77,218; and in 1858 it was $107,666. The Union, possessing such large means, under careful and well-considered management, has already accomplished great and praiseworthy results; and it will accomplish still more in the future with increasing co-operation and support. Nevertheless, the rigid Lutherans still refuse to have anything to do with it, from confessional interests; and a specifically Lutheran miniature union has been formed at Leipsic under the name of *Gotteskasten*, which seeks to supplement

the Gust. Ad. Union in so far as it proposes chiefly to aid where the latter cannot from fundamental antipathies (ex. gr. the independent Lutherans of Prussia). (Cf. *K. Zimmermann*, d. Gust.-Ad.-Ver. 4. A. Darmst. 1858.)

An attempt to form a still grander and more comprehensive Confederation of all Protestant churches and sects of all countries, chiefly to oppose the progress of the Papacy and of Puseyism, and generally all high-church movements, was made by *Dr. Chalmers* (cf. § 55, 8) in England. After several preliminary meetings, the first great one of the *Evangelical Alliance*, composed of delegates from all lands, was held *in London* in August, 1846. The object of the Alliance was to unite more closely all evangelical Christians on the basis of the great common doctrines of salvation; to defend and extend this common basis of faith with united powers, especially as against the Papacy; and to contend for the freedom of conscience and the religious toleration of all churches and sects, excepting the Papacy. Faith in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, original sin, the divinity of Christ, justification by faith alone, the obligation of both the sacraments, the resurrection of the body, the final judgment, the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal misery of the wicked, was made to be the condition of membership of the Alliance: accordingly, the Baptists were included but the Quakers excluded. In 1855 the Alliance combined its ninth annual meeting with the great industrial exhibition at Paris, and took the form of a church exhibition; inasmuch as the representatives of the single national churches endeavored to present to those present a view of the ecclesiastical condition of the churches. The tenth meeting was held at Berlin in 1857. The committee of the Alliance, with *Sir Culling Eardley* at its head, made every effort to make this meeting the largest and most brilliant. A deputation presented an address to the King of Prussia, in which it was openly declared that the Alliance not only waged war against the Sadducaism, but also against the Pharisaism in the German evangelical church. The confessional Lutherans who from the first opposed the principle and tendency of the Alliance, believed that the latter clause of this declaration was a declaration of war against them. The king, however, received the deputation most graciously; and soon expressed his displeasure concerning the suspicions about the Alliance in a decree, in which he at the same time declared that he connected the highest hopes for the future of the Church with its efforts, and beheld in it a sign of Christian fraternal feeling such as had never yet been realized. Although many distinguished representatives of confessional Lutheranism had also been specially and personally invited to take part in this meeting, not one of them was present. Likewise, the men of the Protest. Kirchenzeitung (cf. § 56, 5) excluded themselves from participating in it, because the nine articles were too orthodox for them. On the other hand, representatives of Pietism, Unionism, and Melanch

thonianism, as also of Methodism, Moravianism, and the Baptists, from all parts of the world, were present in large numbers, and constituted the heads of the ecclesiastical and political liberals. After a great deal had been said about the unity and diversity of the children of God; about the universal priesthood; about the superiority of the present meeting to the œcumenical councils of the early church; about the want of spiritual life in the churches, in spite of the return of theology to the churchly confessions, etc., with laudation of the efforts of the Alliance and indirect thrusts at half Roman Catholic Lutheranism and its deification of the sacraments and the ministry, whereby the theology of rhetoric was able to expatiate,—in addition also to many excellent and appropriate words (ex. gr. by *Nitsch*, *Merle d'Aubigné*, et al.), the ominous kiss with which *Merle d'Aubigné*, although resisting, greeted Chevalier *Bunsen*, or rather the excited feeling with which Lic. *Krummacher* made a report concerning it to the meeting, introduced a harsh discord into the concert. Court-preacher *Beyschlag*, besides, combated the churchly doctrine of inspiration, with the acknowledgment of which, however, the nine articles connected the privilege of membership; and Prof. *Schlottmann* proposed rather to cast aside the whole of the nine articles, as to the present form of which, at all events, only the least number of those present were agreed. The gracious royal reception of the members of the Alliance, at which Lic. *Krummacher* gave expression to his overflowing feelings in the words: "Your majesty, we all ought not to fall at your feet, but upon your neck!" was glorified by his brother, Dr. *F. W. Krummacher*, as a suggestive prelude of the great scene of greeting at the day of judgment. *Sir Culling* decreed: "There is no longer a German Ocean!" *Lord Shaftesbury* announced in London that a new epoch in the world's history had begun with the meeting at Berlin; and others returning home spoke of it as a second Whitsuntide. Dr. *Krummacher*, however, exclaimed prophetically, at the beginning of the meeting, in his address of welcome: "O heart-stirring mirage!" Since then the German branch of the Alliance in Berlin has established in its service a "*Neue* evangelische Kirchenzeitung" (1859), of which Hengstenberg has complained as an unwarrantable theft of title.

A kindred institution is the *Evangelical Church Diet* in Germany. When in 1848 the State was compelled to abandon its Christian character and the sovereign episcopacy of the Protestant princes was called into question by the revolution in Germany, a number of the most distinguished churchly-minded theologians, clergymen, and laymen, met together in September, 1848, in the first church diet at *Wittenberg*, to form an *Evangelical Church Alliance for Germany*, which had for its object the support and independent organization of the evangelical churches in an orderly and legal way, not by means of a union which obliterated all confessional differences, but by means of a churchly confederation. The Lutheran, Reformed, United, and Moravian Churches

were first of all embraced within it. The second general church diet was again held at Wittenberg in September, 1849. The strict Lutherans for the most part had withdrawn; the churchly Lutherans of Silesia were not at all represented. The Lutheran conference, which had been held a short time before at Leipsic under the presidency of *Harless*, declared expressly that the Wittenberg confederation of churches of different confessions was impracticable and irreconcilable with the principles of the Lutheran Church. The formation of a church alliance, such as was originally contemplated, has been entirely abandoned by the church diet, since the political reaction has also restored the ecclesiastical power of the princes. It has since then held its annual meetings in the chief German cities in turn, and has succeeded in preserving a tolerably active co-operation. The presidency has been regularly conferred on the jurist *Bethmann-Hollweg*. Vital church questions and the means by which to revive a churchly feeling and life have been thoroughly discussed by it. Such discussions have, doubtless, exerted a wholesome influence on many who were present; but the attempts to influence, by deputations and letters to evangelical and Roman Catholic princes, the principles of government in States having established churches, have been for the most part coolly or ironically frustrated. At the church diet at *Berlin* (1853) the proposition was made, openly to declare that the Augustana of 1530 was the oldest and simplest common record of publicly acknowledged evangelical doctrines in Germany,—without prejudice, however, to the Reformed interpretation of the tenth article,—and that it was still the common creed of all present. After some opposition and necessary protestation, even the Reformed present agreed; but not only the Schleiermacherans of the left wing protested against this demonstration, which they regarded as hostile to the Union, but also "some teachers of theology and canon law" of the universities of Erlangen, Leipsic, and Rostock, entered publicly a protest in the name of the Lutheran Church against this sham confession of the church diet as being an offence against the treasure of the evangelical church and an undermining of its legal status. At *Stutgart* (1857) there were violent debates concerning heathen missions and evangelical catholicity, between *those* representatives of confessional Lutheranism, who till now had remained faithful to the Diet, and the Unionist majority. *Hamburg* received the church diet of 1858 very unwillingly into its midst. Hamburg newspapers opposed it with such effect, that the police regarded it as necessary to adopt extraordinary measures to prevent street-scandals. The transactions were of less importance than ever before. *Stahl* and *Hengstenberg* were brilliant for the first time by their absence. Bethmann-Hollweg, then already designated for the ministry of Prussia, also presided probably for the last time over the church diet in Hamburg.

The Protestant governments of Germany, following the example of

Prussia and Würtemberg, also seized the idea of confederative unity. Already in 1846 a so-called *Evangelical Conference* met at Berlin, at which most of the governments were represented. It endeavored in vain to establish a common basis of doctrines, and was sunk into oblivion by the events of following years. But in 1852 the project was again agitated and carried through with great perseverance. The *Eisenach Conference* met at first annually, then every two years (1852–53–55 . . . .), to confer officially concerning the manner in which the German Protestant governments acted with regard to questions of worship, government, and discipline. It established an official organ for publishing all German church-boards ("Allg. Kirchenblatt f. d. ev. Dtschl. herausg. v. *C. G. Moser*, Stuttg. 1852, ff.), and accomplished much important preparatory labor, but it has also had its difficulties to contend with. (Cf. below, § 8.)

6. *Lutheranism.*—The organization of those Prussian Lutherans, who had separated from the established church into the church college in Breslau, was at first also disapproved of by otherwise rigidly churchly Lutherans in and beyond Prussia, in so far as by them (in opposition to the principle of the Lutheran Church) great importance seemed to be attached to the form of church government and to institutions such as could only belong to the confession. It is true, that during the first period of conflict and sifting, here and there phenomena may have appeared, which approached near to Donatism and Novatianism. These, however, were more and more overcome and removed in the course of progress, and with them the disinclination from that quarter was gradually removed. Since the persecutions and oppressions to which they were subjected have been brought to an end, their church affairs have assumed a more decided and prosperous form. And even though *Guericke* thought it necessary to separate from them on account of supposed violence done to his conscience to preserve his theological freedom, still foreign Lutherans (in Bavaria and Saxony, etc.) had no hesitation in maintaining fraternal fellowship with them. Their communion embraces about 40,000 to 50,000 souls, who are ministered to by 40 preachers under seven superintendents.

As the revolution of 1848 undermined the form which the Prussian established church had hitherto assumed, and had made its continuance more than doubtful, the Lutherans who had remained within the established church also took fresh hope, that through the new organization of church government they would also be able to again assert the rights of the Lutheran Church of their country. To accomplish this end, *Lutheran provincial Unions* were formed in Silesia, Posen, Pomerania, Saxony, etc.; and on the evening preceding the second Wittenberg church diet, they, through their deputies, formed themselves into a *Collective Union*, under the presidency of *Göschel*. In a public proclamation to the Lutheran congregations, it declared that it desired earnestly and zealously to agitate the restoration of the Prus-

sian Lutheran Church to all its well-earned and legally guaranteed rights, and to insist upon the preservation or renewal of Lutheran confession, worship, and church government, together with Lutheran congregational order, but to disapprove of secession from the established church, because it involved a voluntary and premature abandonment of rights. With the full knowledge and the unconcealed statement of this separatistic tendency the Union then became a member of the general church diet, from which, however, its adherents have since then gradually withdrawn.

Among the Lutheran established churches, which would have nothing to do with the Union, are especially those of *Bavaria, Saxony,* and *Mecklenburg;* and *Hanover* also in part, where Lutheranism has most strongly developed itself. To them may be added yet the church of *Livonia,* which, though externally isolated, is nevertheless rooted with all the fibres of its being in the Lutheran Church, in which also within a decade a synodal life has unfolded itself, which many a foreign established church on closer acquaintance with it might envy.—The *Lutheran Conference at Leipsic,* first brought about by *Rudelbach,* was also of significance for the awakening and vivifying of Lutheran churchly consciousness. The thesis maintained by *Löhe, Delitzsch,* and *Kahnis,* that adhesion to the Lutheran symbols unconditionally excluded from partaking of the Lord's Supper with the Reformed *as such,* gave great offence to the Unionists and Reformed. Nevertheless, others, ex. gr. *Höfling* and *Thomasius,* have expressed more moderate views on this subject. A wide difference has arisen among German Lutherans about the *spiritual office,* which the one party (*Löhe, Kliefoth, Krabbe, Petri, Münchmeyer, Vilmar,* etc.) regard as an institution of direct divine appointment, although without any Romanizing or Anglicanizing succession tendency; the other (*Höfling, Philippi, Hofmann, Harnack, Thomasius, Huschke, Harless, Kahnis,* etc.) only as being conditioned by the word and sacraments, necessary to their proper administration, and rooted in the spiritual priesthood. The *Conference of Reichenbach,* to which the most important theologians of both theories assembled in order to come to an understanding about this difference (1856), was only perfectly unanimous in the negation of the Catholic doctrine and Romanizing one-sidedness. Great offence was occasioned by the meeting of Lutheran friends at *Rothenmoor* in Mecklenburg (1858), where, in discussing the passage: "A man that is a heretic, reject," remarks such as this were made, a true Lutheran could not pray with a Reformed; but they were also deservedly repelled and repudiated (especially by Prof. *Dieckhof* of Göttingen). Still the responsibility of that remark is to be measured hereby, that the treatment of this subject was only incidental, and the remark itself was only applicable to those cases where fellowship in prayer could be regarded as being at the same time fellowship in faith; and, uttered in

the private circle of friends, it had been made public through unforeseen abuse of confidence.

7. *Melanchthonianism and Calvinism.*— This intensification of the Lutheran consciousness within and without the Union also aroused here and there the Reformed consciousness, to strengthen which *Ebrard* established in 1851 the "Reformirte Kirchenzeitung." He conducted it for several years, when, having been placed at the head of a *Union* established church (Rhenish Bavaria) by changed official position, he transferred it to *Charles Göbel* of Erlangen. The Reformed Church of Germany occupied from the beginning a middle position between Lutheranism and Calvinism, which certainly was closely related to later Melanchthonianism. Such a diluted Calvinism is also the banner of this Kirchenzeitung. *Ebrard* even undertakes to prove that the rigid doctrine of predestination is only a sporadic extreme of the Reformed system of doctrines, against which *Al. Schweizer*, from purely scientific interest ("Reformirte Dogmatik;" "Die protest. Centraldogmen in ihrer Entwickel. in d. ref. K."), has shown, that the doctrine of predestination is rather the all-ruling, all-conditioning soul of the same, and that its admirable power, fulness, depth, and consistency, is directly grounded in it. But *Heppe* of Marburg went even further than Ebrard by the discovery of a *Melancthonian church* ("Die confessionelle Entwickel. d. altprot. K. Deutschlands," 1854). Here we learn that synergistic, and, on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Calvinistic Melanchthonianism (which only appeared since 1540!), constituted the *original* evangelical, Protestant church of Germany; that only after Luther's death, fanatics, who would be more Lutheran than Luther himself, established the so-called Lutheran Church, and perfected it by the formula of Concord; that the Calvinizing of the Palatinate, Hessia, Brandenburg, and Anhalt, was only a reaction against hyper- and pseudo-Lutheranism, a restoration of the original Melanchthonian church, and the modern Consensus-Union was only the completion of this Restitution. (Cf. § 21, 1.)

But genuine and rigid *Calvinism* had also, in this century, its zealous adherents, not only in Scotland and the Netherlands (§ 55), but also in Germany, especially in Wupperthal. The excellent *Gottfr. Dan. Krummacher*, since 1816 preacher in Elberfeld (*ob.* 1837), and for a time his nephew *Fred. W. Krummacher* in Barmen (then Unionist court-preacher at Potsdam), were here its enthusiastic apostles. When in 1835 the Prussian government made every preparation to force the introduction of the Union also in Wupperthal, and threatened the resistant Reformed preachers with deposition, there arose an excitement here among the Reformed scarcely less violent than that among the Lutherans in Silesia. The clergy, with the majority of their church-members, finally accepted the liturgy of the Union, adding the clause, however, so far as it agreed with the nature of the Reformed ritual. But a portion of the congregations, and of them many of their most

excellent members, separated, and persistently rejected all overtures of reunion. The royal act of tolerance of 1847 (§ 55, 1) gave them finally the privilege of organizing an independent congregation at Elberfeld, which called *Dr. Kohlbrügge* to be their pastor (he was formally preacher of the restored Lutheran church at Amsterdam [§ 51, 4], then forced from this position through a contest with a rationalizing colleague, and since then became one of the most enthusiastic adherents of the doctrines of the council of Dort, by the study of Calvin's writings), and represents, under the name of the *Dutch Reformed Church*, the only anti-unionistic, rigidly Reformed congregation in Germany. (Cf. *F. W. Krug*, krit. Geschichte d. Schwarmerei, etc. Elbf. p. 257, ff.)

8. *Complications with regard to Worship.*— The *hymn-books* of the established churches almost everywhere were brought into a condition which bordered on the miserable and insipid, both as regards their religious and asthetic character, by the vandalism of Illumination. Although there existed more than 80,000 sacred hymns, there nevertheless existed a complete famine in regard to sacred music. Only among the old fathers and mothers of the people did there still live reminiscences and echoes of the richness and blessedness of the hymns of the evangelical church. These made themselves again felt through the revived religious life, and demanded the repossession of the stolen or squandered inheritance of the fathers. The noble poet *Moritz Arndt* was the first who entered the lists in its behalf (Vom Wort u. v. Kirchenlied. Bonn, 1819). The want, which became daily more felt, called forth at first a series of private attempts to reintroduce the old hymns (the Berlin Liederschatz by *Elsner*, the Collections by *C. v. Raumer*, *Bunsen*, *Stier*, *A. Knapp*, *Daniel*, *Layritz*, *Stip*, etc.) These were only here and there introduced into use in public worship, but bestowed only the greater blessing upon family worship, and are also of importance as preliminary labors for churchly official reform. The Würtemberg established church published as early as 1842 a new hymn-book, which, being prepared according to *Grüneisen's* mediating principles, met the churchly demands, in spite of its defects, in a measure that could scarcely be hoped for amid the destructive tendencies of the times. In other Protestant countries, provinces, and cities, better hymn-books have already been introduced, or at least are being prepared. But in not a few countries and towns the despotism of rationalistic church authorities adheres firmly to the hymnological acquisitions of Illumination even to the present day. The conference of Eisenach published (1853) a collection of 150 classic hymns (accompanied with the old rhythmic melodies), designed to serve as an appendix to all existing hymn-books, and as a basis for all new ones. It required great labor to establish the principle that the year 1750 should be the terminus ad quem of selection. *W. Wackernagel* desired the unchanged original text, and as he was not able to accomplish this, he withrew from the

commission; *Geffken* of Hamburg did the same for the contrary reason, and produced a selection of his own, which, however, was laid to one side. Meanwhile, only a few established churches have to this time adopted the Eisenach collection, among which is the Bavarian, which has taken it up in its new hymn-book, which is now indisputably the best of all used by the established churches.

The *want of a choral-book* was not less than that of a hymn-book. The first occasion for discussion on this subject was given in 1814 by a proclamation of the Prussian king, *Frederick William* III., concerning a preparatory reform of Protestant worship, by which the liturgy should again become prominent. *Natorp* of Münster expressed himself strongly in 1817 concerning the necessity of restoring the choral to its ancient honor and simplicity; among his numerous successors the distinguished jurist *Thibaut* of Heidelberg ("Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst") still deserves special mention. The reform of the choral was carried on the most vigorously in Würtemberg. The attempt to revive church music through the introduction of quartette tunes alone (according to the choral-book by *Kocher*), without taking up again the old rhythm and the original form of the melodies, failed entirely (1828). A new choral-book, prepared under *Grüneisen's* auspices (1843), admitted the unanimous singing of the congregation, with rich organ accompaniments, introduced a much greater number of the older choice melodies, but had not the courage also to restore the original rhythm, urgently as *Hauber* contended for it (in d. deutsch Viertaljahrsschr. 1841, IV.) Able preliminary contributions towards a reform of church music were made by the excellent work by *Winterfeld* (der ev. Kirchenges. Lpz. 1843, 2 Bde.) and by the collections of *G. v. Tucher* (Schatz des ev. Kirchenges. Lpz. 1848, 2 Bde.) and of *Fr. Layritz*, the Gütersloher Hauschoralbuch, the eisenacher Kernlieder, etc.

During the period of Illumination all love for the *Liturgy* in worship had been entirely lost, and the new liturgies were, if possible, for the most part more insipid than the new hymn-books. The Prussian Union liturgy, therefore, marks a decided progress towards something better, in spite of its defects. The representatives of the Lutheran Church returned to the old Lutheran liturgies, in their movements of reform. The Reformed overcame more and more their old antipathy for what was liturgical. Purely liturgical worship, accompanied, where it was possible, with artistic music, spread abroad from Berlin. The Eisenach Conference declared itself to be unfit to undertake joint Lutheran preliminary labors; and the representatives of purely Lutheran established churches held liturgical conferences at Dresden (1852, 1854, 1856), for which *Kliefoth* of Schwerin contributed the preliminaries.

9. *Home Missions.* (Cf. *Wichern*, die innere Mission der deutsch ev. K. Eine Denkschr. etc. Hamb. 1840.—*The same*, Fliegende Blätter des rauhen Hauses. Hamb. 1849 ff.)—The Protestant Church was for a long time behind the Roman Catholic Church in regard to Home Mis-

sious, but since the beginning of this period it has begun to cancel this debt with interest. England, with its stirring activity in promoting the kingdom of God, leads the way. Here it is the Dissenters especially who have distinguished themselves in this work. Germany has contributed something of importance, considering the humble means which Pietism and churchliness here have afforded. In the other countries of the continent, but especially in North America, much has been done for Home Missions. The result is, that to-day the entire Protestant world is embraced in a net of benevolent and philanthropic institutions, which have proceeded from specifically Christian motives, and which regard temporal aid and relief as being the basis of spiritual help. A quite special earnestness and zeal for Home Missions resulted from the revolutionary complications of modern times, which were well adapted to place in the clearest light the insufficiency of the efforts thus far made, and the crying necessity for increased activity. The restlessly active *Wichern* travelled through Protestant Germany in 1849, for the sole purpose of awakening an interest in this work; and in the autumn of the same year a *Congress for Home Missions*, which was to reassemble annually, met in Wittenberg in connection with the second Church Diet. The object of this congress was to combine the individual efforts made for Home Missions into one organization. Here also objections were made by the Lutherans, viz. that the organization of such unions under the direction of a central board, connected with disregard of creeds and of congregational boundaries, was to be decidedly condemned,—and that from the point of view that then Home Missions would place themselves by the side of the church and undermine its foundation. Further, it was said that what Home Missions had in view was, it is true, a work of necessity, but that it should be done upon the basis of the churchly confession within each and every congregation. To these were added many other objections, ex. gr. that Home Missions had become to many interested in them a matter of pious fashion, an opus operatum; that a methodistic spirit, a stiff mechanism, and a restless spirit of work, which were not born of the spirit of the gospel, had crept in; that the ostentatious display of figures and numbers was in bold contrast with Matt. 6 : 3; that working upon the masses accomplished nothing, but rather that *each single* erring sheep must be followed into the wilderness with unwearying faithfulness, etc.; although, meanwhile, it was declared most emphatically that all these objections did not hold against the thing itself, but only against the form it had assumed.—A review of only the most important institutions for the advancement of Home Missions would fill pages. We can here only mention a few of the most important, especially German institutions, which became at the same time mother and model institutions for numberless others of a like character. The oldest is the House of Refuge of Count *Recke-Volmarstein at Düsselthal* since 1816; next the *Institution for Teachers of Charity-Schools and the Juvenile Asylum at*

Beugyen (since 1820), conducted by the excellent *Zeller*. From it have gone forth hundreds of teachers for charity-schools and houses of refuge. Since 1826 the *Martin's foundation in Erfurt* has existed under *Rheinthaler's* direction, which also has stimulated to the establishment of many similar institutions. The *Rough House in Hamburg*, under Wichern's direction (since 1833) has distinguished itself above all others by its compass and far-reaching labors. In 1836 pastor *Fliedner* established the *Institution of deaconesses* at *Kaiserswerth* for the care of the sick. This institution was enlarged from year to year, and led to the establishment of many similar ones in Germany, England, and France. By the side of these unions there existed several societies for the care of released *criminals*, with numerous similar societies. There are *asylums for infants* and sunday-schools almost in every town and city. In France the *Evangelical Society* labored with great and beneficent success, and *De Valenti* established the *Evangelists' School* near Berne. In many places *pastoral aid societies* were formed. The unemployed abilities of *candidates* were called into requisition, *prison* and *itinerant preachers* were appointed, and religious agencies were brought to bear upon the numerous emigrants, laborers in manufactories, on railroads, etc.; Magdalene asylums, Christian associations for journeymen and youths, Christian hotels, popular libraries, temperance societies, saving funds, numberless asylums for vagrant children, etc., were established. *Tract Societies* in London, Hamburg, Berlin, etc., sent forth millions of tracts of an awakening and instructive character. The *Union for Northern Germany* published larger works of the same character. The *Calver Publication Union* published Christian text and school-books with wood-cuts, at the lowest price. In Berlin an *evangelical Book-Union* was formed to spread the orthodox treasures of the older ascetic literature. Christian women and maidens, following the bright example of the English Quakeress, *Elizabeth Fry*, the noble *Amelia Sieveking* of Hamburg, etc., rendered invaluable services everywhere, in behalf of Home Missions, among the needy and suffering of their race. A *Society for Home Missions in the sense of the Lutheran Church* was established by Löhe in Bavaria, in connection with an institution of deaconesses at Neudettalsau.

The *Bible Societies* constituted an independent branch of Home Missions. Modern Bible societies (cf. § 46, 6) originated in England. The great *British and Foreign Bible Society*, in which all Protestant denominations and sects participated, even the Quakers, was formed in London in 1804, as a necessary supplement of the missionary societies. It distributed, from principle, only Bibles without human addition, consequently without the Apocrypha, without remarks and explanations, mostly also without heads of chapters and parallel passages. In regard to the Apocrypha, concerning the non-admission of which the statutes say nothing expressly, there was a violent controversy (1825-27), which ended with the complete victory of the enemies of

the Apocrypha. It was decided that all pecuniary support should be refused to all societies and persons who circulated Bibles with the Apocrypha, the Bibles already bound be delivered up, and the proceeds from the same be handed over to the chief London society. More than fifty societies on the continent separated from the northern society in consequence of this action. The great North American society fully agrees with the principles of the London society. The Baden Missionary Union renewed the controversy in Germany, by making the opposition to the Apocrypha the subject of a prize essay (1852). The learned essay by *Ph. Fr. Keerl* received the first prize; the popular one by *E. Kluge* received the second. Decided Lutherans (Krausshold, Wild) also approved the condemnation. *Stier and Hengstenberg*, on the other hand, defended the introduction of it; and most of the consistories advised to adhere to the old practice, because every abuse and misunderstanding was prevented by the Lutheran title, as also by the prohibition to select texts for sermons from it. All the Protestant Bible societies have distributed, within the last fifty years, about 50,000,000 of Bibles and New Testaments, in almost 200 languages.

The series of *annotated Bibles* of this century was opened by *Dinter's* rationalistic "Schullehrerbibel" (1826 ff.) In opposition to it is *Phil. H. Brandt's* evangelical "Schullehrerbibel" (only the N. T. 1829 ff.) *Richter's* "Erklärte Hausbibel" and *Lisco's* "Bibelwerk" have been far excelled by *Gerlach's* work (continued by *Schmieder*); all three, however, have been pitched too high for the middle and lower classes. *Besser's* "Erklarungen N. Tl. Bücher" ("Bibelstunden") have furnished an unsurpassed model for the *churchly prayer-meetings*, which have been established everywhere within several decades. In regard to *devotional literature*, modern times have done the most and best by republishing the treasures of the 16th and 17th centuries.

10. *Foreign Missions.*[37] (Cf. *J. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. ev. Mission. Hamb. 1845. 2 Bde. — *J. H. Brauer*, d. Missionswes. d. ev. K. in. s. Bestandé. Hamb. 1847–51. 2 Bde. — *K. Wild*, Umschau auf. d. Arbeitsfelde d. ev. Mission. Nördl. 1854. — *A. Ostertag*, übersichtl. Gesch. der protest. Missionen von d. Ref. bis zur Gegenw. Stuttg. 1858.) — The zeal of Protestant Christendom for missions among the heathen, which received such a mighty impulse towards the end of the previous century (cf. § 51, 5), has continued to increase to the present day. The missionary societies (trunk and branch) have increased from year to year. There exist now in the Protestant world thirty-four great chief societies with numberless branches, which yearly expend about $8,000,000 on missions, and support at 1600 mission stations 4000 European and American missionaries and an equal number of native helpers. England still holds the first place in this work; next to it are North America and Germany. The Moravians also maintain their old reputation in this department of Christian labor. Distinguished among the modern chief societies (with more or less branches) within the *Reformed Church*

are the *American Board of Foreign Missions* (since 1810) and the *American Baptist Missionary Union* (since 1814). Besides these, North America has a Methodist and an Episcopal missionary society of importance. The most of the modern societies in Germany are connected, in principle, with the *United* church. The most important are the *Basle* (since 1816), the *Berlin* (since 1823), the *Rhenish*, with the missionary seminary at Barmen (since 1829), (which has more of a confederate character with predominant Lutheran elements) — and the *North German Society* (since 1836), binding its missionaries to the Augsburg Confession, with the exclusion, however, of the other Lutheran confessional works. The missionary school, established in 1800 by Jänicke at Berlin, has a modified Lutheran character; it has been followed in this respect by the *Gosnerish* Missionary Society. The *Dresden Missionary Society* (since 1836) has assumed a decidedly Lutheran character. Its seminary was removed in 1848 to Leipsic, so that its pupils might derive advantage from the university. It has resumed the old Lutheran missionary work in East India (§ 57, 7). The question of caste caused a threatening disagreement for a time, but the danger is now over. In Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Baltic provinces, in Bavaria, Hanover, Mecklenburg, Hesse, and North America, exclusively Lutheran societies, partly independent, partly in connection with Dresden-Leipsic, have been formed; *Cassel* directs its efforts especially to China. Worthy of special mention yet is the *Hermannsburg* institution under the direction of pastor *L. Harms*, which sent out its own missionary-ship in 1853, to establish a mission among the Gallas in Africa. Altogether, 15 chief societies have now 1581 missionaries, with 1311 native helpers, at 862 stations. The number of converts amounts to about 700,000. A distinguished service also rendered by evangelical missions is the abolition of the *slave-trade* by the great powers of Europe (1830), and the emancipation of all slaves in the English colonies (since 1834), for which the English nation sacrificed $120,000,000. The noble *Wilberforce* (*ob.* 1833) devoted his life to the accomplishment of this object. New societies were also formed in England, Germany, and France, to sustain missions among the Jews; and though much labor has been performed, but little has resulted from them.

If we begin a review of Protestant missions with Northern Europe, the Swedish mission in *Lapland* first comes into view, which, having been resumed by the excellent *Stockfleth* since 1825 (§ 39, 6), has greatly flourished. In North America we meet the highly favored mission of the Moravians in *Greenland* and *Labrador*. Moravian, Methodist, Baptist, and Protestant Episcopal missionaries, have labored with success among the aborigines and slaves of *North America* and the *West Indies*. The Moravians have also established missions on the Mosquito coasts and in Paramaribo in *South America*. On the west coast of *Africa*, the *Sierre-Leone* colony was established by Eng-

land to colonize and Christianize emancipated negro slaves. For the same purpose the colony of *Liberia*, further south, was established from the United States. Both are in a flourishing condition through the labors of Methodist, Baptist, and Protestant Episcopal missionaries. On the *Gold Coast* the Gospel has been introduced by the Basle, in old Calahar by the Baptist, on Gaboon river by the American and the North German Society. Cape-town is the point of departure of Christian civilization for *South Africa*. The missionary labors of the Moravians were here specially successful among the Hottentots; the Berlin missionaries labored among the Corannas, and the evangelical French society among the Betschuans. The pupils of the Barmen seminary penetrated deeper into the interior of the west coast than had ever been trod by a European, amid unspeakable hardships. They labored among the Hottentots, Namaquas, Damaras, and Hereros. The missionary *Hahn* of Livland is worthy of special mention as the apostle of the Hereros. On the east coast the London society gained a wide field of labor among the Caffres. Further towards the north on the east coast the Anglicans labored, and the Hermannsburg society sought a field among the Gallas. On the island of *Madagascar* the London mission (since 1818) converted the King *Radama* to Christianity. His successor, the Queen *Ranavalona*, inaugurated in 1835 a bloody persecution against the Christians, by which also the apostle of the Madagascars, *David Jones*, received the martyr's crown (1843). The persecution continues to the present day, and it has not yet been able entirely to exterminate Christianity. But since the successor to the throne is a Christian, better times are in prospect. An Anglican bishopric exists on the island of *Mauritius*, whither also many Christians of Madagascar fled. In *Abyssinia* the missionaries *Gobat*, *Isenburg*, and *Krapf*, have labored (1835–43) to revive the dead national church, but they were compelled to withdraw on account of the enmity of the native priests and the machinations of papist missionaries. In *Algiers* the missionary *Ewald* labored among the Jews until 1842. If we go to *Asia*, we find American missionaries specially active in the *Turkish* provinces, striving to revive the old churches by the establishment of common schools. An *evangelical bishopric*, hovering between Union and Confederation, and uniting home with foreign missions, has been established at *Jerusalem* (1841) by the English and Prussian crowns, as the centre of ecclesiastical labors in behalf of the dispersed Protestants in the Orient, and of evangelical missions among the oriental Jews. The choice of bishops alternates between the two crowns, but ordination and rites have been yielded to the Anglican Church. The first bishop *Alexander*, a Jewish proselyte, died in 1845. His successor was the excellent missionary *Gobat*. A missionary field, which has again in the 19th century been diligently cultivated, is *East India*, where quite peculiar difficulties stand in the way of missionary labors: the strict castes, the proud self-sufficiency of the pantheistic Brahmins,

even the politico-commercial interests of the East India company, etc. The old Lutheran missionary harvest (§ 47, 7) was for the most part gathered by the Anglican Church. The Lord-bishop *Heber* (*ob.* 1826) gained great renown in connection with this mission. The missionary *Rhenius* of West Prussia also labored here in the service of the Anglican Church with great success. But as he was not able to accept unconditionally the principles of the Anglican Church, a rupture occurred, and he labored from this time forward to his death (1838) on his own responsibility in the Lutheran spirit. His successor *Müller* again submitted to the Anglican Church (1841). The missionaries of the Dresden (Leipsic) society have again collected the remnants of the East Indian Lutheran Church, which has now six chief stations there with a wide field of labor. In addition to it, American, English, and German missionaries, of almost all creeds, labor in India and the Indian archipelago. The military insurrection in the northern part of East India (1857) suspended the mission there for almost two years. It is to be hoped that when it is suppressed, they will only flourish the more. In *China*, *Gützlaff* of Pomerania, succeeding *Morrison*, labored with unparalleled boldness and unwearied patience on his own responsibility, in spite of all difficulties. Since China has been in a measure opened to Europeans by the English war (1842), the institutions of evangelical missions have assumed a more grand and systematic character under Gützlaff's direction, to conquer the heavenly kingdom by the Gospel. Since the rebellion of the new son of heaven (*Tien-ti*) in 1852 (a descendant of the old king dynasty, which has been banished for 200 years, who received instructions from an evangelical missionary at Canton, and acknowledges the revelations of God made through Moses and Christ, but declares that he is the younger brother of Christ) fresh hopes for the success of missions were kindled, and missionaries from all countries were sent thither. But the rebellious son of heaven only manifested the disposition to become a second Mohammed. The conflict of the governor of Canton with the English, French, and Americans, and the punishment which was therefor inflicted in part (1857), made the emperor finally (1858) willing to make a treaty with these three powers, as also with Russia, according to which the whole country was to be thrown open to trade, and missions and the free exercise of religion was granted to Christians. About the same time also, after 300 years' seclusion, *Japan* was opened to European and American trade, and, it is to be hoped, also to Christian missions. The Protestant missions in *Polynesia* have been the most successful of all through the labors of English and American missionaries. The apostle of the South Sea Islands, *John Williams*, died a martyr (1839). The flourishing evangelical church at *Tahiti* was, however, severely afflicted by the unprecedented violence of French ships in 1837, the Queen *Pomare* was abused, the country was placed under French protectorate, and not only Roman Catholic missionaries, but also French dissoluteness,

were forced upon the country. In 1851, missionary labor on the *Sandwich Islands* may be regarded as having been completed, and the church there as a Protestant established church. The results of missions among the Cannibals of *New Zealand* (of whom *Sam. Marsden* was the apostle) were small, as also among the stupid aborigines of *Australia*, where even the labors of the Moravians have been almost fruitless.

§ 55. THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHED CHURCHES.[38]

The year 1814, with its new order of things, carried out by the Congress of Vienna (1817), with its movements towards union, which produced the large body of full-armored men, who are battling even to the present time, — and finally, the political revolutionary years 1830 and 1848, with their liberal conquest even in the sphere of the church, constituted epochs for the development of most of the Protestant established churches. In 1848 the idea of established churches seemed to have been rooted out almost everywhere and forever. But the democratic experiments of church government of this year demonstrated, that if the separation of the Church from the State was to be generally beneficial for Europe, it was not so yet at this time, and the restoration of the following years preserved the church from boundless confusion and unavoidable dissolution into numberless atoms.

1. *Prussia.* (Cf. *O. Krabbe*, d. ev. Landeskirche Preussens u. ihre offentl. Rechtsverhältnisse. Berl. 1849.)—With reference to the *evangelical* established church of Prussia (cf. § 54), *Frederick William* IV. declared that he only desired to hold the superior direction of the church, in order that it might progress in an orderly and legal way to independence. The realization of this royal declaration and wish was inaugurated after an ecclesiastical conference at Berlin, composed of delegates from almost all German countries, accomplished nothing, by a Prussian *General Synod*, which was opened at Berlin on Whitsunday, 1846. The synod at its 18th session proceeded to the consideration of the difficult question of doctrine and confession. The result of the same was the adoption of a formula of ordination proposed by *Dr. Nitzsch*, whereby the ordinandus was required to believe in the principal fundamental truths of salvation instead of the hitherto ecclesiastical confession. But as the doctrines of creation, original sin, the supernatural conception, the descent of Christ into hell, and His ascension to heaven, the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, eternal life and eternal destruction, were not expressly embraced in

these fundamental truths, and consequently were not regarded as obligatory, and further, since the Lutheran and Reformed peculiar doctrinal position was practically abolished by this formula of ordination, and with it the existence of a Lutheran as well as of a Reformed Church within the Union, a small minority of Lutherans already protested against it at the synod; numerous still more decided and powerful protests were made outside of the synod, to which the columns of the evang. Kirchenzeitung were opened. The government gave no authority to the proceedings of the synod, and profane mockers displayed their wit on the unfortunate Nicænum of the 19th century. On the other hand, however, the king issued a *patent of tolerance*, March 1847, by which sovereign protection was anew guaranteed to the existing churches; but all who did not find in them the expression of their faith, were allowed to form new religious societies. But when the storm of revolution broke in 1848, no State was more threatened with unchristianization than Prussia. The minister of worship, Count *Schwerin*, was ready to grant a reorganization of the Church according to the wishes of the popular majority, expressed by a synod. But before this synod could assemble the reaction had already commenced. The transition minister *Ladenberg* obtained the opinion of consistories and faculties, who collectively made prominent the danger of such a synod. Instead of the synod, therefore, a *High-consistory* was formed in Berlin, which was independent of the ministry, and placed only under the king as præcipuum membrum ecclesiæ, and which was to represent the demanded freedom of the Church from the State as already realized in it. At the same time a *Church-order* was recommended and largely introduced, which constituted a consistory in every congregation, which was bound by the three œcumenical and the Reformed symbols agreeing with them. On the 6th of March, 1852, the king issued a government order, according to which the High-consistory should not only govern the evangelical established church in its collective character, but also guard the interests of the Lutheran and of the Reformed Church; and to this end it was to be composed of members of both these churches, each of which were only to decide questions touching *their* own church. *Dr. Nitzsch* alone remained after the itio in partes occasioned in this board on this account, and declared that he was able to find the expression of his religious convictions in neither of the confessions, but only in the consensus of both. The difficulty was obviated by regarding him as the representative of congregations holding the same views. Encouraged to entertain bolder hopes by such connivance in high places, the Lutheran Union presented a petition to the king, subscribed by 161 clergymen, in which the restoration of Lutheran faculties and of Lutheran church property was demanded. This demand was answered by an unfavorable government order, July 12, 1853, in which the king expressed his just displeasure at such misinterpretation of the order of the previous year,

and made the solemn declaration that it was never his intention to disturb, much less to destroy, the Union founded by his father, now resting in God; he only desired to secure for confession within the Union *the* protection to which it had unquestionable claim. Since then, the special interests of the Lutheran Church, which for a time seemed to be favored, have been in visible and increasing disfavor.—The High-consistory, meanwhile, continued to manifest great activity, and to adopt many wholesome regulations. To these belong the general church and school visitations of 1852, though carried out with too much noisy and theatrical display. The ostensible favor with which the king regarded the efforts of the evangelical alliance (1857, § 54, 5), was the last evidence of decided aversion to confessional churchly efforts which Frederick William IV. was able to manifest. A tedious and, as it appeared, hopeless disease compelled him to transfer the government into the hands of his brother Will. I. When the prince-regent (Oct. 1858) began to reign in his own name, he declared, in an address to his newly-chosen ministry, that it was his firm determination to maintain and promote the evangelical Union, whose beneficent progress was impeded and almost destroyed by an orthodoxy which was incompatible with the very essence of the evangelical church. But in order to accomplish this task it was necessary that the organs used should be carefully chosen and partly changed. All hypocrisy and sham-piety, however, were to be unmasked wherever they appeared. *Hengstenberg's* and *Erbkam's* (in Königsberg) withdrawal from the examining commission for situations in the higher schools, *Stahl's* formal, but long-sought-for, withdrawal from the High-consistory, and the relaxation of the strict procedure against the free congregations which hitherto prevailed, as also the greater connivance of the government at the demands of the liberals in regard to the question of divorce (by conceding a facultative civil marriage), are at present the only evidences of a changed policy in the government with regard to ecclesiastical affairs.

2. The present *Kingdom of Saxony* has had Roman Catholic princes since 1697, but the Roman Catholic Church has only been able to acquire territory in the immediate vicinity of the court. The government of the evangelical church resides, by a treaty, in the ministers commissioned in evangelicis, so long as the king is Roman Catholic. Although several of these have been special protectors of the orthodox church, nevertheless rationalistic illumination has not only taken deep root among the clergy, but also among the people. Meanwhile, a pietistic reaction has also gained a footing, especially powerful in Muldenthal, where *Rudelbach's* blessed labors have given it a decidedly churchly character. On the other hand, the religious movement, under the leadership of the pastor of the Bohemian congregation in Dresden, *Mart. Stephan*, came to a shameful end. As the representative and renovator of a strict Lutheranism, he labor d very successfully in

Dresden since 1810, but he lapsed deeper and deeper into hierarchica usurpation and neglect of watchfulness over himself, through the submissiveness of his adherents, which almost amounted to deification. When in 1837 the police interfered with his night meetings, without, however, having discovered anything immoral, and suspended him from his official labors, he called upon his adherents to emigrate to America. Many of them (clergymen and laymen) blindly obeyed him, and founded (1838) a Lutheran church in Missouri. Stephan's despotic and hierarchical usurpation reached its height here; he also gave loose reins to his lusts. Women, who had been violated or abused by him, finally exposed his shame, and the congregation excommunicated him, whereupon he went over to the Roman Catholic Church (1846). Taught by such experiences, and entirely purified of the separatistic and Donatistic elements, the Lutheran reaction in Saxony is now in the most flourishing condition. Since 1850 *Harless* has stood at its head as chief court-preacher at Dresden, but in 1852 already he abandoned this position to become the head of the Lutheran Church of his native country, Bavaria. The emigration led by Stephan also took with it a number of the inhabitants of *Saxony-Altenburg*. The consistory, in a rescript to the council of Ronneburg (1838) traced this separation to the fact that the religious wants of the congregations were not satisfied by the rationalistic sermons, and admonished that the fundamental doctrines of evangelical Christianity should be more diligently preached. This rescript received the most hateful interpretations, and became the subject of the most passionate attacks from within and without the country. The government obtained the opinions of four theological faculties concerning the conduct of the consistory and its opponents, which it simply published with the praise and blame they expressed, and then discouraged all investigation. The revolutionary storm of 1848 also raged through the church of Altenburg. But since the storm has subsided, the government of the State and church has been directed with prudence and zeal towards promoting churchly feeling and life. It has, however, not yet succeeded in placing a decidedly Lutheran teacher of theology in the common university of the Saxon dukedoms (Jena). In *Weimar* and *Gotha* also the Rationalism of *Röhr* and *Bretschneider*, which a few decades ago ruled almost all the pulpits, has begun to disappear. Nevertheless, the Duke of Gotha called in 1856 *Dr. Charles Schwarz* of Halle, who could only see hopes of a better time for the Protestant Church in the school of Baur and the Protestant "Kirchenzeitung" (§ 56, 4, 5), to Gotha as court-preacher and high consistorial councillor. Gotha has since then become the Gretna-Green for Prussian divorced persons, whom the native pastors supposed they were required to deny re-marriage. The civil marriage now legalized there will make a change in this matter.

3. In *Hanover* the Union met with no favor, although Union theology ruled in the national university after Rationalism had disappeared

Nevertheless, the most of the clergy of the country have been thoroughly penetrated by confessional Lutheranism. The preachers' conference at Stade (1854) called the attention of the government to the "crying incongruity" which existed between the Union theology of the national university and the legal as well as actual Lutheran confession of the established church, and urged the appointment of Lutheran teachers. The faculty, on the other hand, published a circular to preserve "liberty in teaching," and the curatorium again filled the vacancies which had occurred with Union theologians. *Dr. Petri* now declared the rupture to be complete. — *Oldenburg*, that in 1849 was really favored with a democratic church government separate from the State, permitted a new government to be chartered without any opposition in 1853, which restored the chief episcopacy to the ruler of the country, and transferred the government of the church to a High-consistory and ecclesiastical legislation to a national synod (composed of 12 clerical and 17 temporal members who were elected by the district synods, and 5 members appointed by the grand-duke).—*Mecklenburg* possesses a strict Lutheran church government under Kliefoth's direction, and its national university decidedly Lutheran professors. The withdrawal of Prof. *M. Baumgarten* of Rostock from his professorship, in Jan. 1858, caused a great excitement. A trial theme written by him on 2 Kings 11, in which he "aimed at procuring a Scriptural doctrine to authorize violent revolution," gave the government an opportunity already in 1856 to remove him from the theological examination commission. At the same time his provoking polemics against the doctrines of the Mecklenburg Catechism, especially with reference to the sanctification of the Sabbath, at a pastoral conference at Parchim, increased the distrust with which the Lutheran clergy of the country regarded his *theological* position. The government finally (Jan. 6, 1858) dismissed him from his theological professorship at the university, though allowing him his full salary, on the basis and through the publication of a consistorial decision, prepared by *Krabbe* and subscribed by *Wiggers* and *Meyer*, which charged him with heretical alteration of all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith and of the Lutheran confession, and established this charge from his writings. As was expected, this step was followed by a loud cry of passion in all the newspapers, and even Lutherans (v. Hofmann, v. Scheurl, Luthardt) emphatically disapproved of the conduct of the government as departing from the way prescribed by the church-order, and the consistorial decision as being based on misinterpretation, arbitrary supposition and inference; whilst the apologists justified the conduct of the government as a mere administrative measure, and endeavored to prove that the argument of the decision was well grounded in the principal points. — In the *Electorate of Hessia* the high ecclesiastical authority reduced in 1838 the obligation of the clergy at ordination to conscientiously regarding the confessions of faith. The distinguished

professor of law, *Bickell* of Marburg, saw in this a violation of ecclesiastical right, even an endangering of the evangelical church, against which the advocate *Henkel* in Cassel as popular agitator protested, and demanded from the government a national synod, which should formally abolish all symbolical books. The government ignored both demands, and the violent controversy gradually subsided. Within a few years the question of confessions entered upon a new stage. It was violently disputed as to which confession the country belonged. The Landgrave Moritz, it is true, forced a diluted Calvinism upon the province (§ 34, 1); but still a Lutheran basis, with Lutheran views, arrangements, and laws, remained, and the Lutheran reaction has never been entirely subdued. Only the province Hanau accepted the Union (1818). Since then the government has appointed preachers and professors without asking about their creed. The ministry of *Hassenplug* (since 1850) regarded the country as of right Lutheran, and organized ecclesiastical affairs in this sense. The consistorial councillor, *Dr. Vilmar*, was the right hand of the minister in this matter. The elector, however, was not very friendly to this movement from the beginning. In 1855 the ministry was overthrown, and Vilmar was transferred to Marburg as professor of theology. — The *Grand-duchy of Hessia* is the only country in Germany that yet possesses a rationalistic faculty of the purest water, for even Jena is evidently behind Giessen in this respect. But a decidedly Lutheran reaction has commenced among the younger clergy, which is growing in strength and extent. The High-consistory is active in promoting peace by mediation. In Reformed *Lippe Detmold*, as late as in 1844, five preachers, who, becoming tired of the Illumination Catechism of the established church, again used the Heidelberg Catechism, and protested against the abolition of swearing adhesion to the symbols, were punished as disturbers of the peace of the church. The democratic form of church government of 1851 was already abolished in 1854, and the old Reformed church-order of 1684 took its place. At the same time religious freedom and equality were guaranteed to the Roman Catholics and Lutherans.

4. There existed in Protestant *Würtemberg* an activity of the religious spirit in the national life, as nowhere else. Pietism, Chiliasm, Separatism, the conventicle system, etc., assumed powerful forms; solid scientific knowledge, philosophical culture, and lately also philosophical and critically destructive tendencies, forced themselves upon the clergy of the country from Tübingen. The dissatisfaction with many of the innovations in the liturgy, hymn-book, etc., drove many from the established church. After the adoption of forcible measures had proven fruitless, the government allowed those dissatisfied to establish the congregation at *Korthal* with a peculiar (ecclesiastical and civil) constitution after apostolic example (1818). Others emigrated to Southern Russia or to North America (cf. § 60, concerning the Harmonites)

Lately a society for the *gathering of the people of God in Palestine* has been formed on the Salon near Ludwigsburg. Its object is to gather an emigration of believers from all nations (about 10,000 families) for the Holy Land, to constitute there anew a people of God, which, upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, of which Christ is the corner-stone, will bring into full authority the divine law of the old covenant in all the relations of life. A general meeting in 1854 in order to realize this plan, appointed a committee, published a programme (in its organ: der süddeutschen Warte), and requested the German diet to obtain for it, from the Sultan, permission to settle in the Holy Land with self-government and religious freedom. *Christopher Hoffmann*, brother of the Prussian general superintendent and inspector of the institution for Home Missions at St. Chrisona near Basle, was the head of this movement. (He wrote: Gesch. d. Volkes Gottes als Antwort auf die sociale Frage. Stuttg. 1855). The educational institute upon the Salon was conducted by his brother-in-law *Paulus*, nephew of Paulus at Heidelberg. The committee, instructed to wait patiently, purchased in April 1856 the estate of *Kirschenhardthof* near Marbach, in order to found here on a small scale a preparatory social state in strict accordance with the Mosaic law. At the beginning of 1858 a commission with Chr. Hoffmann at its head, went to Jerusalem, to reconnoitre the country for the speedy colonization of the people of God. But the results were so unsatisfactory that they were compelled for the present to abandon the idea of emigrating to the Holy Land.—The gift of healing the sick by absolution and the laying on of hands in connection with believing prayer, was developed out of the pietistic and earnest pastoral care of preacher *Blumhardt* of Möttlingen, in connection with the healing of a demoniac, which was followed by a great revival in the congregation. Blumhardt, in order to give free scope to this gift, lately purchased the bathing establishment at *Boll* near *Göppingen*, where he now officiates as pastor and miraculous physician.—In the *Grand-duchy of Baden* the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Church was accomplished in 1821. It grants normative authority to the Augustana (as also to the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechism), in so far as by it the free investigation of the Scriptures, as the only source of Christian faith, is openly demanded, affirmed, and applied. A synod of 1834 provided the established church with union rationalistic principles in the liturgy, hymn-book, and catechism. When at the beginning of 1850 a confessional Lutheranism began again to manifest itself here also, the united church combated it with gens-d'armes, imprisonment, and fines. The preacher *Eichhorn*, and later also the preacher *Ludwig*, seceded from the established church with a part of their congregations, and connected with the church college of Breslau, but were only able to serve their people as clergymen amid unspeakable vexations on the part of the police. After repeated refusals, the grand-duke finally, in 1854, granted to the seceders the

permission to elect a Lutheran pastor, but perseveringly refused to acknowledge Eichhorn as such. Preacher *Haag*, who would not abandon the Lutheran formula of distribution at the Lord's Supper, was deposed (1855) after earnest warning. On the other hand, the positive churchly movement also grew stronger in the established church. In 1854 the old rationalistic members of the High-consistory were silenced, and *Ullmann* of Heidelberg became its head. Under his auspices a general synod (1855) adopted resolutions to introduce new church and school-books in the sense of the Consensus-Union, endeavoring, at the same time, to accommodate them in a measure to Lutheran views. The grand-duke confirmed the resolutions, and the country remained silent. But when in 1858 the High-consistory, on the basis of the synodal resolutions of 1855, promulgated a new "Kirchenbuch" for general introduction, the new liturgical innovations which it contained (enlargement of the liturgy by the confession of sin and of faith, collects, responses, lessons, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, assent to the confession of faith by sponsors), aroused a violent opposition in the country, at the head of which was the faculty of Heidelberg, with *Dr. Schenkel* as leader. The grand-duke decided that the new liturgy should not be forced upon any congregation in the country; on the other hand, the shorter and simpler form of the same was to be introduced when it could be done then or later without force, whilst the larger form was only to be used by congregations which expressly desired it.—In *Nassau* also, which also accepted the Union, a Lutheran movement of emancipation has manifested itself within the last few years, but it has been repressed by police measures.

5. In Protestant *Switzerland* there existed, in addition to the luxuriant growth of rationalistic Illumination and radical Liberalism, a soil receptive for Separatism and religious fanaticism, whose first cultivation has been attributed, perhaps not unjustly, to *Lady von Krüdener*. The French philosophy of the 18th century gave the *Reformed Church of Geneva* a rationalistic tendency, and the venerable Compagnie of the Genevan clergy could venture in 1817 to impose upon candidates at ordination the obligation not to preach on the natures in Christ, original sin, predestination, etc. But this state of things was opposed by a Methodism (in Geneva, especially also in Lausanne) transported from England, whose adherents, nicknamed the *Momiers*, rebuked the apostacy from the church by word and deed. In *Waadtland* the Helvetic Confession was abolished in 1839 by a resolution of the chief council, and in 1845, when a radical revolutionary government got possession of the helm of State, the refusal of many clergymen to read a political proclamation of the government furnished occasion for a schism, inasmuch as all the offending clergymen were dismissed from the established church. Since then, in addition to the established church, a *free Waadtlandish Church* has existed under the oppression and persecution of the radical government. In the chief

council of *Geneva* the resolution was offered in 1855, to separate the church entirely from the State, for which *Al. Vinet* (*ob.* 1847 as professor at Geneva) contended with glowing eloquence during his whole life. The resolution is still favored by many earnest Christians, but it has finally been rejected by a majority. — Among the *German Reformed* cantons only Basle has been able to resist the introduction of Rationalism; but that the people also in other cantons are not willing to give up the faith of the fathers so easily, was shown in 1839, when the chief council of Zurich called *Dr. David Strauss* as professor of theology. The people rose as *one* man against this measure; the appointment failed; the chief council was overthrown, and Zurich even yet pays a pension to Strauss. A similar occurrence took place in *Berne*, upon the calling of *Dr. Zeller* to the theological professorship there in 1847. The opponents of this movement only gained insult and persecution. But as *Zeller* even was not radical enough for the Radicals, he accepted in 1849 a professorship of philosophy at Marburg. In *Basle* the exclusion of the radically infidel candidate *Rumpf* from the list of the candidates for the ministry in 1858, caused a great noise. His endeavor to be restored has, meanwhile, failed in the chief council.

6. Only the name of a protector of the papal chair and of the Roman Catholic Church remained to the Emperor of *Austria* from the Roman empire. The remnants of the church government of Josephine have since her time been gradually removed, and Roman Catholicism has been retained as the State religion; nevertheless, the government of the State preserves, in opposition to all hierarchical claims, its independence, and grants toleration, though of a very limited kind, to Protestantism. The storm of 1848 first removed the hated name of the non-Catholics, obtained permission to place bells and steeples upon Protestant houses of worship, and the compliant guarantee of many rights, the realization of which, meantime, has been greatly hindered by the opposition of Roman Catholic magistrates and priests. After that the government, by its concordat with the Pope (1855), granted to the Roman Catholic clergy almost unlimited power to protect and uphold the Roman Catholic established church, it appeared for a time as if it was honestly disposed to protect Protestantism in its rights of existence, and to promote its progress. In fact also much was done to promote and support evangelical churches and schools. Even the festival of the Reformation on Oct. 31 was allowed to be publicly celebrated in Vienna. But the repeated refusal to permit the formation of branch unions of the Gustave-Adolphus Society (although the acceptance of support from the same is now granted) — the maintenance of the law, that Roman Catholic priests, even after they have formally become Protestants, dare not marry, because the character indelebilis of consecration to the priesthood still adheres even to apostates—and many other things, show that the government is yet far from

placing Protestants on an equality with the Roman Catholics. In the Tyrolese *Zillerthal* evangelical truth has found its way into many families through Protestant books and Bibles. When the Roman Catholics drew the reins tighter (1826), these, appealing to Joseph's edict of tolerance, petitioned for permission to join the evangelical church. The Emperor *Francis* I. promised them tolerance. But the Tyrolese deputies protested, and the official decree which finally followed (1834) commanded them to emigrate to Transylvania or return to the Catholic Church. The petitioners now sought aid through a deputation to the King of Prussia, who directed them to colonize on his domain of Erdmannsdorf in Silesia. Thither 399 of the exiles emigrated in 1837 and founded a new Zillerthal, richly aided by royal munificence. In *Bohemia* there was awakened, with the enthusiasm for the national institutions, also patriotic religious sympathies for the old Hussiteism, connected with many transitions to the Protestant Church. In *Hungary* the Diet had obtained since 1833 full equality for the Protestants with the Roman Catholics, when, in consequence of the military rule of the Protestant *Haynau*, all independent life and action of both Protestant churches was fettered again in 1850. Haynau's decree, it is true, was abolished in 1854, but still the complete return to the former autonomy of the churches has not been secured in spite of all petitions and deputations; and the difficulty in the way has been increased by the Hungarians refusing in a rough way to accept the plan of a constitution proposed by the government in 1856. In *Transylvania*, on the other hand, at least the evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession rejoice in the possession of perfect ecclesiastical equality and independence — a favor which has but lately been conferred on the Reformed living there.

7. *Bavaria* under King *Louis* was the shield of Roman Catholicism in its extreme ultramontane form. The constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom of the Protestants was in many ways embarrassed and limited; and great as were the necessities of the Protestants in Southern Bavaria, the government most strictly prohibited them from receiving any aid from the Gustave-Adolphus Society. King Louis saw even in the name of this society a reproach of the German name, and, besides, he was offended at its vague, negative confessional position. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to give a peaceful asylum in Roman Catholic Bavaria to *Scheibel*, who was driven out of Lutheran Saxony by Prussian diplomacy, — and permitted the university of *Erlangen* (after its dead spiritual life had been reawakened by the excellent *Reformed* preacher *Krafft* [*ob.* 1845]) to become the centre of a strict Lutheranism both in practical life and in science for all Germany. The *kneeling order* of 1838, which also imposed kneeling before the sanctissimum upon the Protestant soldiery as a military salutation, caused great dissatisfaction among the Protestant population, and provoked many controversial treatises from both sides. When

finally the Diet made the grievance of the Protestant delegates its own (1845), a royal declaration was issued, by which the previously existing purely military salutation was restored. After that the ultramontane party had fallen into disfavor by its honorable course in the *Lola Montes scandal* of 1847, and the revolution of the following year compelled King Louis to abdicate, the Protestant Church of Bavaria, at the head of which *Harless* stands since 1852, attained to the full, unlimited, and undisturbed enjoyment of its rights, under the reign of the noble and just King *Maximilian*. The general synod of 1853 (at *Baireuth*) manifested, under Harless' presidency, a thorough earnestness in the work of reorganizing the established church. On the basis of its transactions the High-consistory ordered the introduction of a new and excellent hymn-book. This already caused great dissatisfaction among the unchurchly Liberals, but was at length carried out. But when in 1856 the High-consistory published a series of ordinances: 1. An instruction concerning the order of worship with a provisional liturgy; 2. A direction concerning the restoration of church discipline; 3. A decree concerning the regulation of the confessional, with a view to the reintroduction of private confession; 4. A decree to guarantee the clergy against improper demands in reference to baptismal sponsors, marriages, funerals, etc.; and, 5. finally a regulation, according to which the parties to be married were required to appear personally before the preacher for proclamation of the bans, — then a terrible storm, starting at Nürnberg, broke loose, which raged through the entire country. The king was overwhelmed with petitions, and the High-consistory went so far in almost timorous compliance as to make the acceptance or non-acceptance of its regulations optional to the congregations. Meanwhile the time for holding a new general synod approached (1857). A decree of the royal high-episcopate abolished the union of the two national synods into *one* general synod, and prohibited all discussion concerning church discipline. Consequently, instead of one synod two assembled, the one in October at *Anspach*, the other in November at *Baireuth*. Both, composed of an equal number of temporal and spiritual delegates, took a very honorable and moderate course, by which they neither prejudiced the rights of the church nor the honor of the High-consistory. The storm has since then subsided very rapidly, and the hopes of a prosperous progress in church affairs have brightened.—An imminent division of the Lutheran established church by the hyper-Lutheran party of *Löhe* in Neudettelsau was fortunately averted by the action of the general synod of 1853. Löhe and his party, although somewhat sulky, yet hoping the best from a development begun so vigorously, retraced their steps, and the High-consistory continued its indulgence towards Löhe. Finally, however, in 1858 it quite unexpectedly set bounds to him by inflicting on him a sharp reprimand in a threefold form: first, that he administered the anointing with oil, although not as a sacra-

ment, to a sick young lady staying with him, yielding to her appeals to James 5 and Mark 16; — secondly, on account of introducing auricular confession and absolution among non-confirmed youth; — and, finally, on account of an instruction concerning the exercise of church discipline, which he himself devised and carried out in his congregation on his own authority. Whether the rupture which has long been impending will finally be consummated in consequence of this, is yet to be seen.

The government has also acted justly towards the Reformed and united churches of the country by appointing a Reformed professor of theology in the Protestant national university. The Union was accomplished in 1818 in the Bavarian *Palatinate of the Rhine*, with the agreement to hold the symbolical books of both churches in proper esteem, but to acknowledge no other doctrinal rule than the Scriptures. Hereby, it is evident, the door was opened to the most boundless Rationalism. The general synod of Anspach in 1849 favored the country with a new democratic church organization; but a reaction took place here also. Since 1853, the consistory of Spire, under *Ebrard's* leadership, brought to pass the meeting of a general synod in the autumn of this year, which raised the Augustana Variata of 1540, as embodying the consensus between the Augustana of 1530 and the Heidelberg, as also the Lutheran Catechism, as the banner of the Palatinate church. Since then the consistory has proceeded with police force against all those preachers who preach and teach the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and when *Dr. Hengstenberg* of Berlin opened the columns of his K-Zeitung to the indignant assaults of the Lutherans on this despotic union, the court of assizes in Zweibrücken condemned him in contumaciam (1854) to an imprisonment of 3 months or a fine of 50 fl.; — but even in Zweibrücken they do not hang a culprit until they catch him. When the consistory, in pursuance of the action of the general synod of 1853, laid the plan of a new hymn-book before the diocesan synods (1856), the universal indignation of the liberal inhabitants of the Palatinate broke out in a terrible storm, on account of the doctrines imputed to them in it. The diocesan synods, however, acknowledged the necessity of a new hymn-book and the appositeness of the plan in general, but they recommended another revision of the same and the addition of 150 new hymns. The radical agitation continues to the present time: the petition to the king to annul the synodal resolutions with regard to it has been denied (1858).

8. *Great Britain and Ireland.* (Cf. *H. F. Uhden*, d. Zustände d. anglik. K. Lpz. 1843. — *M. Petri*, Beitr. zur. Würdig. d. Puseyismus. Göttg. 1843. — *H. R. Weaver*, d. Puseyism, aus d. Engl. v. *C. Anthor.* Lpz. 1844. — *A. F. Gemberg*, die schott. Nationalk. Hamb. 1828. — *K. H. Sack*, d. K. v. Schottl. Heidlb. 1844–48, 2 Bde. — *J. Köstlin*, d. schott. K. Hamb. 1852. — *Ph. Schaff*, Zustände u. Parteien d. engl. Staatskirche. In d. deutsch. Ztschr. für chr. Wsch. u. chr. Leben,

1855–53.) — A Reformed Protestant and a Roman Catholic element have been combined in the established Church of *England*. The former appears especially in the doctrines of the church, the latter in the doctrine concerning the church, and from this also in the form of government (episcopal succession and hierarchical organization), as also in the worship (liturgy abundant in ceremonies). Where both elements have been really united and reconciled, *i. e.*, where the one has penetrated the other, an internal affinity with the Lutheran Church has been manifested. But because this union has not been actualized fully and harmoniously in every part, the two elements having been rather kept asunder, an exclusive, extreme divergence on both sides was unavoidable, as was also the result very soon, on the one side represented in the Dissenters, on the other in the Romanizing tendency of the Stuarts. Since the political parties of the Tories and Whigs have been formed, two corresponding parties have also appeared in the established church. The *high-church party*, which has its influential representatives among the aristocracy, detests the tendency of the Dissenters, seeks to preserve the most intimate connection between State and Church, and carefully watches over the preservation of all churchly forms and institutions in government, worship, and doctrine. On the other hand, the *evangelical* (or low-church) *party*, which is more or less Methodistic, sustains the most active intercourse with the Dissenters (co-working in Home and Foreign Missions, etc.), and represents in various degrees (even to the extreme of Dissenters) the claims of progress against those of stability; the independence and self-dependence of the Church against identification with the State; evangelical freedom, and the universal priesthood of Christians, against orthodoxy and hierarchy. The active life of the Dissenters and the increasingly close connection of the episcopal evangelical party with them, incited also in modern times the high-church party to a more powerful protection of its interests, and impelled it to a one-sided intensification of the *Roman Catholic* element. The centre of this Romanizing tendency since 1833 is the university of *Oxford*. The heads of this movement were the Professors *Pusey*, *Newman*, etc.; its literary organ were the Tracts for the Times (whence the party is also called Tractarians), a series of treatises in defence of Anglo-Catholicism, which, in adhesion to the 39 articles, as decidedly defends genuine Protestantism against the Roman papacy, as it defends genuine Catholicism against every kind of ultra Protestantism in the weight which it attaches to the apostolical succession of the bishopric and priesthood, and to apostolical tradition in behalf of exegesis. In this way also every doctrine was approximated to those of the Roman Catholic system, so far as the 39 articles would possibly allow it. This tendency, called *Puseyism*, met with much sympathy, especially among the higher clergy. But the "No popery" principle is too deeply rooted in the English nation, not to meet Puseyism with great indignation and

strong opposition. The most of the English bishops opposed it in pastoral letters; Pusey and Newman were dismissed from their positions, but the university still adheres to its tendency. In 1845 *Newman* went over to the Romish Church, and crowds of Puseyites, especially from the higher aristocracy and clergy, have since then followed his example. But this apostacy only served to increase the aversion of the English *people* to Puseyism and Popery. When the Vicar *Gorham* was promoted in 1847 to a better position by the crown, the Puseyite Bishop of Exeter protested against it, because Gorham disputed the doctrine that regeneration takes place in baptism. The privy-council, however, as the highest ecclesiastical court, declared him to be orthodox, and appointed him in spite of all opposition. This gave the episcopal clergy an opportunity to urge the restoration of the *Convocation*, a kind of spiritual parliament. This object was gained in 1854; but the convocation has as yet been able to accomplish but little. In addition to the pressure to obtain the recognition of baptism as the vehicle of regeneration, the zeal of the high-church clergy for the introduction of private confession, or as its opponents say, of auricular confession, has also given occasion for offence and controversy. A London clergyman named *Poole* was deposed on this account in 1858 by his bishop; a Vicar *West*, on the other hand, of the diocese of Oxford, was acquitted for the same offence. — Besides the high- and the low-church party, a third one, the so-called *broad-church party*, has made itself felt within a few decades. It traces its origin to the celebrated philosopher and poet *Coleridge* (*ob.* 1834), and numbers in its ranks many of the most respectable and learned of the present clergy, who are also specially distinguished by their intimate acquaintance with German theology and philosophy. They do not form an organized church party, as the evangelicals and high-churchmen, and do not propose anything of the kind; nevertheless, their tendency is directed towards removing the narrow-mindedness and exaggeration of the other parties, and furnishing a broader basis and clearer horizon both for theology and the church, without prejudicing in any way either the authority of the Scriptures or the doctrines of the Church. Lord *Russell's* university bill (1854) opened also the university of Oxford to Dissenters by restricting the obligation of the 39 articles to the students of theology. In 1857 the introduction of a new *divorce bill*, which established a new court for divorces, granted the wife the right to apply for divorce in case of incestuous adultery, bigamy, and malicious abandonment, and unconditionally allowed the re-marriage of those divorced, created great excitement among, and called forth much opposition from the high-church party, but, nevertheless, passed both Houses without amendment. The admission of *Jews* to parliament was also accomplished in 1858, after a contest extending through 12 years, by granting to both Houses the right to admit a member who took the oath "on the true faith of a Christian." In opposition to high-church

Oxford Rationalism gained ascendency more and more in Cambridge, and even the labors of the Tübingen-Baur School (§ 56, 4) find enthusiastic eulogists in the Westminster Review.

The *Church of Scotland*, from the beginning strictly Calvinistic in customs, government, and doctrines, has also preserved this character unimpaired to the present time. The difference between the moderates and the evangelical party does not refer to doctrine, but only to government. The latter are strict Presbyterians, and opponents of the right of patronage. Besides the Presbyterian form of government, there existed, namely, of old a right of election by the land proprietor, which was often exercised to intrude obnoxious clergymen upon the congregations. The General Assembly of 1834 granted the veto-power to the congregations, but the civil courts protected the patrons in their hereditary rights. At a meeting of the General Assembly in 1843 about 200 members withdrew on this account from the *Established Church of Scotland as Non-intrusionists*, and laid the foundations of the *Free Church of Scotland*, which, with *Dr. Chalmers* (*ob.* 1847) at its head, has exhibited great zeal and self-denial in establishing parishes, etc., and is now in a prosperous condition. The large mass of the people belong to it, whilst the established church is mainly composed of the rich landed proprietors. In addition to these two, there exists also a United *Presbyterian Church*, which is supported by the wealthy middle class, and insists upon the separation of the Church from the State. A controversy concerning the introduction of *organs* into the churches has been carried on in this church since 1856. Three churches in Glasgow have received permission from the synod to introduce organs under certain limitations. More important is the controversy concerning the *Lord's Supper*, which broke out in the established church of Scotland in 1857. Bishop *Forbes* of Brechin, in an address to his clergy, which was published later, insisted upon the necessity not only of acknowledging the real presence of the true body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, but also of the participation of the same by the unbelieving. The other bishops, however, at a synod at Edinburgh, pronounced this doctrine of their colleague to be anti-Scriptural and anti-Anglican, against which 55 presbyters protested. One of these, *Patrick Cheyne* of Aberdeen, who was charged with holding the doctrine of transubstantiation, has been deposed by the episcopal General Synod, because he would not retract.—In *Ireland*, whose Roman Catholic population has been greatly decreased by constant emigration, the work of evangelization prospers without interruption. In England and Scotland not less than 16 societies exist, which labor in this work by missionaries, itinerant preachers, colporteurs, and schoolteachers, and expend yearly $500,000 upon it.

9. In the *Netherlands* (cf. *A. Köhler*, die niederländisch-reform. K. Erlg. 1856), Rationalism and latitudinarian Supranaturalism have so far moderated the hostilities existing between Reformed, Remonstrants,

Mennonites, and Lutherans, that the clergy of one party were allowed to preach in the churches of the other. There the poet *William Bilderdijk*, driven from political to religious patriotism, arose in glowing anger against the general apostacy from Dort orthodoxy. Two Jews converted by him, *Is. da Costa* and the physician *Cappadose*, powerfully supported him. A young, fiery clergyman, *Henry de Cock*, became the theological spokesman of the party. Because he violated ecclesiastical order by ministering in congregations belonging to other clergymen, he was suspended and finally deposed (1834). The largest portion of his congregation, and with him four other preachers, now solemnly declared, that their secession from the apostatized church was a return to the orthodox Reformed Church. They were punished by fines and imprisonment as Separatists and disturbers, and were finally satisfied with being recognized, by royal favor, as a separate Christian church (1839). It was composed at this time of 30 congregations. The established church, on the other hand, perseveres in its latitudinarian tendency. There exists since 1850 a free synodal system, by which the church is governed. The general synod is held yearly at Hague. The one of 1853 declared that the Netherland Reformed Church did not demand from its teachers agreement with all the doctrines of the symbolical books, but only with their spirit and essence. The so-called *Gröninger* (humanistic) *school*, with Schleiermacher's fundamental tendency, reigns at the universities. Its chief representative is *Hofstede de Groot*. The largest portion of the clergy still belong to the old moderate rationalistic tendency. Theological learning, especially that of a philologico-historical character, still flourishes in Holland.

Subsequent to 1790 Rationalism has also prevailed in *Denmark*. In 1828 Professor *Clausen*, a moderate disciple of Neology, identified Rationalism and Protestantism, in a learned work ("Katholicism u. Protestsm." Translated from the Danish by *Fries*. Latest edition 1828, 3 Bde.) On the other hand, Pastor *Grundtvig*, "a man of poetical talents, and learned in the ancient history of the country," entered the lists, equally enthusiastic for the Lutheranism of the fathers and for patriotic Daneism, with powerful eloquence and with the charge of apostacy from Christianity and the Church. He was condemned by the courts as an injurer, having resigned his pastoral office while the trial was in progress. The same fate befel the orientalist *Lindberg*, who charged Clausen with breaking the oath of his office. Grundtvig's adherents worshipped in conventicles until he obtained permission in 1832 again to hold public worship. The Dano-mania, which increased beyond measure in 1848 and 1849 (during the warlike conflicts with Germany), reconciled enemies and alienated friends. Grundtvig especially raged senselessly against everything German, and of the two factors, which he at one time regarded as the poles of the world's history ("Weltchronik," transl. by *Volkmar*, Nürnb. 1837), namely Daneism and Lutheranism, he lately abandoned the latter as being of

German origin, in that he desired to remove the German Lutheran special confession of faith, placed the Apostle's creed before and above the Scriptures, and wished to introduce Scandinavian mythology into the schools as Christian propædeutics. The *Schleswig-Holstein* rebellion of 1848 was followed by a boundless distraction and destruction of ecclesiastical affairs there. More than 100 German pastors were dismissed, and 46 Schleswig parishes were deprived of the use of the German language in church and school. All efforts of the states to remove the prescription, served only to call forth new brutality. In 1864 the long misused provinces were released from Danish authority by the allied Austrians and Prussians, and, in consequence of the German war of 1866, fell to the domain of Prussia. The *Baptistic* movement, which is continually gaining strength in Denmark, was greatly promoted (1857) by a law which abolished the *compulsion to baptism* in the established church, and only requires that all children be registered in the church register within a year.

In *Sweden* since 1803 a quiet and useful religious communion has existed, in opposition to the stiff and dead orthodoxy of the established church, which, if characterized by pietistic one-sidedness, is not guilty of a heretical departure from orthodox doctrines. Because its members diligently *read* the Bible and the works of Luther, they have received the name *Readers*, and have been persecuted by the established church, by virtue of the old law against conventicles (1726), with imprisonment and fines, and by the mob with insult and abuse. Although the constitution of 1809 guarantees freedom of worship, nevertheless the old rigid laws still exist in full authority and power, according to which the secession of subjects from the Lutheran established church is punished with imprisonment and exile, with the loss of civil reputation and of the right of inheriting. Nevertheless, within several years the transitions to Roman Catholicism, to the Baptists, and even to Mormonism, have greatly increased. Even in 1858 six women, who were converted to Roman Catholicism, were mercilessly banished from the country. In 1857 the king laid a tolerance-act before the Diet, which, although intolerant enough (excluding all converts from all civil offices and reserving their children for the established church), was, nevertheless, rejected by the states. Religious freedom was proclaimed by law in 1869, and in 1870 admission to all offices of state was granted to Dissenters, even the Jews included. — In *Norway*, where the State is much less identified with the Church than in Sweden, the movement among the people started by the farmer *Niels Hauge* (§ 51, 4), has by no means died out. But with Scandinavian hatred of everything German, *Grundtvig's* bran-new theology has also been imported from Denmark, and has met with great favor. The

theological faculty at Christiana, however, which represents in science and practical life a rigid and living Lutheranism of the German stamp, is opposing it with energy and effect.

10. *France and Belgium.* (Cf. *H. Reuchlin*, d. Christth. in Fr. Hamb. 1837.—*A. Mader*, d. prot. K. Frankreichs, published by Gieseler. Lpz 1848. 2 Bde.—*Agénor de Gasparin*, Les intérêts généraux du Protestantisme franç. Par. 1843. Transl. by *Runkel*, Essen, 1843.—*A. Damman*, d. prot. K. in Fr.; in the Ztschr. für hist. Theol. 1850. I. E. S. die rel. Zustände in Fr.; in Gelzer's Monatsblätt. 1853.)—The constitution of the Restoration in *France* (1814) guaranteed to *Roman Catholicism* the authority of the established religion, and to the other confessions the protection and toleration of the State. But Ultramontanism of the most violent kind began, with the favor of the government, to oppress Protestantism in every way. In South France the hatred of the Roman Catholic mob broke out against the Reformed already (1815) in bloody persecution. The government was silent about it until the indignation of all Europe compelled it to check the evil; but the perpetrators of it were unpunished. By the revolution of July, 1830, the Roman Catholic Church again lost the privileges of the established church, and the Protestants obtained the same rights with the Roman Catholics. But also under the new constitutional government Ultramontanism again made itself felt with effect; the Protestants complained of many injuries and violations of rights by Roman Catholic prefects; and under the Protestant minister *Guizot* France assumed the protectorate of Roman Catholicism throughout the whole world. Meanwhile, the *Reformed French Church* flourished, even though placed between methodistic one-sidedness and rationalistic superficiality, and the scattered *Lutheran* congregations (in Paris, etc.) outside of Alsace, also prospered. After the revolution of February, 1848, the Lutherans deliberated on a new organization of church affairs at a general synod at Strasburg, and the Reformed also at a council at Paris. But when the latter, in order to preserve unity of government amid diversity of doctrine, resolved to disregard symbol and doctrine in the matter, *Fr. Monod* and Count *Gasparin*, the noble representative of French Protestantism, protested against such a course, and formed, with about 30 congregations of stricter views, at a new council in Paris (1849), a union of evangelical congregations with biennial synods. *Louis Napoleon*, by the decree of March 26, 1852, granted to the Reformed Church a central council at Paris, with consistories and presbyteries; and to the Lutheran a yearly High-consistory as legislative, and a standing directory as executive council. The Lutheran theological faculty at Strasburg represents the western section of Schleiermacher's school. The academy at Montauban, with *Adolf Monod* at its head, represents Reformed orthodoxy—nevertheless, without strict confessionalism and with a piety of a methodistic type; and *Coquerel* in Paris is the head of the rationalistic party in the Reformed

established church. The reaction against Rationalism was led since 1830 by the "Société Évangelique" in Paris, which in addition has assumed the work of protestantizing France, and has labored quietly and very successfully in this direction by colportage, circulation of tracts, sending forth evangelists, school instruction, etc. It has been powerfully supported in this work by the evangelical society of *Geneva*. The number of Protestant clergymen in France has increased, within 50 years, from 200 to 800; and every year new evangelical congregations are established, in spite of the endless difficulties which Roman Catholic authorities place in the way. Manifold violations of right and oppressions are still practised. In Strasburg (1854) the Jesuits prevailed upon the Roman Catholic prefect to reclaim and take possession of the revenues of the former Thomas foundation, which had been appropriated since the Reformation to the support of the Protestant gymnasium. However, the prefect was directed from Paris to desist from his claims. In his address from the throne in 1858, the emperor declared that the government guaranteed full freedom of worship to the Protestants, without, however, forgetting that Roman Catholicism was the religion of the majority; and the *Moniteur* explained this declaration so plainly in the sense of the *Univers*, that the prefects could not be in doubt how to understand it. Through General *Espinasse*,—who, after the unsuccessful attempt on the life of the emperor (Jan. 14, 1858), officiated for a time as Minister of the Interior, — the prefects were expressly directed to extend their watchfulness over the press also to the labors of the evangelical societies, and to prohibit the colportage of Protestant Bibles. However, the latter was recalled by a change of ministry, and permission was only denied to the agents of foreign Bible societies. — In *Belgium* the work of evangelization advanced rapidly, not only among the Walloons, but also among the Flemish population, so that from year to year new evangelical congregations are established, in spite of all agitation and popular instigation on the part of the Ultramontane clergy.

11. In *Italy* immigrant Protestants have formed evangelical congregations at Milan and Florence, without restriction on the part of the government. From regard to diplomatic intercourse with Prussia, England, and North America, Rome and Naples have also permitted Protestant embassy chapels to be built. When in 1848 the hopes of young Italy, which were built on Pius IX.'s national sympathies, were dissipated, Protestant sympathies, nourished by English travellers, Bibles, and tracts, began to be manifested far and wide in Italy, which, although repressed by penalties of imprisonment, are still increasing and strengthening. — In the valleys of *Piedmont* lived the remnants of the Waldenses (§ 33, 2), about 20,000 souls, under constant oppressions and persecutions, which were only restrained by Prussian and English intervention. They regarded themselves as being a branch of the Reformed Church; and having been enriched

since the Reformation by the spirit of the Genevan Church, they designated themselves as église évangelique Vaudoise at a synod (1839). When in 1848 the crown of *Sardinia* placed itself at the head of Italian Liberalism, religious freedom was also granted to them with all civil rights. Now a large Waldensian congregation was formed in the midst of the city of Turin, which grew rapidly by the addition of numerous fugitives from the rest of Italy. But in 1854 already a division took place between the elements of which it was composed. Waldensian orthodoxy was too narrow-minded for the liberalistic Italians. A former Romish priest, *Dr. de Sanctis*, took the lead of the discontents, was deposed from his office by the Waldenses, and formed an independent evangelical Italian congregation with a rationalizing confession of faith. But in spite of this division the evangelization of the country went forward, and now evangelical congregations exist in all the principal cities, from whence also a number of rural congregations have already been established.—In *Tuscany*, where in a liberal spirit the legislature even allowed transition to Protestantism, in 1852 *Francesco* and *Rosa Madiai* were compelled to atone for the crime of having read the Bible by severe punishment in a house of correction. The intervention of evangelical unions was in vain; equally so even the intercession of the King of Prussia. Finally, the English premier, Lord Palmerston, stimulated by the public opinion of England, spoke an earnest word, which even promised in the worst case to place several ships-of-war at the disposal of the demands of Christian humanity. The grand-duke now rid himself of the two martyrs by banishing them from the country in 1853; and Lord Shaftesbury organized a society at Edinburgh, the object of which is to prevent the occurrence of similar cases by all means allowed by the Gospel. — In *Spain* also, where a large number of Bibles, tracts, and a religious paper in the Spanish language ("El Alba"), have been distributed from Gibraltar, Protestant sympathies are not wanting.—The Lutheran Church of *Russia*, embracing about 2,500,000 souls, received a common church-order and liturgy: the latter on the basis of the old Swedish liturgy; the former with the requisition that all teachers of religion in church and school adhere to the Formula of Concord. — In *Poland* the Reformed and Lutheran Churches were united since 1828 under a combined consistory. The independent existence of both churches was restored by an imperial ukase of 1849. Protestants as well as Roman Catholics rejoice in the full enjoyment of all civil rights, and in the unlimited freedom of worship, although they deny themselves bells on their churches in inner Russia; and children of mixed marriages, in which one party belongs to the orthodox church, are adjudged to the latter by the law. The Lutheran Church in Livonia (with the island of *Oesel*) sustained an important and, according to the laws, irrevocable loss in 1845 and 1846 by the large transition (60,000 to 70,000 souls) of the Lettonian and Esthonian natives to the orthodox established

church. The movement did not extend to the neighboring provinces of Courland and Esthonia. In order to remove the pressing want of churches and schools, of preachers and teachers, existing in the evangelical Lutheran congregations in Russia, an *Aid-society*, modelled after the Gustave-Adolphus Society, has lately been formed (1858) with imperial approbation, under the direction of the general consistory at St. Petersburg; which, it is to be hoped, will not fail to receive the willing and hearty co-operation of congregations more favorably circumstanced. The theological faculty of Dorpat has been allowed (1858) to publish a journal for theology and the church, which is exempt from spiritual and temporal censorship. — In *Turkey*, English and North American missionaries labor among the Armenians, Maronites, Greeks, and Jews. Among the Armenians in Asia Minor there are already 12 Protestant congregations; 3 in the chief city. In Constantinople there are 10 Protestant preachers and 14 Protestant schools, and in the whole empire about 50 Protestant congregations.

12. *North America.** The United States of North America, which demands no other religious guarantee from its citizens than faith in *a* God, embraces the most heterogeneous religious tendencies, churches, and sects; as could not be otherwise from the peculiar origin of the population. As the settlers frequently left their native countries from religious motives, the most diverse religious parties were gathered here, which, especially on account of the existing defective theological culture and the sense for the practical, made the country the theatre of religious excitements of all kinds; among which the *Revivals*, which are systematically carried on by many denominations, play so prominent a part. The State does not concern itself at all about religious affairs, and permits every congregation to care for itself. Consequently the preachers are entirely dependent on the congregations, and are frequently employed by the year. Still they constitute a most highly respected order, and churchly feeling and churchly piety are nowhere in the world so highly and universally valued as here. About 800 new Protestant churches are formed on an average every year. The support of the same is for the most part provided for by annual free contributions; the foundation of a permanent church property is pretty generally regarded as inexpedient. Educational affairs, likewise dependent on voluntary co-operation, are in general still very defective and unsatisfactory. The future preachers received their education at the colleges (higher educational institutions of a more general tendency) and the numerous theological seminaries. To check the spread of intemperance, which has become so great an evil through immigrant Irishmen and Germans,

* It will be noticed that Dr. Kurtz is hardly correct in some statements regarding America, *e. g.*, the first sentence in this paragraph. No religious faith is required for citizenship.

several States have prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors, even of beer. To prevent the spread of Popery, as also the flooding of the country by Irishmen and wild German demagogues, the widely ramified and powerful order of *Know-Nothings* [now entirely defunct in 1861—Tr.] has been formed among the native Anglo-Americans, which proposes to deprive Papists and foreigners of all participation in the affairs of the government. Meanwhile, the party has divided on the *Slavery Question*. The Southern States made every effort to preserve slavery, which is so indispensable to them, and succeeded in gaining a brilliant victory through the *Nebraska bill* (1854). Within the last ten years a crazy belief in spirits and wonders connected with table-turnings, spiritual-knockings, citation of spirits and miraculous cures by means of Magnetism and Somnambulism, has spread in an epidemic way under the name of *Spiritualism*. A multitude of journals and books serve to propagate this Spiritualism, which, with its three millions of believers, has almost assumed the character of a new religion, with new revelations far exceeding those of the Prophets and Apostles. On the other hand, the monetary and mercantile crisis towards the close of 1857 produced a religious excitement such as had never before been experienced even in America. It was the golden age of *Revivals*, in which certainly not everything that glittered was gold.

The numerous Protestant denominations may be divided into two chief groups, the one *English*, the other *German*. The most important of the first group are: 1. The *Congregationalists* (Puritans, Independents, cf. § 19, 4). Founded by the *Pilgrim Fathers*, who emigrated from England (1620), they now number about 2,000,000.* They adhere to the Westminster Confession of 1642, with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper German orthodox theology, which is regarded by them as poorly disguised Rationalism, on account of its lax principles concerning inspiration and the canon, has, nevertheless, exerted a not insignificant influence in its most celebrated seminary at Andover through Prof. *Moses Stuart*. 2. The *Presbyterians*, of Scotch origin, numbering about 2,500,000 souls, agree with the Congregationalists in doctrine and confession, but are distinguished from them by a common church government of a synodal and presbyterial character. Since 1837 they have been divided into an *Old* and *New* school; the latter of which, charged with apostacy from strict Calvinistic orthodoxy, does not hesitate to co-operate with other denominations in promoting Christian objects, whilst the former is more exclusive. The principal seminary of the latter is in New York, that of the former at Princeton. Here *Dr. Alexander* taught, a man well acquainted with German theology. 3. The *Dutch Reformed Church*, established by colonists from Holland, who settled on the Hudson in 1609, and founded New York. It is closely allied with the Presbyterians. It has long since permitted the Dutch language and Dutch customs to fall into disuse; on

* These and other figures are incorrect, unless including the families of the church members.

the other hand, it adheres with great tenacity to the articles of the Synod of Dort. It numbers 130,000 members. 4. The *Protestant Episcopal Church* (1,000,000 souls) is distinguished in general by a prudent and solid churchliness. Puseyism has also crept in here, and contributed a number of proselytes to the Romish Church. 5. The *Methodists* (about 2,000,000) stood also here in a connection of correspondence with the episcopal mother-church. But when the country was distracted by the war of the Revolution, *Wesley* (1784) himself ordained a bishop for his Methodist societies in North America, which since then have been organized as the Methodist Episcopal Church into an independent denomination. Their influence on the religious life of America has been very great. They, above all others, have displayed the greatest skill in Revivals, but the excess connected with them from the beginning has here increased to an almost incredible degree through the so-called *New Measures* (protracted meetings, enquiry meetings, camp-meetings, etc.) It reached its height in the so-called camp-meetings, which are frequently held by itinerant Methodist preachers in forests under the free heavens, to awaken the masses of the people who flock to them. Day and night, without interruption, they pray, sing, preach, and exhort; all the terrors of hell are evoked, the excitement increases with every moment; conflicts of repentance, connected with sighs, sobs, groans, convulsions and spasms, make their appearance; divine grace finally is experienced; loud rejoicings, embracings, and benedictions of the converts, mingle with the groanings of those still wrestling for grace at the anxious bench. The Methodists themselves have come to see that more can be accomplished by the *old* measures than by the new. Since 1847 the Methodist Church has been divided into two hostile camps, a Southern and a Northern one. The first-named tolerates slavery, whilst the latter are decided abolitionists, and excommunicate every slaveholder as an unbeliever. Another party, the *Protestant Methodists*, have separated on account of the hierarchy of the mother-church, and have exchanged the episcopal form of government for a congregationalistic one. 6. The *Baptists*, which have been much divided among themselves by sects, number in all about 4,000,000 of souls. The most numerous by far are the *Calvinistic Baptists*. Their proselytism is as great as their zeal in heathen missions. In opposition to them the *Free-will Baptists* represent Arminian principles, and the *Christian Baptists* or *Campbellites* have embraced Unitarian doctrines.

The *German* emigration to North America began even in Penn's time. In 1742 there were already 100,000 Germans in Pennsylvania. In addition to *Zinzendorf* and the Moravian missionaries, the Lutheran preacher *Dr. Melchior Mühlenberg* (*ob.* 1787), a pupil of A. H. Francke, and the Reformed preacher *Michael Schlatter* of St. Gallen (the former sent out by the Orphan's House at Halle, the latter by the Church of

Holland), labored with great success in organizing churches among these Germans. The Orphan's House sent out many other zealous preachers, until the prevalence of Rationalism also broke this bond. As at the same time also the stream of German emigration was interrupted in its flow, and in consequence all influence from the mother country was suspended, crowds of Germans, carried away with the Revivals, connected themselves with the Anglo-American denominations; and, besides, with the introduction of the English language, English Puritanic or Methodistic doctrines and customs were also introduced into the German denominations. Since 1815 German emigration again commenced and increased from year to year.

The Lutheran Church in the United States numbers (1876) about 5000 churches, 2500 preachers, 600,000 communicants, and 55 synods. A great diversity of sentiment exists, particularly regarding the authority of the Augsburg Confession, in all its details. During the last ten years the church has been divided into four general organizations, representing, to a large degree, the difference of doctrinal views. Some ten district synods still remain unconnected with either of these.

1. *The General Synod* (mainly English), organized 1820, is the oldest general organization of the American Lutheran Church. It comprises twenty-three synods, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska; with 1200 churches, 800 preachers, and 112,000 communicants. As to doctrine, the General Synod adheres, in the main, to the Augsburg Confession, permitting, however, diversion in what are considered points of minor importance. The so-called "New Measures" are in general practice. The tendency is to hold in light esteem any sacramental efficacy of the ordinances. A divinely appointed ministry is recognized, which is regarded, however, in no sense a hierarchy. Members of Non-Lutheran Churches are invited to the communion table,and Non-Lutheran pastors are not excluded from their pulpits.

2. *The General Council*, (English, German, and Scandinavian) was, formally organized at Fort Wayne, Ind., 1867. As early as 1840 an energetic movement appeared against New and in favor of Old Lutheranism. This movement culminated in the withdrawal of the Old Lutherans from the General Synod, who, in 1867, constituted *The General Council*, comprising (1876) some ten synods in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Texas, Tennessee, and Canada; with 1000 churches, 500 preachers, and 150,000 communicants. As to doctrine, the members of this branch of the Lutheran Church in America cling to the "unadulterated Augsburg Confession in its original meaning," recognizing its complete harmony with the Word of God. They reject unionism and the "New Measures" in every form.

3. *The General Synod in North America (South)*, (English,) was organized in 1863, shortly after the outbreak of the civil war. It comprises (1876) five synods in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi; with 200 churches, 100 preachers, and 12,000 communicants. It accepts the Augsburg Confession, and is confessionally somewhat in advance of the *General Synod*, from which it separated.

4. *The Synodical Conference* was organized in 1872, and comprises six synods in Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota; with 1500 churches, 900 preachers, and 240,000 communicants. It accepts all the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church.

5. The *Unorganized Synods* are ten in number, viz.: German Synod of Iowa, Tennessee Synod, Synod of North Carolina, Hauge's Norw. Synod in America, Buffalo Synods (two), Concordia Synod, Va., Conference for Nor. Dan. Lutheran Church in America, Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod (North-West), Norwegian Danish Aug'stana Synod (North-West).

The *German Reformed Church*, embracing about 1,000,000* souls, has its principal seminary at Mercersburg in Pennsylvania. Its confession of faith is the Heidelberg Catechism; its theology at this time a sprout of German evangelical Union theology, but of a positive character. *Mercersburg theology* has lately been charged by Anglo-Americans with being of a Romanizing tendency, because one of its most able teachers, *Dr. John W. Nevin*, a born Anglo-American and Presbyterian, defended the Calvinistic doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, and since then he has certainly fallen into a Puseyistic current through patristic studies, and regards North American sectarianism as the Protestant Antichrist. Having been several times complained of before the synod, he resigned his office in 1851, and there is great anxiety to see whether he will follow Newman's example. Although accordingly the Union theology is predominant as well among the Reformed as among the Lutherans, still a "*German Evangelical Union of the West*" was formed at St. Louis in 1841, which would dispense with the names Reformed and Lutheran. It has established a seminary at Marthasville in Missouri. — Besides these, there are represented in North America of the older German sects, the *Moravians*, the *Mennonites*, the *Dunkers*, and the *Swedenborgians*. Of more modern date are several German Methodist sects: 1. The "*United Brethren in Christ*" with 500 preachers, originated by a Reformed preacher, *W. Otterbein* (*ob.* 1813). 2. The "*Evangelical Society*," commonly called *Albrights*, originated by *Jacob Albright*, originally a Lutheran layman, who was ordained (1803) by his own adherents, with 200 or 300 Methodistic preachers. 3. The *German Methodists*, an integral member of the Episcopal Methodist Church. At its head stands *Dr. Nast* of Cincinnati; they possess an active missionary for Germany in *L. S. Jacoby* in Bremen. 4. The *Winebrennarians*, or the *Church of God*, established by an excommunicated German Reformed preacher of this name (1839). They run the Methodistic per force method of conversion into the wildest extravagances, and are besides fanatical opponents of infant baptism. *See note p. 348.

§ 56. PROTESTANT THEOLOGY IN GERMANY.

Cf. *Kahnis* u. *Ficker*, ll. cc. at § 50. K. Schwarz, zur Gesch. d. neuest. Theol. Lpz. 1856.

The proper founder of modern Protestant theology, an Origen of the 19th century, was *Schleiermacher*. His influence was so manifold, far-reaching, and lasting, that it not only extended

over his own school, which even yet gives character to theological science, but also over all other tendencies and schools even into the Roman Catholic Church; and that in him, as once in Origen, almost all distinctive and constructive tendencies which have since then been unfolded, were originally comprehended. By the side of the old unbelief, which is now characterized as *vulgar Rationalism*, which still possesses its renowned representatives, *De Wette* established the new school of *historico-critical Rationalism*, and *A. Neander* the *pietistic supranaturalistic school*, which soon surpassed both of the older schools of *rational* and of *suprarational supranaturalism*. This modern pietistic school received a theosophic complexion through the senator *John Fred. von Meyer* of Frankfort. But the Union became for it a rock of offence, against which it railed, and upon which it broke to pieces. *K. Hase* represented a *philosophico-æsthetical Rationalism*, which, it is true, did not establish a school of its own, but nevertheless exerted a great influence in ennobling, deepening, and quickening the religious consciousness of the German nation. *K. Daub* established on the basis of Schelling's and Hegel's philosophy a flourishing school of *speculative theology* of an orthodox tendency. But soon after Hegel's death it was divided into a *right* and *left* wing.[39] The former was not able to maintain itself, and its disciples connected themselves with other schools; the latter, laying aside speculation and dogmatics for a time, applied itself to the critical investigation of the early history of Christianity, and established the *new Tübingen-Baur school*. *Schleiermacher's school* was also divided into a right and left wing. Both took the Union for their banner; the *right* wing, however, which claim the exclusive right of being "German" and "modern" theology, wished to have a Consensus Union with a Consensus symbol; the *left*, on the other hand, a Union without a confession. Finally, within the last thirty years, a *strict Lutheran tendency*, incited by Pietism to piety, forced by the Union to the consciousness of the high significance of the specifically Lutheran confession, and qualified by scientific culture for the conflict, also made itself felt in theological science. The task which was proposed to this tendency, was nothing less than again to connect the development of Lutheran theology where after Bengel and Crusius it had been broken off by Rationalism, and to improve it further in the spirit of Luther, J. Gerhard and Bengel, with the abundant means of modern science.

The centre of this tendency is the university of *Erlangen.*—Outside of Germany theological science is in a far lower condition. All able theological contributions have received their nourishment from German science.

1. *The Founders of the Theology of the Nineteenth Century.*—*Schleiermacher* (*ob.* 1834), who was independent of every philosophical school then existing, and thoroughly educated in philosophy, stands forth in the first third of this century as the renewer and prince of theological science. He received from the Moravian Church, under whose influence he was educated, a deep and personal devotion to the Saviour,—although he was repelled by Moravian narrow-mindedness;—and from the Reformed Church, in which he was born, a clear and sharp intellectual tendency for science and practical life. *Fred. Ernst. Dan. Schleiermacher* (since 1810 Prof. at the newly established university of Berlin) entered upon his high career already in 1799, by the publication of his five "Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihrer Verächtern". It is true, he would have nothing to do with the barbarous lamentations with which the fanatics of the old faith would again cry up the fallen walls of their Jewish Zion; and he made no objection that his hearers rejected the doctrines and dogmas of religion, and would not believe in miracles, revelation, and inspiration; but he would have them to offer reverently with him an offering to the manes of the rejected Holy One, who stood forth full of religion and of the Holy Ghost;—in short, it is not Biblical, and much less churchly Christianity, which he would preach into the heart of the German nation with glowing enthusiasm, but *Spinozian* Pantheism. The fundamental idea of his life, that God, "the absolute unity," could neither be comprehended in thought nor seized hold of by the will, but could be apprehended only by feeling as direct self-consciousness, and consequently that *feeling* was the proper seat of religion, was even then the essence of his doctrines. In the following year (1800) he proposed his moral stand-point in five "Monologues." Every man should represent humanity in his own way, in his own blending of its elements, in order that it might manifest itself in every manner, and everything become real in the fulness of space and of time, that can proceed as heterogeneous out of its bosom. At the same time, but anonymously, appeared also his "Vertrauten Briefe über (Schlegel's notorious) Lucinde," which Gutzkow republished (1835) as a prophecy of the carnal religion of young Germany, with scoffing leers at Schleiermacher's pious, white-clothed subjects for confirmation. The study and translation of Plato, in which Schleiermacher was now engaged for several years, exerted a mighty influence on the form and contents of his thinking. He approached nearer and nearer to positive Christianity. In his "Weihnachtsfeier 1806," an imitation of the Platonic banquet, Christ is represented as the heavenly centre of all faith. In

1811 appeared the "Kurze Darstellung des theol. Studiums," in which he organizes theological science with a master's hand, according to his fundamental religious views. When in 1817 the King of Prussia raised the banner of the Union, Schleiermacher stood in the front rank of its champions. In 1821 he published finally the chief treatise of his life: "Der chr. Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evang. K. im Zusammenhange dargestellt. 3. A. 1835. 2 Bde." That feeling is the seat of all religion, is also the fundamental thought of this important treatise; but religious feeling is for him not merely sense and taste for the infinite, but the immediate consciousness of absolute dependence on God. Jesus Christ, the original, pattern man, in whom the consciousness of God resided in absolute power, redeemed the world by the life which proceeded from him, in that he liberates the God-consciousness of his believers, who are enslaved by the sensual consciousness and therefore stand in need of redemption. It is consequently the work of dogmatics to explain scientifically the Christian consciousness as it exists as a fact in the life of the believer; it is not its work to prove, to establish, but only to unfold and to explain what exists as a fact in the soul in its connection with the entire spiritual life; wherefore dogmatics have nothing at all to do with philosophy. He demonstrated the evangelical Protestant character of the doctrines of faith thus developed, by citations from the confessional works of both churches. But notwithstanding the assurance that his dogmatics were independent of every system of philosophy, his contemporaries thought they discovered therein a large portion of Spinozian pantheistic leaven; and it can scarcely be denied that strong sympathies with the stand-point of his earlier years exist in them. But by the side of his profound theology of feeling there resided in Schleiermacher also another mental tendency, namely, that of a sharp, analyzing intellectual criticism, to which he subjected not only single dogmatic tenets of the Church (concerning the difference between the Sabellian and Athanasian view of the Trinity; concerning the doctrine of election, etc.), but also the canon of the Scriptures, as also the evangelical accounts of the beginning and end of Christ's life, birth, and ascension (Ueber d. s. g. ersten Brief des Paulus an d. Timoth., 1807; Ueber die Schriften des Lukas, ein krit. Versuch, 1817). His lectures, which embraced almost all branches of theology and philosophy (Dialectics, Ethics, Politics, Æsthetics, Pedagogics, etc.), and his other posthumous writings, as also his sermons, have been collected in his "Sämmtlichen Werke, 1835 ff."

By the side of Schleiermacher in Berlin, and in various ways incited and enriched by him, labored *Aug. Neander* since 1812; who exerted, it is true, a much less intensive, but a much greater extensive influence than he, for, since the times of Luther and Melanchthon, no theological teacher had more devoted and reverent pupils than Neander. He entered into Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, and transformed it

into a theology of the heart ("Pectus est, quod theologum facit"). By his subjective theology of the heart he became the progenitor of modern scientific Pietism; but it also incapacitated him from understanding the pressure of the age to regain an objective and firm basis. At the same time, also, the philosophy of conception, which spread so powerfully immediately around him, was not less odious to him, than the Confessionalism which in part proceeded from his own school; and the less he was able to retard its progress, the more his peculiar tendency of mind inclined to morbid irritation and austere exclusiveness, even to the "fanaticism of mildness and the intolerance of tolerance". He was so entirely a Pectoralist, that even his criticism was only a criticism of feeling; and this was manifested nowhere more arbitrarily than with regard to the historical books of the New Testament, where he wavers continually between authenticity and non-authenticity, between history and myth (Gesch. d. Pflanzung u. Seitung der K. durch die Apostel. 1832. 4. A. 1837. 2 Bde.; most of all in the "Life of Christ." 1837. 4. A. 1845). Concerning the most important work of his life, the "History of the Church," cf. § 4, 4. Vol. I. He has also acquired great reputation through monographic investigations in the sphere of church history (Kaiser Julian u. s. Zeitalter, 1812; der h. Bernhard u. s. Zeitalt. 1813. 2. A. 1848; Genetische Entwickl. d. vornemst. gnost. Systeme, 1818; Der h. Chrysostomus u. d. K. sr. Zeit. 1821. 3. A. 1848. 2 Bde.; Antignostikus od. Geist. des Tertullian. 1826. 2. A. 1849; Denkwürdigkk. aus. d. Gesch. d. Christth. u. d. chr. Lebens. 1822. 3 Bde. Kl. Gelegenheitsschriften. 3. A. 1825; Wissenschaftl. Abhandl. 1851). Neander died in 1850, and F. W. Krummacher laments at his grave the "last church-father"; whilst *K. Schwarz* characterized him as a Protestant monk, whose cloister was the world of the inner man. His lectures on the history of doctrines were published by J. L. Jacobi. 2 Bde. 1857 f. (Cf. *O. Krabbe*, A. N. Hamb. 1852.) — The noble senator *John Fred. v. Meyer* is worthy of a place here as the originator of a theosophic current in pietistic and even confessional Lutheran theology. He repeatedly filled the office of a president of the civil court, as also that of the first burgomaster of Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, and Erlangen conferred upon him, in 1821, the honorary title of D. D. He died in 1849. He owes his theosophic tendency especially to the study of the Kabbala. He also published "The. Book of Jezira, in Heb. and Ger., 1830." His principal work is: "Die h. Schrift in berichtiger Uebers. mit kurzen Anmerkk. 1819" (3d edition, 1855, edited by R. Steir). He is pretty reserved with his theosophic views in his "Inbegriff der chr. Glaubenslehre, 1832"; less so in his "Blättern für höhere Wahrheit. 11 Bde. 1820–32".

An important influence was exerted on the development of modern theology, especially critical theology, by *William Mart. Lebr. de Wette.* He was called (1810), at the same time with Schleiermacher, to the newly founded university of Berlin; but a letter of consolation to

Sand's mother, which was regarded as an apology for assassination, caused his removal from Berlin in 1819. Since 1822 he labored unweariedly to his death, at Basle (1849). His theological views were rooted in the philosophy of his friend *Fries*, to which he adhered until his death. Still, Schleiermacher's friendship also exerted an important influence upon him He also placed the essence of religion in feeling, which he, moreover, connected more closely with knowledge and the will. He recognized in the doctrines of the Church an important symbolical investiture of religious truth, on which account he was decried for a long time by the Rationalists as a mystic. His great strength, however, consisted in the sharp, analyzing criticism with which he treated the biblical canon and the biblical history of the Old and New Testament; his commentaries on the whole of the New Testament, to which he devoted the latter years of his life, are of permanent worth (Exeget. Handbuch zum N. T. 3 Bde.) At this period also he approximated nearer and nearer to positive Christianity, attaining even to greater prudence in the sphere of criticism. He was exceedingly fruitful as an author, and his works are upon various subjects. He began his career as an author with the "Krit. Versuche ü. d. Glaubwürdigk. d. Bd. d. Chronik mit Rücksicht auf die mosaischen Bd. 1806." Then followed: "Die Kritik. d. israel. Gesch. 1807; Der Comment. zu d. Psalmen. 1811, u. ö; Die Bibelübersetzung (at first in connection with Augusti, the 2d edition by himself alone); De morte Christi expiatoria, 1813; Lehrb. d. chr. Dogmatik. 1813, 2 Bde.; Lehrb. d. hebr. jüd. Archäologie, 3 A. 1842; Ueber Religion und Theologie, 2 A. 1821; Christl. Sittenlehre, 1819 ff. 3 Bde.; Lehrb. d. Einl. ins A. 3 A. 1845, and ins N. T. 4 A. 1848; Theodor, od. des Zweiflers Weihe, 2 A. 1828," and many others. — The mental tendency of *Charles Hase* is related with that of De Wette, although less critically analyzing, more aesthetically trained, and less one-sided as regards philosophy. His connection with the Burschenschaft led to an imprisonment of five months in the castle of Hohenasperg (1822). He labored since 1830 in Jena. He was also incited by Fries' philosophy, but Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher, as well as Romantic national literature, exerted a strong influence upon his rich spirit. He regarded Christ as the ideal man, sinless, endowed with the fulness of all love and with the power of pure humanity, as having truly risen from the dead, and as the beginner of the new life in the kingdom of God, whose entire character is most purely, profoundly, and truly represented in the gospel of *John*, who reclined on the Master's bosom. He unfolded his religious views in the treatise "Des alten Pfarrers Testament," 1822; further, in his "Gnosis, 1826, 3 Bde.," calculated for the learned, in his "Lehrb. d. ev. Dogmatik, 1825, 4. A. 1850," and in his "Leben Jesu, 1829, 3. A. 1853." His "Hutterus redivivus, 1828, 9. A. 1858," in which he endeavors to exhibit old Protestant (Luth.) dogmatics, as Hutterus, if he now lived, would have done it, provoked the most violent attacks from

Röhr and his clique, and led him to publish the "Theologischen Streitschriften, 3 Hefte, 1834–37," by which vulgar Rationalism received its death-blow. (Concerning Hase's Church History, cf. § 4, 4, Vol. I.) Equally fresh, spirited, and attractive, are his monographs from Church History ("Neue Propheten: die Jungfrau v. Orleans, Savonarola, die münsterschen Wiedertäufer, 1851; Franz von Assisi, ein Heiligenbild, 1855; Diebeiden Erzbischöfe, 1839; D. geistl. Schauspiel, 1858," etc.) In his letter to *Baur* concerning the Tübingen School (1855) he endeavors to mediate, with a full acknowledgment of the efforts of Tübingen, and labors to save at least the authenticity and credibility of the fourth Gospel.

2. *Rationalistic Theology.* —Its principal organs were *Röhr's* Krit. Predigerbibliothek since 1820, and *Ernst Zimmermann's* Allgem. (Darmstädter) Kirchenzeitung since 1822. The former adhered to its end to the imperfectibility of the Rationalism of the ancien régime; the latter became continually more orthodox within the last 40 years (since *Charles Zimmermann* alone edited it, the ambiguous vignette of the three clasped hands with the motto "We all believe in one God" also received a decidedly Christian definiteness by the addition of the crucifix. It is at this time, under *Schenkel's* editorship, the organ of a Melanchthonianism zealous for the Union). The rationalistic theology of this period, however, divides into an old and a new school. The former, to which *Rheinwald* gave the classic name of *Rationalismus vulgaris*, is characterized, on the one hand, by the unimprovableness, with which it permitted all the currents of the new spirit in philosophy and theology, in science and national literature to pass by without having its poverty enriched the least thereby or being in the least disturbed in its self-sufficiency,—and on the other hand, by the naive conviction that its water of illumination was identical with the genuine water of life of the holy Scriptures, on which account it continued with touching perseverance to distil the spirit out of it by exegetical arts, and to offer the remaining phlegma for sale as the tincture of life. Its contributions consequently have only worth at present for a cabinet of antiquities or of curiosities. The new school, on the contrary, which we may designate as historico-critical Rationalism, is characterized by a more objective investigation of the Bible and of history, and does not conceal from itself or from others the exclusive antithesis existing between Biblical and its rational theology, and it even takes pleasure in making this antithesis appear as glaring and sharp as possible. As besides, its investigations are conducted in part at least with distinguished knowledge of language and of history, with great penetration and thoroughness, many of its theological contributions have a permanent worth.

The father of the *Vulgar Rationalism* of this period was *John Fred. Röhr*, general superintendent at Weimar (*ob.* 1848). His "Briefe über Rationalismus (1813)" laid down the famous doctrine, that "the wealth

of a farmer-general" was necessary, in order to resign an office incon sistent with one's own conviction. In the "Grund-und Glaubens-sätzen der ev. prot. K." he sketched a new symbol, with the sweet hope of thereby supplanting the old ones, and he contended with great enthusiasm for "The good cause of German Catholicism (1846)." *Eberh. Gottl. Paulus* (*ob.* 1851, aged 90 years) contended by his side to his last breath for the sole supremacy of intellectual faith, which Marheineke defined as a faith which believes that it thinks and thinks that it believes, but is equally unable to do either. His "Philol. krit Commentar zum N. T." interpreted all the accounts of the miracles of the N. T. with incredible ingenuity, as being merely misunderstood narrations of perfectly natural events. He also was enthusiastic for German Catholicism. *Jul. Aug. Ludw. Wegscheider* of Halle (*ob.* 1849) dedicated his "Institutiones theol. christ. dogmaticæ (1815, 8. A. 1844)," which treated the dogmatic proof-texts of the Bible as Dr. Paulus treated the miracles, to the piis Manibus Lutheri. *Charles Gottl. Bretschneider*, general superintendent of Gotha (*ob.* 1848) began as a moderate supranaturalist (Entwickl. aller in d. Dogm. vorkommenden Begriffe 1805), but advanced in the various editions of his "Handb. d. Dogmatic (1814, 4. A. 1838) nearer and nearer to Vulgar Rationalism, whose perfection is already represented in his "Grundlage des ev. Pietismus, oder Lehre von Adam's Fall," etc. etc. (1833). He also wrote several poor rationalistic romances (Heinrich u. Antonio od. d. Proselyten; der Freiherr v. Sandan od. d. gemischten Ehen; Clementine oder die Frommen u. Altgläubigen unsrer Tage). He also rendered important service by his "Corpus Reformatorum," which thus far (Bd. 26) only embraces Melanchthon's works. *Christoph. Fred. v. Ammon*, Reinhard's successor at Dresden (*ob.* 1850), also followed in the same way from rational Supranaturalism (Summa theologiæ; Bibl. Theol.; Handb. d. chr. Sittenlehre, etc. etc.) through all possible deviations to Vulgar Rationalism (Fortbildung des Christenthums zur Weltreligion, 4 Bde.) In his "Leben Jesu," however, he has finally placed himself on D. Strauss' stand-point. But on the other hand also, when Harms published his theses (1817), he commended them "as a bitter medicine for those weak in faith of our time," for which he was compelled to hear hard words from Schleiermacher.

Next to *De Wette* among the representatives of *historico-critical Rationalism* stands *G. Bened. Winer* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1858), the founder of the "Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms" (6. A. 1856), by which philological thoroughness and acumen were first brought to the interpretation of the N. T. His "Handb. der theol. Literature," and especially his "Real-lexicon" (3. A. 1847) are master-pieces of true German industry combined with admirable acuteness. *K. Fr. Aug. Fritzche* of Giessen pushed the philological acuteness of interpreting the N. T. to the most extreme one-sidedness (Commentare zum Matth., Mark u. Römerbr.). *K. A. Credner* of Giessen (*ob.* 1857) contributed much that was excel-

lent to the isagogics of the N. T. *David Schulz* of Breslau (*ob.* 1854), a violent opponent of the evang. Kirchenzeitung and of the Silesian Lutherans, to whom their persecution is in great part chargeable, defends his superficial Rationalism in the "Christl. Lehre vom heil. Abendm.," and in the "Christl. Lehre vom Glauben;" his colleague, *D. G. C. v. Cölln* (*ob.* 1833) elaborated *Münscher's* "Dogmengeschichte," and left behind a "Bibl. Theologie" (edited by D. Schulz, 1836). *William Gesenius* of Halle (*ob.* 1842) acquired a high reputation in the department of the philological study of the O. T. by his Hebrew grammars and lexicons. His commentary on Isaiah (3 Bde. 1821) contains able historical studies. — From his school proceeded *Fr. Tuch* of Leipsic (Comment. zur Genesis) and *Aug. Knobel* of Giessen (der Prophetismus der Hebräer; Comm. zum B. Koheleth, zur Genesis, zum Exod. u. Leviticus; die Völkertafel). *Herm. Hupfeld* of Marburg and Halle, although contending on Bickell's side in the controversy about symbols in the electorate of Hesse (1838, cf. § 55, 3), nevertheless, fell into the toils of Rationalism through his science of the O. T. (Kritik d. Genesis; de festorum apud Hebr. ratione; Comm. zu d. Psalmen, 2 Bde. etc.) *Fred. Hitzig* of Zurich excels them all in boldness of criticizing acuteness and conforming with the spirit of the rationalistic interpretation (Begriff der Kritik am A. T. errötert. 1831; Urgesch. u. Mythologie der Philistäer, 1845; Commentare zum Isaiah, d. Psalmen, d. 12 kl. Proph., Jer., Ezech., Daniel, Pred. Sal.; John, Marcus u. s. Schriften, 1843, etc.). — *Henry Ewald* of Göttingen, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him, is the acknowledged dictator in the sphere of Hebrew grammar, practises on the Biblical books a criticism arbitrary and subjective beyond description, but not on this account with the less presumption of being omniscient and infallible; holds yearly in his "Jahrbüchern der bibl. Wissenschaft" an auto-da-fé over the collected theological and biblical literature of the departed year; and issues — being a prophet as well as Isaiah and Jeremiah — in every preface a prophetical burden against the theological, ecclesiastical, or political mischief-makers of our times. He has acquired a high reputation in the virtuososhiip of low abuse and slander, and the old saying of the Caliph Omar "either—or" is actualized annually in his "Jahrhücher". It is a pity that a moral earnestness so able has evaporated in the most boundless pride; that a spirit so powerful, rich, and noble, has gone to ruin in the most fathomless subjectivism. His works (Composition d. Genesis, 1823; Hebr. Grammatik, 1827, 6. A. 1856; Hohelied, 1826; Comm. in Apocalypsin, 1828; Die poetischen Bb. d. A. T. 4 Bde. 2. A. 1840; Die Propheten d. A. Bundes, 2 Bde. 1840; Gesch. d. Volkes Israel bis auf Christus, 7 Bde., 2. A. 1851 ff.; Gesch. Christus u. sr. Zeit. 2. A. 1857; Gesch. des apost. Zeitalter, 1858; Die drei ersten Evangelien, 1850; Die Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus, 1857; Das Buch Henoch, 1854; Die sibyllinischen Bücher, 1859) nevertheless, contain much that is worthy of notice, that is suggestive and full of spirit.

More judicious are the contributions of his disciple *Ernst Bertheau* of Göttingen (Zur Gesch. d. Israeliten, 1842; Comment. zu den Sprüchen Sal., zur Chronik, zu den Richtern, etc.) *Cæsar v. Lengerke* of Königsberg also (*ob.* 1855), who experienced the pain of being compelled to withdraw from the professorship of the literature of the Old Testament in favor of his antipode Hävernick, and of retiring into the philosophical faculty, connected himself in his later writings with Ewald, but also did not disdain in his compilatory way to use with rare candor even Hengstenberg's writings (Comment. zum Daniel, 1835; Kenâan oder Gesch. Israels, Bd. I. 1843; Comment. zu d. Psalmen, 2 Bde. 1846). *Otto Thenius* has also made himself known as an able interpreter of the Old Testament (Die Bb. Sam. u. d. Könige, 1842–49). *Otto Fridolin Fritzsche* of Zurich has, in connection with *William Grimm* of Jena, rendered important service in the interpretation of the Apocrypha of the O. Test. (Exeg. Handb. 1851 ff.). Yet worthy of special mention as interpreters of the O. Test. are *Gust. Baur* of Giessen (Amos, 1847) and *Aug. Simson* of Königsberg (Hosea, 1851). To the Church historians in this rubric belong *J. E. Chr. Schmidt* of Giessen (*ob.* 1831), *Leber. Danz* of Jena, and above all *J. C. L. Gieseler* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1855). (Cf. § 4, Vol. I.)

3. *The Supranaturalistic Schools.* — So-called *Rational Supranaturalism* is characterized by the acknowledgment of supernatural revelation in the Scriptures, but regards reason as being a source of religious knowledge of equal authority with it, and consequently asserts the rationality of the contents of revelation. Its chief representatives are: *H. Gottl. Tzchirner* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1828), (Briefe über Reinhard's Geständnisse; Katholicismus u. Protestantismus vom Standp. d. Politik; Forts. von Schröckh's K. G.; Gesch. d. chr. Apologetik, Bd. I.; Der Fall des Heidth, Bd. I., published by Niedner; Vorless über d. Glaubensl., published by Hase), *J. Aug. Heinr. Tittmann* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1831), (Pragmat. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Rel. since 1750; Ueber Supranaturalism., Rationalism. u. Atheism.), *E. Fred. Charles Rosenmüller* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1835), (Scholia in V. T. 23 Bde.; altes u. neues Morgenland; Handb. d. bibl. Allerthumsk., etc.), *Chr. Fr. Illgen* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1834), (Founder of the hist. theol. Ztschr.), *L. Fr. Otto Baumgarten-Crusius* of Jena (*ob.* 1843), (Grundzüge d. bibl. Theol.; Lehrbuch u. Compendium d. Dogmengesch.; Ueber Gewissensfreiheit, Lehrfreih. u. ü. d. Ratlsm. u. s. Gegner; Theol. Comment. Zum Ev. Joh., etc.) *Ammon* can also be classed with these.

Supranaturalism proper (suprarational) was also represented by *Storr, Reinhard, Planck, Staüdlin* (§ 50, 6). Storr's school prevailed in Würtemberg for 30 years. Its organs were: *Bengel's* Archiv. 1816–26; *Klaiber's* Studien d. ev. Geistlk. Würtb. 1827–35, and *Steudel's* Tübinger Ztschr. f. Theol. 1828–35; its most distinguished representatives were: *J. Fr. v. Flatt* (*ob.* 1821), (opponent of Kant's philosophy); *E. Gottl. v. Bengel* (*ob.* 1826); *J. Christ. Frcd. Steudel* (*ob.* 1837),

(Glaubenslehre; Bibl. Theol. d. A. T., etc.) The excellent *H. Leonh. Heubner*, director of the seminary at Wittenberg (*ob.* 1853), was Reinhard's disciple, and he was also the most able and churchly of the older Supranaturalists. *J. Chr. William Augusti* of Bonn (*ob.* 1841), at first a Rationalist, also declared later in favor of the old-church system, and opposed, when occasion afforded, the Prussian Union in favor of unconditional territorial privilege (Kritik d. preuss. Kirchenagende, 1824); he acquired the greatest reputation in the sphere of ecclesiastical archæology (Denkwürdigkk., 12 Bde. 1817, Handbuch, 3 Bde. 1836); *Aug. Hahn*, general superintendent of Breslau, made a great stir, when he was called to Leipsic, by defending his treatise De rationalismi vera indole, and by the "Offene Erklärung an die evang. K.," which followed it, by which he called upon the Rationalists to leave the Church (1827). His own system (Lehrb. d. Christl. Glaubens. 1828), however, not only lacks the firm and sure consistency of the old system, but also weakens it in not quite unessential points. The second edition (2 Bde. 1857 ff.) has overcome these weak points and defects in great part. *George Will. Rud. Böhmer* of Breslau has written works in a difficult and diffuse style, on almost all theological subjects, with spirit and solid learning. His chief works are: Die Christlich-kirchl. Alter-thumswissensch., 2 Bde., 1836 ff.; Die chr. Dogmatik u. Glaubenswissensch., 2 Bde. 1840 ff.; Theolog. Ethik. 2 Bde. 1848 ff.; Die Lehrunterschiede der katholl. u. evangell. Kk. Bd. I. 1857; Comment. zum Colosserbr. 1835, etc.

The *leaders of pietistic Supranaturalism*, next to A. Neander, are before all others Tholuck and Hengstenberg; the organ of the former was the "Literärischer Anzeiger" (1830–49), and that of the latter, the "Evang. Kirchenzeitung." *Aug. Tholuck*, since 1826 Prof. at Halle, at first devoted himself to oriental studies, but, being scientifically incited by Neander, and practically by Baron von *Kottwitz* of Berlin (the patriarch of his "Wahren Weihe des Zweiflers"), he applied himself with glowing enthusiasm to theological studies. He possessed a versatile and highly gifted mind, which was highly cultivated, and he led many thousands to Christ, or established them in Him by writings, lectures, sermons, and intercourse,—he also trained up many youths in the confessional Lutheran tendency, whilst he himself, otherwise adhering to no important tendency in science, art, and practical life, and receptive for all the currents of the age of whatever kind, entirely avoided this *one* current. His scientific theology became since then more and more latitudinarian, even almost to an entire rejection of the idea of miracles and of inspiration; but he has nevertheless preserved the pietistic characteristic of his inner life, and with it the entire warmth, depth, and freshness of a mind thoroughly penetrated by Christ. He is most important as an interpreter and apologist of the New Testament, especially since violent attacks drove him to greater philological acuteness. Here belong the Comment. zum Ro-

merbrief, 1824, 5 A. 1855; Ev. Johannis, 7 A. 1857; Hebräerbrief, 5 A. 1850; Bergpredigt, 4 A. 1856; Psalmen, 1843;—Wahre Weihe des Zweiflers od. die Lehre von d. Sünde u. d. Versöhner [the counterpart of De Wette's "Theodor, etc."] 1823, 7 A. 1851; Glaubwürdigkeit d. evang. Gesch. [against D. Strauss] 2 A. 1838. Fruits of his oriental studies are: Ssufismus s. theosophia Persarum pantheist., 1821; Blüthensamml. orient. Mystik, 1825; Speculative Trinitätslehre d. spät. Orients. 1826. Of a historical and apologetical character are: Vermischten Schriften, 2 Bde. 1839. In his "Vorstudien zu einer Gesch. des Rationalism" (Der Geist d. Luth. Theologen Wittenb. im 17 Jahrb. 1852; Das akad. Leben des 17 Jahrb. 1853) he almost loses out of view his real object through his thorough investigation of the curiosities and scandals of private and student life. Of a practical character are his "Stunden der Andacht., 4 A. 1847," and his Sermons, 6 Bde. 1838 ff. *Ernst William Hengstenberg*, since 1826 Prof. at Berlin, passed through an entirely opposite process of development. Being hardened by numerous conflicts, in none of which he yielded a hair's breadth, he stood in science as also in practical life like a brazen wall and an iron pillar against the whole land, and against the kings of Judah, and against their priest, and against the people in the land, mistrustful of the gifts of science, but also adhering with almost unparalleled obstinacy to his views in spite of all counter-arguments, and tracing back all diverging views and theories, even those of decidedly churchly theologians, to Rationalism and Naturalism. Born in the Reformed Church, and even yet more attached to Calvinistic Spiritualism than to Lutheran Realism in his interpretation of the Scriptures, and often even rationalizing in the most striking way with the scriptural accounts of miracles, which do not correspond with his idea of what is worthy of God, he must nevertheless be reckoned among the confessional Lutherans within the Union according to his then dogmatical conviction, and on account of his energetic opposition to the anti-Lutheran practice of the Union. Moreover, to him belongs the honor of first reawakening, reviving, and fostering the taste and zeal for the study of the Old Testament, and also of having vindicated the genuineness of those books of the O. T. which were most assailed: (Christologie des A. T. 3 Bde. 1829 ff., 2 A. 1854 ff.; Beiträge zur Einl. ins A. T. 3 Bde. 1831 ff.; Die Bb. Mose's u. Ægypten. 1841; Gesch. Bileams u. s. Weissagungen. 1842; Comment. zu d. Psalmen, 2 A. 1849 ff. 4 Bde.; Comm. u. d. Offenb. Joh. 2 Bde. 1850 ff.; Die Opfer d. h. Schr. 1852; Der Tag des Herrn. 1852; Auslegung d. Hohenliedes. 1853; Commentar zum Prediger Sal. 1858). *Herm. Olshausen* of Königsberg and Erlangen (*ob.* 1839) opposed the rationalistic superficializing of exegesis with "Einem Worte über tieferen Schriftsinn, 1824," and greatly promoted the religious elevation of the last thirty years by his own spirited, fresh, and suggestive, but as regards philology unsatisfactory, commentary (Bibl. Commentar zum N. T. 1830 ff. 4 Bde. 3 A. 1837, con-

tinuel by Wiesinger and Ebrard). He also felt himself called (Ueber die neuesten kirchlichen Ereignisse in Schlesien, 1835) to bear testimony against the persecuted Lutherans in Silesia. *Rud. Stier*, superintendent at Schkeuditz, incited by Fr. v. Meyer, and receiving from him a theosophic element, has acquired a high reputation for profound and thorough interpretation of the Scriptures, which was compelled to lay under the ban of undeserved neglect for a long time (Andeutungen fur gläubiges Schriftverständniss, 4 Bde. 1824 ff.; Siebzig ausgewählte Psalmen; Jesaias, nicht Pseudsjesais; Hebräerbrief; Br. Judä; Epheserbrief; Die Reden Jesu, etc.) In "Unlutherischen Thesen, deutlich für Jedermann," 1854, he so powerfully opposed the actions of confessional Lutheranism, that the "beams cracked." *J. Andr. Casp. Hävernick* of Königsberg (*ob.* 1845), a disciple of Hengstenberg and of Tholuck, was torn away by death in the midst of his theological career (Einl. ins A. T. 3 Bde. 1836; Comm. zum Proph. Daniel, 1832, zum Proph. Ezechiel, 1843; Vorless. ü. d. bibl. Theol. d. A. T. 1848). A yet briefer period of life was granted to his promising friend and former co-laborer at the newly established theological school at Geneva, *William Steiger* (*ob.* 1836) (Kritik des Rationalismus in Wegscheider's Dogmatik. 1830, Comment. zu I. Petri and Colosser). *Bunsen* (sec. 5) and *Göschel* (sec. 6) also belong here according to their first predominant pietistic stadium of experience.—This school was shipwrecked on the question: either Union or Confession. The chiefs themselves, who survived the crisis of the forty years, advanced on the right and left beyond it; they and their disciples connected themselves partly with modern "German theology," and partly crowded around the banner of Lutheran Confessionalism. *Stier* alone scorned to connect himself with either.

4. The father of modern *speculative theology* was *Charles Daub*, Prof. at Heidelberg (since 1794), where in 1836 he was snatched away by death. He did not permit all the phases of philosophy to pass him by untouched, but both he and his theology were penetrated by them. He wrote, from Kant's stand-point, a work on Catechetics (1801); then he inclined to Fichte and then to Schelling (Theologumena, 1806; Einleitung in die Christl. Dogmatik, 1809, and Judas Ischarioth od. Betrachtungen ü. d. Böse im Verh. zum Guten, 1816). In Judas, where he acknowledges Satan as his own creator, as the most wonderful monster of nature, whom God tolerates from love, and finds in him the original cause of evil, he reached the summit, but also the limits of his Schellingian process of thinking. In the "Dogmatischen Theologie jetziger Zeit, oder die Selbstsucht in d. Theol., 1833," he stands in the atmosphere of Hegelian philosophy. He powerfully attracted and stimulated the youth who sat at his feet; his works, written in "the language of the Olympians," were, however, too little understood, to enable the grand objectivity, the moral energy, the power of faith, the depth and richness of thought, which they con-

tained, to be felt far and wide. His lectures were published in 8 vols. by Marheineke. Nearest to him stands *Phil. Marheineke* of Berlin (*ob.* 1846). The first edition of his dogmatics (1819) is based on Schellingian principles; in the second, Lutheran orthodoxy, in the form of the Hegelian idea, predominates. Of much greater significance, and truly breaking the way, is his Christl. Symbolik (1810 ff. 3 Bde). The most valuable of his works is the "Reformationsgeschichte" (4 Bde. 1816 ff. 2 A. 1831 ff.), a genuine popular work in the noblest sense of the word.—After Hegel's death (1831) the older of his disciples endeavored to assert the orthodox tendency of his philosophy. *Charles Rosenkranz* organized according to it the "Encyklopädia der theol. Wissenschaften, 1831," and *Göschel* continued to theologize in his spirited way in Hegelian forms. The faith in the orthodoxy of the system received its first blow through *Fr. Richter*, who in his work "Die Lehre von den letzen Dingen, 1833," rejected the idea of immortality in the sense of the continuance of personal existence; *Göschel* undertook its vindication with doubtful result. *Billroth*, himself still adhering to the orthodox current, made it the task of scientific exegesis to develop the ideas, which unconsciously constituted the basis of the Biblical representations, and exemplified this in the "Korintherbriefen" (1833). But this principle was soon seriously applied in quite a different way. *David Strauss*, namely, applying it, represented the "Leben Jesu" (1835) as a product of purposeless poetical tradition, and then attempted to prove in his "Glaubenslehre" (1840), that all Christian doctrines were made null and void by modern science. But openly as he also taught that Pantheism was "that which was imperishable in Christianity;" nevertheless, his successors went far beyond him. *Bruno Bauer* declared, after he had passed over from the right wing of the Hegelian school to the extreme left, that the gospels were the product of a deception as crude and spiritless as it was clearly designed; and *Ludwig Feuerbach* maintained, that the new gospel of self-worship was "the essence of Christianity." The rupture of the school was now complete. What *Rosenkranz* and *Schaller* contributed from the centre, what *Göschel* and *G. Andr. Gabler* (de veræ philosophiæ erga pietatem amore) contributed from the right wing to vindicate the system, was not able to restore the illusion, destroyed for ever, of its fundamentally Christian character. The right wing of the Hegelian school was dissolved, its adherents fleeing partly to the camp of the "German" theologians, and partly under the banner of the Lutheran confession (*Göschel*, Kleifoth, Kahnis).

But David Strauss with his "Life of Jesus" was only the advance skirmisher of a school, which was engaged in casting critical artillery of the heaviest calibre under the direction of a great master. *Ferd. Christian Baur* of Tübingen, a man who was equalled by but few of his contemporaries in penetrating acuteness, and by none in gigantic

industry and astounding learning, can be called as well a disciple of Schleiermacher as of Hegel. He inherited from Schleiermacher his sharply analyzing criticism, from Hegel, the view of history, that always and everywhere the imperfect, the elementary, and the rude, was the point of departure of historical development. He had acquired a reputation (Mythol. u. Symbolik d. Naturrel. d. Alth. 1824 f. 3 Bde.), before Hegelian philosophy exerted an influence on him. But since then his activity and reputation increased in a truly brilliant manner (Das manich. Religionssystem, 1831; Die christl. Gnosis, 1835; Die chr. Lehre v. d. Versöhnung, 1838; Die chr. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigk. u. Menschwerdung, 1841 ff. 3 Bde.; Der Gegensatz des Protestsm. u. Katholicism, gegen Möhler, 1836; Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch. 2. A. 1857; Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung, 1852, etc.) His studies were confined for the most part to the primitive history of the church, and he held a view with regard to it which reversed everything that was supposed to be known about it. According to this view, primitive Christianity was nothing but shallow Ebionitism, and all the writings of the New Testament, with the exception of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, as also the Apocalypse, were originated late in the second century for the purpose of covering and harmonizing the conflict between Petrine Jewish and Pauline Gentile Christianity, which had been raging up to this time. The master himself made public only the first rudiments of this doctrine, which, however, scarcely permitted its comprehensive extension and grand articulation to be anticipated from afar, in his work: "Die s. g. Pastoralbriefe d. A. Paulus," 1835. *Ed. Zeller* established (1842) the *Tübinger theol. Jahrbücher* as the organ of this school, and *Baur* unfolded the results of his restless investigations partly in a multitude of treatises in this journal, and partly in special works (Paulus, d. Ap. J. Chr. 1845; Der Kritiker u. der Fanatiker gegen Thiersch. 1846; Krit. Unterss. ü. d. kanon. Erv. 1847; Die ignatianischen Briefe gegen Bunsen, 1848; Das Markus-Ev. 1849; Das Christlth. u. d. chr. K. d. drei erst. Jahrh. 1853). He was emulated by his disciples: *A. Schwegler* (*ob.* 1856) (der Montanismus u. d. K. d. 2. Jahrh. 1841; Das nachapost. Zeitalt. 1846, 2 Bde.); *Ed. Zeller* of Berne (Die Apostelgesch. krit. unters. 1854; Das theol. System Zwingli's, 1853), the talented *Albr. Ritschl* of Bonn (Entstehung der altkath. Kirche, 1850, 2. A. 1857, etc.), the indefatigably and inexhaustibly fruitful *A. Hilgenfeld* of Jena, and many others. Closely united as the school was in the beginning, still dissensions, retractions, and retrograde movements were not wanting on account of the indefatigableness with which always the same subjects were investigated, and always the same masses of rock were tossed hither and thither. Hilgenfeld and Ritschl especially made concessions in favor of orthodoxy. The latter in particular may be regarded as a complete apostate of the school, inasmuch as he has appeared as the decided opponent of almost all of its peculiar doc

trines in the second edition of his principal work. Even with the master and his disciples of the stricter class, a certain, it may be weariness or resignation, seems to have found place. But the permanent gain of new information and of clearer insight into the development of the primitive Church, which was partly obtained by this school, partly by its opponents, is very great and worthy of acknowledgment. *Hilgenfeld*, after the "Tübinger Jahrbb." were no longer published, made a new organ for himself in the "Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie" (1858), which, however, seems to have a wider horizon than the "Jahrbücher."[40]

5. The right-wing school of Schleiermacher forms the trunk of "*modern*" or "German" theology. Still many adherents of the pietistic and speculative schools also connected themselves with it, after the dissolution and dismemberment of their schools. It passed beyond Schleiermacher in various ways. In the first place, it became more positive in its dogmatics, and more conservative in its criticism; it emancipated itself from the Spinozian elements in the view taken of the world by the master, and endeavored to combine modern speculation with Schleiermacher's theology of feeling. It shows its descent from Schleiermacher especially in its affection for the Union. It, however, desires not merely a church-governmental, but also a confessional Union on the basis of the consensus of both confessions, and strives after establishing a consensus symbol, although its subjective dogmatics reserves to itself the freedom of more or less material departures from single consensus doctrines as founded in "the liberty of teaching." It cultivates systematic theology with special predilection, without, meanwhile, neglecting too much the other sciences. Schleiermacher's disregard of the Old Testament, nevertheless, seems still to operate, inasmuch as this school has scarcely any distinguished Old Testament theologians, who are to be found at this time only among the Rationalists and Lutherans. The scientific organs of this school are: the "Theol. Studien und Kritiken" of *Ullmann* and *Umbreit* since 1828; the "deutsche Zeitschr. für chr. Wissensch. u. chr. Leben," established by J. Müller, Nitzsch, and Neander, edited by *Th. Schneider* since 1850 (since 1858 edited by *W. A. Hollenberg*), and the "Jahrbb. für *deutsche* Theologie" of Dorner and Liebner since 1856. The "Repertorium für theol. Literatur und Kirchliche Statistik," established by *Rheinwald* (1831), now edited by *Herm. Reuter* of Breslau, also belongs essentially to this tendency; although often decided representatives of churchly Confessionalism also speak through it. The "*neue* evangelische Kirchenzeitung," edited since 1859 by *H. Messner*, announces itself as the organ of the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance (§ 54, 5), and almost all of the distinguished representatives of the Union are its contributors.

Although "German" theology would have all special ecclesiastical differences eradicated and obliterated from principle, nevertheless, the

descent from the one or the other church has not been entirely without influence upon the collective mental tendency of its adherents. Its principal representatives from the *Reformed Church* are: *Alex. Schweizer* of Zurich, *the one* of all Schleiermacher's disciples who has preserved the negative critical tendency of the master in its purest form, and continued to cultivate it with the most acuteness ("Ueber die Dignität des Religionsstifters," "Glaubenslehre der ev. reform. K. 1844;" "Gesch. d. protest. Centraldogmen. 1853;" "Krit. Unters. d. Ev. Joh. 1841"). Nearest to him stood *Matth. Schneckenberger* of Berne (*ob.* 1849), an acute and independent investigator (Beitr. zur Einl. ins N. T. 1832; zur kirchl. Christologie, 1848; Vergleichende Darstellung d. luth. u. ref. Lehrbegriffs, published by Güder, 1855). *K. Bernh. Hundeshagen* of Berne and Heidelberg, is the author of the spirited treatise: "Der *deutsche* Protestsm., s. Vergangenh. u. s. heutige Lebensfrage, von e. *deutschen* Theologen. 1847." *Charles Henry Sack*, formerly Prof. in Bonn, now consistorial councillor at Magdeburg, is one of the oldest and at the same time most positive disciples of Schleiermacher (Christl. Apologetik. 1829, 2. A. 1841; Christl. Polemik, 1838). *John Peter Lange*, originally a Pietist, is a man most highly gifted with imaginative, poetic, and speculative talents, a dilettant in all sciences, a pyrotechnist, who lets his mental fire shine, sparkle, and flash continually, in all colors and forms in his writings (Vermischte Schriften, 4 Bde.; Das Land der Herrlichkeit; Leben Jesu, 4 Bde.; Dogmatik, 3 Bde.; Gesch. d. apost. Zeitalters, 2 Bde.; Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk, 1858 ff.) *Charles Rud. Hagenbach* of Basle wrote besides his Church History (§ 4, Vol. I.) "Lehrbb. der Dogmengeschichte," 4. A. 1857, which is much used, and the "Theolog. Encyklopadie," 5. A. 1858. Zealous Melanchthonians are: *Daniel Schenkel* of Heidelberg (Das Wesen des Protestantismus aus den Quellen des Reformations-zeitalters, 3 Bde. 1845 ff.; Princip des Protestantism, 1851; Gespräche über Protestantism, u. Katholicism, 2 Bde. 1852 f.; Der Unionsberuf des Protestantism, 1855; Die Christl. Dogmatik vom Standpunkt des Gewissens, Bd. I. 1858).—*Henry Heppe* of Marburg, a diligent and careful, but one-sided investigator into the sources of the period of the Reformation (Gesch. des deutschen Protestantism, 4 Bde. 1852 ff.; Die confessionelle Entwickl. der altprotest. K. Deutschl. 1854; Bekenntnisschriften der altprotest. K. Deutschlands, 1855; Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantism, im 16. Jahrh. 3 Bde. 1857; Gesch. des deutschen Volksschulwesen, 3 Bde. 1858)—and *John Henry Aug. Ebrard*, consistorial councillor at Spire, a spirited, devout, and versatile theologian (Wissensch. Kritik. der evang. Gesch. 2. A. 1850: Christl. Dogmatik, 2 Bde. 1851 f.; Vorless. u. d. prakt Theol. 1854; Commentare zur Hebräerbr. u. zur Apok., etc.)

Among the disciples of Schleiermacher from the *Lutheran Church*, *Fred. Lücke* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1855) is to be mentioned first. He was the first who, even before Tholuck, manifested a spirited, fresh, and

devout exegesis; but, like Tholuck, he became more and more free thinking and latitudinarian in his relation to the Scriptures and to the faith of the Church (Grundriss d. neutest. Hermeneutik. 1822; Comm. ü. d. Schriften d. Johannes, 1820 ff., 4 Bde. 3. A. 1843 ff.). *Charles Imm. Nitzsch* of Bonn and Berlin, a profound thinker, is next to Jul. Müller the most influential and respected of the Consensus theologians (System d. chr. Lehre, 6. A. 1852; Protest. Beantw. d. Symbolik Möhler's, 1834; Prakt. Theol. 1847 ff., 3 Bde.; Urkundenbuch d. ev. Union, 1853, etc.) *Jul. Müller* of Göttingen and Halle is, apart from the strange reception of an antemundane fall, and notwithstanding his inflexibility in favor of an actual, not merely church governmental, but also confessional Union ("Die ev. Union, ihr Wesen u. ihre göttl. Rechte, 1854"), the most deeply and firmly grounded of all the Consensus theologians in the Lutheran faith. His principal work ("Die Christl. Lehre von der Sünde." 4. A. 1858, 2 Bde.) is an unsurpassed model of careful, profound, and thorough investigation. *Charles Ullmann* (*ob.* 1864), prelate of Karlsruhe, a noble, lovely, irenical and mild person, laveers between all the rocks and sand-bars with his equilibrium-theology, and has also distinguished himself by thorough historical investigations (Gregor von Nazianz. 1825; Reformatoren vor der Reformation, 1841 ff., 2 Bde.; Ueber die Sündlosigkeit Jesu, 6. A. 1853; Wesen des Christl. 4. A. 1855; Historisch oder mythisch? gegen D. Strauss, 1838; Ueber d. Cultus des Genius, 1840, etc.). *Aug. Detlev Christ. Twesten*, Schleiermacher's successor at Berlin, did not carry his lectures on the dogmatics of the evangelical Lutheran Church beyond the doctrine of God (Bd. I. II. 1826, 4. A. 1838). He holds theology and philosophy apart more decidedly than the other disciples of Schleiermacher, and has placed himself upon the extreme right wing of the school towards the Lutheran Church. So much the more decidedly, however, has *J. A. Dorner* of Berlin permitted philosophical speculation to influence his dogmatics. His investigations and speculations have been applied especially to the christological dogma, and in his principal work (Die Lehre von d. Person Christi. 2 A. 1845 ff., 2 Bde. in 6 Abtheill.) he has contributed a dogmatico-historical masterpiece, whose dogmatic conclusion is still wanting. The fundamental thoughts of his Christology are the so generally popular doctrines among the "German" theologians, concerning the necessity of the incarnation of Christ even apart from the fall (which, however, Jul. Müller has decidedly opposed), and concerning the prototypal character of Christ, the God-man, as the totality of humanity, in which "all the single individualities gather prototypes." Nearest to him is *Th. Alb. Liebner*, Harless' successor at Leipsic and Dresden, holding kindred christological views (Hugo v. St. Victor u. d. theol. Richtungen sr. Zeit. 1832; Der chr. Dogmatik aes dun christolog. Princip dargestellt. Bd. I. 1849). An eminently speculative potency, with decided approximation to Lutheran churchly doctrines, and not entirely without

theosophic coloring, is unfolded in *H. Martensen*, bishop of Copenhagen ("Die Autonomie des Selbstbewusstseins, 1837;" Meister Ekkart. 1842; Die chr. Taufe u. die baptistische Frage, 1843; Christl. Dogmatik, 1856).

Although he likewise passed through Schleiermacher's and Hegel's school, nevertheless *Rich. Rothe* of Heidelberg, a thinker equalled by none of his contemporaries in power, depth, richness, and originality of speculation, withdrew himself like an anchorite from the loud turmoil of the theological and philosophical market-place, and assigned himself a place in the closet of the theosophists, quite near to Oetinger. He possesses in common with the latter an aversion to Spiritualism, an energetic striving after massive ideas, and the Christian Realism, which recognizes the end of the ways of God in corporeity. This Realism already shows itself in his first important treatise (Die Anfänge der chr. Kirche, 1837, Bd. I.) in the proposition, that the Church must in the future, in the state of perfection, be absorbed in the State; — more comprehensively in his "Theolog. Ethik. 3 Bde. 1845 ff." a work with which no other of the present time is comparable in depth, originality, and logical connection of thought, and which is full of the profoundest Christian views, in spite of its numerous heterodoxies. Equally isolated, but, nevertheless, ranking among the greatest of the theologians of the present day, is *J. Tob. Beck*. He did not proceed from Schleiermacher's or from any other school of theologians or philosophers, but, a Würtemberger by birth, constitution, and education, he represents in his spirited, theosophico-realistic, biblico-puristic theology, which also ignores church and dogma history, together with the confession, a blooming-period of specifically Würtemberger Christianity in scientific form (Einl. in d. System d. chr. Lehre. od. propädeut. Entw. d. chr. Lehrwissensch. 1838; Christl. Lehrwissensch. nach den bibl. Urkunden. Bd. I. 1841; Umriss d. bibl. Seelenlehre. 1843). He is also characterized by his openly expressed indifference to and undervaluation of all the efforts and "institutions" of this present restless age in favor of Home and Foreign Missions, Union, Confederation, and Alliance; in favor of liturgy, constitution, church discipline, and confession; in all of which he sees only a movement mistaken in form and contents, forsaken by the Spirit of God, and therefore entirely fruitless. The improvement of the desolate state of affairs can only be hoped for through the direct interposition of God. *Beck* has also ceased for many years from publishing anything. But his influence from the rostrum is only so much the greater and more far-reaching, and already a large number of his disciples are working in the ministry according to his principles and views. On this account *Liebetrut* opened a warm contest in 1857 from North Germany against his destructive tendency.—*Charles Aug. Auberlen* of Basle is a disciple of *Beck's*. He shared his teacher's limitation to Biblical theology, but not his undervaluation of all churchly practical movements, whereby

he approximated to *R. Rothe*, without, however, giving himself up to his heterodox speculation. The history of salvation and of the kingdom of God (especially its eschatological development) is the favorite object of his biblico-theological investigation, whereby he comes into contact with the modern Erlangen (v. Hoffman) school (Die Theosophie Oettinger's, 1848. Der Proph. Daniel u. d. Offb. Joh. 2. A. 1856).—The three last named do not properly belong to the soi-disant *German* theology; they lack the Schleiermacherian coloring, the peculiar speculation, and the character of the equilibrium or Consensus theology, inasmuch as they ignore more than level the churchly confession. Yet it is more difficult to classify them elsewhere. In *Fr. W. Charles Umbreit's* writings (since 1823 at Heidelberg) Herder's spirit manifests itself more than Schleiermacher's. In the course of time his merely æsthetical enthusiasm for the Old Testament was changed more and more into an acknowledgment of the supernatural, and especially of the Messianic contents of Revelation (Lied der Liede, das älteste und schönste aus dem Morgenlande, 1820; Commt. zum Hiob. 2. A. 1831, and to the Sprüchen Salomo's, 1826; Christl. Erbauung aus dem Psalter, 1835, Grundtöne d. A. T. 1843; Prakt. Comment. ü. die Proph. d. A. T. 4 Bde. 1841 ff.; Die Sünde, ein Beitr. zur Theol. d. A. T., 1853; Ausleg. d. Römerbr. auf d. Grund d. A. T. 1855).—On the other hand, *Fred. Bleek* of Bonn, a sharp critic and distinguished interpreter (Hebräerbrief, 2 Bde. 1828–40), who never expressed himself concerning his dogmatic position, but betrays a strong rationalistic tendency in his works on the Bible, is a direct disciple of Schleiermacher. *Ed. Reuss* of Strasburg, the acute and spirited reformer of biblical isagogics, occupies a somewhat similar position (Gesch. d. h. Schriften des N. T. 2. A. 1853. Hist. de la théol. chrit. au siècle apost., against Baur, 1852, 2 Bde., etc.). To be added here yet is *Henry Aug. Will. Meyer*, superintendent of Hanover, who occupies one of the first places among the interpreters of our day. Starting from Rationalism, he advanced to the stand-point of a solid, biblical Supranaturalism (Krit. exeg. Commentar zur N. T. 1832 ff.). *John Ed. Huther* is also an able interpreter and co-laborer on Meyer's Commentary. His first production was a commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, 1841. *Charles Wieseler* of Kiel has acquired a high reputation in the department of the Chronology and History of the N. T. (Chronol. Synopse der 4 Evv. 1843; Chronologie d. apost. Zeitalt. 1848; Die 70 Wochen Daniels, 1839). The most able investigator in the sphere of the criticism of the biblical text is *L. Fr. Konstantin Tischendorf* of Leipsic, who has searched through Europe and the Orient with unwearied zeal in this work. The publication of several old codices of the Bible, a number of excellent editions of the New Testament, a new edition of the LXX., the most complete collection of the apocryphas and pseudepigraphs of the New Testament, are the rich fruits of his investigations.

Essentially distinguished from "German" theology, as the Schleier

macherian right wing, was *the theology of the Schleiermacherian left wing*, as it is especially represented by the protest-theologians of 1845 (§ 54, 1): *Pischon*, *Jonas*, *Sydow*, *Eltester*, *Schweder*, *Krause*. They are the fanatics of the absorbtive Union, who hate and oppose Consensus theology and the confederative Union not less than union-hostile Lutheranism. With the Dissensus they would also cast overboard the Consensus of the symbolical books, and only retain the *naked* Shibboleth, "Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," with which Rationalism of all shades is compatible. No theological contributions of importance have proceeded from this school. Nevertheless, they also established in 1854 a "Protest. Kirchenzeitung," edited by H. Krause, with which everything that is not Tübingish-critical, German-theological, and Lutheran-confessional, especially the scattered and individual representatives of historico-critical, æsthetical, and philosophical Rationalism (Credner, Knobel, Hitzig, Gieseler, Gass, Redepenning, Ewald, Rückert, Hase, Weisse, Gervinus), has connected itself.

Of congenial spirit, and possessing the same hatred towards churchly confession, especially the "Lutheran," is the modern "Japhetic" theology of the *Chevalier Christ. Charles Josias v. Bunsen*, by royal friendship also a baron, as also a doctor of theology through the Göttingen faculty, formerly Prussian ambassador at Rome, then at London, then resident at Heidelberg (*ob.* 1860). There was a time when Bunsen stood in the front rank of those who cultivated and promoted the newly awakened Christian feeling and life. From this period proceed his excellent "Allg. Gesang-und Gebetbuch, 1833," and his liturgico-critical work "Die heil. Leidensgeschichte u. d. stille Woche, 2 Bde. 1841." Since then, however, the salt "has lost its savor," inasmuch as his theology declined rapidly and steeply to its present Japhetic perfection, which, with its transposition of the contents of biblical revelation from the "Semitic" to the "Japhetic" mode of thinking and of expression, with its destructive criticism, its pantheistic view of the world, and its democratic ideals of church government, with its glowing hatred towards churchly confession and churchly dogmatics, and with its fierce wrath against the "old-granny prejudices of Christian Rabbis," is not far removed from common critical Rationalism, though it professes to be Christian, pious, and believing. The downward way began with the treatise: Die Verfassung der Kirche der Zukunft. 1845. Then followed, to eradicate especially churchly Christology and the doctrine of the Trinity, the works: Ignatius v. Antiochien u. s. Zeit. 1847; Die drei echten u. d. vier unechten Briefe des Ignatius, 1847; Hippolyt. u. s. Zeit. 2 Bde. 1852 ff. His destructive tendency in the sphere of the O. Test. is exhibited in his work: Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgesch. 5 Bde. 1847–57, in which he assures us, quackishly enough, that he for the first time placed the ancient history of the Jews in its proper position in the history of the world, by his restoration of Egyptian chronology; but, in fact, has dis

located all the members of history with the crudest arbitrariness, and has cut out chronology with the wildest phantastery. The "Zeichen der Zeit. 3 A. 1856," are a raging phillippic against the hierarchical aspirations of the Papists, and of the almost more dangerous "Lutherans." His "Gott in der Geschichte, Bd. I. 1857," discloses to adepts his pantheistic view of the world and of history; but his "Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde," began in 1858, is the self-made grave of his theological fame.

6. *Lutheran Confessional Theology.*—Its original, powerful, and spirited patriarch was *Claus Harms* (*ob.* 1855), as high-consistorial councillor at Kiel, cf. § 54, 1 (95 Theses, 1817; Dass es mit der Vernunftrel. nichts ist. 1819; Winter- und Sommerpostille, 1808, 5. A. 1836; Pastoral theologie in Reden an Theologie-Studirende, 3 Bde. 1830 ff., etc.)—*J. Gottfr. Scheibel* (since 1811 Prof. and preacher in Breslau, deposed from both offices in 1832, died at Nüremberg, 1843), also from the beginning adhered to Lutheran orthodoxy ("Das Abendmahl des Herrn. 1821;" Actenmässige Gesch. der Union in Preussen, 2 Bde. 1833, etc.)—*Ernst W. Christ. Sartorius*, general superintendent in Königsberg, fought himself through Rationalism in fresh and bold attacks (Die Religion ausserh. d. Grenzen der blossen Vernunft. 1822; Beiträge zur Vertheid. d. ev. Rechtgläubigk. 1825 f. etc.) to Lutheran orthodoxy; but he also defended the Prussian Union with enthusiasm, because Lutheranism was in itself already the "true medium," in the assurance, that on this account all Union must issue in it (Vertheid. d. luth. Abendmahlslehre, u. Die luth. Lehre v. d. Communicatio idiomatum; in the Dörpt'schen Beiträgen, 1832; Die Lehre von Christi Person u. Werk, 1831, 5. A. 1845; Die Lehre v. d. heil. Liebe. 3 Bde. 1840 ff.; Apologie der Augsb. Confession, 2. A. 1853; Ueber alt-u. neutest. Cultus, 1852; Meditationen d. heil. Liebe, 1840 ff.; Meditationen ü. d. Offenb. d. Herrlichk. Gottes in d. K. u. im Abendm. 1855, etc.) On the other hand, *Andr. Gottl. Rudelbach* (born and educated in Denmark, from 1829–45 superintendent in Glauchau, then provost in Copenhagen) was led in the same way to become the most decided opponent of the Union. Next to Fred. Baur, Rudelbach is perhaps the most learned theologian of the present time ("Hier. Savonarola u. s. Zeit." 1835; Die Sacramentsworte, hist. krit. dargest. 1837; Reformation, Lutherth. und Union, 1839; Hist. krit. Einl. in d. Augsb. Conf. 1841; Ueber d. Bedeut. d. apost. Symb. 1844; Christliche Biographie, Bd. I. 1850, etc.)—*Henry Ernst Fred. Guericke*, Prof. at Halle since 1829, at first a Pietist, then changed by the Union to a confessor of Lutheranism, wrote: De schola, quæ Alexandriæ floruit, catechetica, 1824 f.; Aug. Herm. Francke, 1827; Beiträge zur hist. krit. Einl. ins N. T. 1828 ff.; Handb. d. K. G. 1833, 8. A. 1855; Allg. chr. Symbolik. 2. A. 1846; Lehrb. d. kirchl. Archäologie, 1847; Gesammtgesch. d. N. Test. 2. A. 1854. He established in connection with Rudelbach, 1840, the "Zeitschrift fur luth. Theol. und Kirche." Beside these

older representatives of Lutheran orthodoxy, a second generation was formed into several groups between 1840 and 1850. At the head of the *first* which adhered to the old Protestant idea of the ministry and of the Church, and defended the old Protestant doctrines with all the means of modern science, stood *Gottl. Christoph. Adolf. v. Harless*, Prof. in Erlangen and Leipsic, then high-church officer in Dresden, now in Munich. He established his theological calling by his superior Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, 1835, his "Theologische Encyklopadie," and especially by his "Christl. Ethik. 5. A. 1853." In 1838 he established the "Zeitschr. für Protestantsm. u. Kirche," at first in opposition to Bavarian Ultramontanism. By his side in Erlangen labored *J. Will. Fred. Hofling* (*ob.* 1853), (De Symbolorum natura, 1853; Die Composition des chr. Gemeindegottesdienstes, 1837; Das Sacrament der Taufe, 2 Bde. 1846 f.; Grundsätze ev. luth. Kirchenverfassung, 3. A. 1853; Die Lehre d. ältest. K. vom Opfer im Leben u. Cultus d. Christen. 1851), and *Gottfr. Thomasius* (Origenes. 1837; Das Bekenntniss d. luth. K. in der Consequ. ss. Princips. 1848; Christi Person u. Werk. od. ev. luth. Dogmatik. Bd. I. II. 2. A. 1856 ff.)—*Fred. Adolf. Philippi* of Dorpat, then of Rostock, wrote "Ueber den thätigen Gehorsam Christi," 1841, a concise Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, 2. A. 1856, and a "Kirchliche Dogmatik." Bd. I. II. 1854–57. From *Theodosius Harnack* of Erlangen we have: "Jesus der Christ, d. Erfüller d. Gesetzes und die Prophetie," 1842; Der chr. Gemeindegottesdienst im apost. u. altkath. Zeitalt. 1854. — *K. Fred. Aug. Kahnis* of Leipsic, wrote a Gesch. d. Lehre vom h. Geiste, Bd. I. 1847; Die Lehre vom Abendmahl. 1851, and Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestsm. since 1750; and *Aug. William Dieckhof* of Göttingen; Die Waldenser im M. A. 1851, and Die ev. Abendmahlslehre im Ref. Zeitalt. Bd. I. 1854.—At the head of the *second* group, which is characterized by a Romanizing tendency with regard to the idea of the Church and of the ministry, stands *William Löhe*, preacher in Neudettelsau in Bavaria ("Drei Bd. v. d. Kirche," 2. A. 1852; Aphorismen ü. d. N. Th. Aemter; Kirche u. Amt.; Agende; Der ev. Geistliche). Next to him stands *Aug. Fred. Christ. Vilmar*, who began, 1856, his academical labors in Marburg with "Theologie der Thatsachen gegen die Theol. der Rhetorick;" *Otto Krabbe* of Rostock ("Die Lehre von d. Sünde u. d. Tode," 1838; Vorless. ü. d. Leb. Jesu. 1839; Die ev. Landeskirche Preussens, 1849); and *Theod. Kliefoth*, member of the high-consistory in Schwerin ("Einl. in die Dogmengesch, 1839;" Die ursprüngl. Gottesdienstordnung d. luth. K. 1847; Acht. Bd. v. d. Kirche, Bd. I. 1854; Liturgische Abhandll. 3 Bde. 1854 ff.) He founded (1854) the "Kirchliche Zeitschrift" in connection with the jurist *Otto Mejer* in Rostock ("Die Propaganda u. ihre Provinzen, 2 Bde. 1853"). — At the head of a third group, which harmonized with the first in the idea of the ministry, but was peculiarly characterized by the historical tendency of its theology, constituting a powerful

biblical chiliasm in most emphatic antithesis to Hengstenberg's Spiritualism, and connecting itself again on this side with Chr. A. Crusius and A. Bengel, stands *J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann* of Erlangen, a theologian of great significance, possessing a dialectic talent, an acuteness, a consistency of system and logical development of the same, such as has not been possessed by any other since Schleiermacher. In his "Weissagung und Erfüllung (1841)" he appeared first as the antipode of Hengstenberg's apprehension of the Old Testament, in that he places history and prophecy in the most vital and mutually conditioning relation to each other, interprets both, as against the usual Spiritualism, in a literally realistic sense with regardless energy, and especially seeks to understand prophecy out of its historical basis. In his "Schriftbeweise" (3 Bde. 2. A. 1857 ff.) he attempted to produce a scientific *regeneration* of the contents of the faith of the Church and of Christianity out of the Scriptures, but he gave the same a form, which widely departed from the established view of the most important fundamental doctrines, especially the doctrine of the atonement, and defended it as a "Neue Weise, alte Wahrheit zu lehren" (1856) against the attempt made by *Philippi* to prove its unchurchliness. Thomasius and Harnack also testified against his alteration of the churchly doctrine of the atonement. Hofmann's theology, without its *dogmatic* singularities, found an enthusiastic adherent and co-laborer in *Franz Delitzch* of Erlangen, the most thorough connoisseur of rabbinical literature of all the Christian literati, as rich in spirit as in many-sided, exquisite learning, who, in opposition to Hofmann's sober intellectual tendency, opened his theology to theosophic influences, and also combated his unchurchly doctrine of the atonement (Die bibl. proph. Theologie, 1845; Vier Bd. von der Kirche, 1847; Auslegungen des Propheten Habakuk, des Hohenliedes, der Genesis, des Hebräerbriefes; System d. bibl. Psychologie, 1855; a commentary on the Psalms is in view)—further in *Michael Baumgarten* of Rostock (unwillingly silenced in 1858, § 55, 3), who certainly pushed Hofmann's historical views of redemption, especially in reference to the future position of Israel, even to caricature, and supplanted them with politico-liberalistic and mystico-fanatical elements. He wrote: Theol. Comment. zum Pentat. 2 Bde. 1843 f.; Die Apostelgesch. od. Entwicklungsgung der K. von Jerusalem bis Rom. 2 Bde. 2. A. 1859; Die Nachtgesichte Sacharja's, 2 Bde. 1854, and a large number of controversial writings. *Chr. Ernst Luthardt* of Leipsic applied and developed Hofmann's views in the province of the New Testament, with much spirit (Das johanneische Evang. nach sr. Eigenthümlichk. geschild, u. erkl. 2 Bde. 1853).

Allied to this tendency, but much more conservative and more closely touching the first group, are: *Moritz Drechsler* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1849), (Einheit u. Echtheit der Genesis, 1838; Der Prophet Jesaia, 3 Bde. 1845); — *Paul Caspari* of Christiania (Der Proph. Obadja, 1842; Beitr. zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaia, 1848; Ueber den Proph.

Micha u. s. proph. Schrift, 1852);—*Gust. Friedr. Oehler* of Tübingen, in spirit, learning, and independence, one of the first among the theologians of the Old Testament, on which account it cannot be sufficiently regretted that he did not complete before his death (1872) his "Prolegomenen zur Theol. des A. T. 1845," to an exposition of the science itself.—The theologians of *Dorpat* established in 1859 a "Dorpater Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirche," conducted in this spirit. From *their* midst has gone forth *Karl Friedr. Keil* (now private resident at Leipsic), who of all Hengstenberg's disciples has remained most faithful to the tendency and to the results of the master in general. He wrote: Apolog. Versuch ü. d. Bd. d. Chronik. 1833; Der Tempel Salomo's, 1839; Comment. zu d. Bd. d. Könige, 1846, u. z. B. Josua, 1847; Lehrb. d. hist. krit. Einl. ins A. T. 2. A. 1859; Fortsetzung u. Neubearbeitung der Häverneck'schen Einleit. ins A. T. 1855 f.; Bibl. Archäologie, Bd. I. 1858. (A condensed exegetical Handbook to the entire Old Testament is awaited from him).—Still another important theologian may also be mentioned here, who was at first a Lutheran, but then, resigning his professorship at Marburg, embraced Irvingianism, viz. *H. Wilh. Josias Thiersch* (Vorless. ü. Protestsm. u. Katholicism, 2. A. 1848; Versuch zur Herstellung des hist. Standpunktes für die Kritik d. N. Th. Schriften, gegen Baur, 1845; Die Kirche im apost. Zeitalter, 2. A. 1858). As Irvingite he was invested with the office of an angel; but when it was endeavored to promote him to the office of an apostle, he was not able to decide to accept this honor.

The Lutheran confession and Lutheran theology also found important representatives in distinguished jurists possessing theological authorship. Here belongs first of all: *Karl Friedr. Göschel* (§ 53, 1, 2; 54, 6; 56, 3, 4), privy councillor at Berlin, then consistorial president at Magdeburg, from which position he was forced by the revolution of March 1848. His oldest work, published anonymously by Tholuck: "Cäcilius u. Octavius, 1828," is of an apologetical character. He appears as a disciple of Hegel in: Aphorismen über Nichtwissen u. absol. Wissen, 1829; Der Monismus des Glaubens, 1832; Hegel u. s. Zeit mit Rücksicht auf Göthe, 1832. After Hegel's death he defended the Christian character of his philosophy in several treatises. Directed against *Dav. Strauss* is: Beiträge zur specul. Theol. v. Gott, d. Menschen u. d. Gottmenschen, 1838. His Christian juristic stand-point is expressed in the "Zerstreuten Blättern as den Hand-ut Hülfs-acten eines Juristen, 3 Bde. 1832 ff." and "Der Eid nach s. Princip, Begirff u. Gebrauche, 1837." He also endeavors to develop deep Christian views out of Göthe's writings in his "Unterhaltungen zur Schilderung Göthescher Dicht-und Denkweise, 3 Bde. 1834." He devoted the same talent with more objective truth to Dante's poems: "Ans Dante Aligh. göttl. Kom. 1834; Dante's Unterweisung über Weltschöppung u. Weltordnung, 1842," etc. To his specifically Lutheran period belong: "Ueber die Bedentung der luth. K. u. ihr Verhältn. zur allg. K. u.

zum Staate, 1849; Zur Lehre von d. letzen Dingen, 1850; Der Dualismus evang. Kirchenverfass, 1852; Der Mensch nach Leib, Seele u. Geist, 1856; Der Concordienformel nach Gesch., Lehre u. Bedeut, 1858." — *Friedr. Jul. Stahl*, born of Jewish parents at Munich, Prof. of law at Erlangen and Berlin, since 1852 member of the Berlin high-consistory, from whose transactions, however, he voluntarily withdrew in 1857; since 1849, in connection with *Ernst Ludw. v. Gerlach*, leader of the high-church, aristocratic reaction party in the Prussian chambers, and its eloquent orator; also permanent vice-president of the evangelical church diet. His chief work: "Philosophie des Rechts, 3 Bde. 1830 ff. 3. A. 1854 ff." endeavors to build a system of law and of the State upon the basis of the Christian revelation. Schelling's philosophy exerted a great influence upon the form of the first edition, but none at all upon the later ones. In his treatise: "Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protest. 1840," he declares the episcopal system to be the only authorized one. Distinguished among his later church-political writings are: "Ueber den christl. Staat u. s. Verhältn. zum Deismus und Judenth, 1847; Der Protestantism, als politisches Princip. 4. A. 1854; Wider Bunsen, 1.—3. A. 1856."

III. ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

§ 57. ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN GENERAL.[41]

The *Papacy*, which was trampled into the dust but not humbled by Napoleon I., was restored (1814) by the allied princes of all confessions, and since then the popes have maintained the hierarchical principle for the most part with power and dignity. Many deep wounds, it is true, have been inflicted upon the papacy, but new hopes and new prospects have been opened to it. But while on the north side of the Alps *Utramontanism* won victory after victory, the papacy suffered in Italy one defeat after another. And during the sessions of the Vatican Council which completed its deification, the entire glory of its worldly power fell. The States of the Church were stricken from the roll of the European nations, and Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy, now united under the Sardinian sceptre. *Home Missions* developed an activity rich in efforts and results under the revival of the *orders* devoted to this service and through the establishment of new unions to this end. The zeal for Heathen Missions was also rekindled. The only

thing to be lamented in this is the ultramontane narrow-heartedness, which preferred to force itself with its missions in a disturbing way just where Protestant missions had already put in the sickle to cut the harvest. Roman Catholicism made the greatest and most successful efforts to establish itself in Protestant territory in England, North America, and in the South Sea. Roman Catholic *theology* made great advances in France, and especially in Germany (where Protestant science exerted an influence on its development).

1. *The Papacy.* — Napoleon concluded, as first consul of the French republic, a concordat (1801) with *Pius* VII. (1800–23), who had been elected pope at Venice under Austrian protection, according to which the church property reverted to the State, the sworn priests (although again eligible) resigned, the pope again resumed his ecclesiastical and temporal rights, but no papal bull could be published without the consent of the government in France, and the bishops were to be nominated by the government. The pope crowned the consul as emperor of France (1804), but as he still continued to adhere to his hierarchical principles, the emperor again (1808) took possession of the papal territory, and declared that the donation of his predecessor Charles was taken back (1809). The pope rejected the proffered annuity of two millions francs as an insult, placed the emperor under the bann, and was taken as a prisoner to Fontainebleau. A *National Council at Paris* (1811) was wrecked on the obstinacy of the pope. He made, it is true, concessions in a new concordat (1813), but he immediately regretted them and took them back. He was, finally, in 1814, restored by the allied princes to the full possession of his spiritual and temporal rights, and in May of the same year he returned to Rome. One of the first of his official acts was the *restoration of the Jesuits* by the bull Sollicitudo omnium, as occasioned by the almost unanimous request of entire Christendom. In 1815 he formally protested against the acts of the congress of Vienna, especially against the dissolution of the German empire, which had been determined on there, because it abolished the previously existing spiritual principalities. His protest against the refusal of Ferdinand IV. (I.) of Naples, to continue to pay the usual tribute, was equally without effect, because generally all relations of tribute had ceased to exist (1816). In the same year followed a condemnation of the Bible societies as a pest of Christendom, and a prohibition of translations of the Bible. He was succeeded by *Leo* XII. (1823–29). Being more rigid in his administration of the government than his predecessor, he also condemned the Bible societies, re-established the prisons of the inquisition, and celebrated the year of jubilee (1825) with a much larger indulgence, because the celebration of the year 1800 had been neglected. After *Pius* VIII.'s

reign of eight months, *Gregory* XVI. (1831–46) ascended the papal throne, and endeavored to maintain the hierarchical idea with earnestness and honor amid the disorders at home and the distractions abroad. The spreading Liberalism of the Carbonari revolt was suppressed by Austrian military intervention, but the liberalistic fermentation of young Italy continued. *Pius* IX. ascended the papal chair in 1846, the 259th pope according to Roman reckoning. Whilst he seemed to wish that in church affairs everything should remain as it had been, and also as occasion offered pronounced against the Bible societies, he began a thorough reformation of the affairs of the government in a liberal sense, and nourished the hope of young Italy, that by his mediation the national independence and political unity of Italy would be restored. Thus, however, he only increased the storm that soon burst upon his own head. The endless huzzah "Erviva Pio nono!" ended with the flight of the pope, which was soon followed (1849) by the proclamation of a Roman republic, in spite of bann and interdict. The arms of the young French republic disturbed the short dream by the conquest of Rome in behalf of the restoration of the temporal power of the pope, and the Austrians occupied the legations. But on account of the inextricable distractions of Italy, the pope was not able to return to the eternal city until April, 1850. Since then the papacy, although it has been supported at its own hearth only by French and Austrian bayonets, and has suffered new defeats in old Catholic countries, like Sardinia and Spain, has, nevertheless, gained a significance and influence, especially in Germany, such as it had not had for centuries. Already, during the time of his exile at Gaeta, Pius published a solemn declaration concerning the *immaculate conception of the virgin Mary*, to whose mighty protection he attributed his deliverance, and after his return the realization of this declaration lay nearest to his heart. To convene a general council, to which would have worthily belonged the honor and task of determining and establishing a dogma emphatically rejected by St. Bernhard and St. Thomas, seemed, it is true, even to the romantic Pius, as too hazardous. It was supplied by a conference of bishops especially invited for the purpose, and on the 8th December, 1854, the pope proclaimed, after the solemn celebration of the mass in the Sixtine chapel, with a loud voice, the great joy which was bestowed upon Christendom, and placed a costly brilliant diadem upon the head of the image of the queen of heaven. The disciples of St. Thomas remained silent at this practical imputation of heresy cast upon their master, a few single voices, which protested, were not heard, the bishops of all Roman Catholic countries proclaimed the new dogma, the theologians defended it, and the fondness of the people for spectacles rejoiced in pompous festivals in honor of Mary.[42]

2. The *Society of Jesus*, after its abolition by Clemens XIV., continued to exist partly in secret, partly finding a refuge in the order of

the *Liguarians* or *Redemptionists*. This order (§ 44, 2) obtained thereby an importance, which it was not able formerly to acquire, but which it has since known how to preserve, especially through zealous instruction of the young. The restored order of the Jesuits, however, carried with it the inheritance of bitter hatred and suspicion from the past into the present. Besides, it was not able to regain the scientific importance of former ages, and it also was deficient in eminent men. But these deficiencies were compensated by an indestructible perseverance and elasticity, combined with unwearying activity. Nevertheless, it seemed not to be a match for the storm of Liberalism, which broke upon it from all sides, in spite of all the praise of ultramontane theologians, bishops, and statesmen. The revolution of July 1830 forced the Jesuits first out of France, and when they still continued to exist there under the protection of the bishops, the chambers and the government united against them, and Gregory XVI. was compelled to influence their general voluntarily to abolish all their colleges in France. The chief seat of the order was in Roman Catholic Switzerland, but the unfortunate issue of the war of 1847 drove them also out of this fastness, and Pius IX. was compelled even to approve of their banishment from the States of the Church. The revolutionary year of 1848 threatened the order with entire extinction, forced it out of Bavaria and Austria, and only allowed it to be undisturbed in Belgium. But the restoration of 1850 secured for it the return into all the Roman Catholic countries excepting Sardinia. Since then the disciples of St. Loyola have been renewed "as eagles," and they now travel through the countries, laboring by preaching to Roman Catholic Ultramontanists their faith, and to convert Protestants. Pius IX. also, under whose auspices *Augustine Theiner* (Gesch. d. Pontificates Clemens XIV. 2 Bde. Par. 1853) directed the heavy artillery of history taken "from the secret archives of the Vatican" against them, surrendered public instruction to them again.

The *other orders* also succumbed, at least for a time, in most of the States, to the storms of the revolution. *Joseph* II. made the beginning by secularizing more than 500 monasteries, and by condemning the remainder to a slow extinction. France decreed, Nov. 2, 1789, the abolition of all orders and monasteries, and in 1802 almost all monasteries were dissolved under Napoleon's auspices also in the German empire. However, Napoleon restored, from motives of expediency, the institute of the *merciful sisters*, whose scattered remnants he collected under the superintendence of the empress-mother into a general chapter in Paris (1807). In Portugal and Spain also, as lately in Sardinia, the death-penalty has been pronounced upon all monasteries (cf. §. 58, 1, 2). New monasteries arose only in France, Bavaria, as also in England and North America.

Worthy yet of special mention is the restoration of the *Order of Trappists*. When the brothers were driven from La Trappe in 1791,

the canton Freiburg offered them an asylum. The then master of novices, *Augustine* (*Henry de Lestrange*), established now a new monastery at *Valsainte* (which Pius VI. raised to an abbey in 1794), and in *Wallis* even a nunnery, into which, among others also, the princess *Louise de Condé* was received. The order flourished again here, and had several colonies also outside of Switzerland. But through the invasion of the French in 1798 it was also driven out of Valsainte. Augustine now obtained permission from the Russian emperor Paul I. for his brethren to emigrate to West Russia, Poland, and Litthauen. But they were compelled already in 1800 to leave Russia. Augustine travelled through Europe and even America, enduring unspeakable hardships, in order that he might provide for his associates. After the fall of Napoleon he purchased again the nunnery of La Trappe, and organized it as the mother-monastery of a multitude of new settlements in and outside of France, so that the order spread through him as it had never before (*ob.* 1827). The Trappists have even colonized in Algiers.

Very numerous, even numberless, are the *Brotherhoods* and *Sisterhoods*, which have been formed since the restoration of 1814. France especially has exhibited in this sphere an unparalleled fruitfulness and a wonderful inventive faculty in abstruse names for the same. Worthy of special distinction is the *Congregation of the poor Schoolsisters* in Bavaria, which was formed (1834) through the efforts of Bishop *Mich. Wittmann* of Regensburg, a pupil and friend of *Sailer*. This congregation has not only founded, during the brief time of its existence, about 40 settlements with numerous female schools in Bavaria, but it has also already established itself in other German Roman Catholic countries (Würtemberg, Silesia, Bohemia), and even in North America (Baltimore).

3. *Proselytism.* (Cf. *Hœninghaus*, chronol. Verzeichniss d. denkw. Bekehrungen zur kath. K. Aschaffb. 1837.—*Nitzsch*, Ursachen, etc., in the deutsch. Ztschr. 1851, Nr. 29.) — In the twilight of Romanticism the Roman Catholic Church appeared as the crystallized middle ages clothed with fresh glory, whilst the unpretentious character of the Protestant Church, especially in its then prevailing rationalistic garb, was offensive to imaginative minds. Transition to the Roman Catholic Church lay, therefore, in the current of the spirit of the age, which carried away many of the noblest contemporaries. The most distinguished converts of this century are, besides Stolberg (§ 44, 5), *Fr. Schlegel*, who was influenced by romantic poetry as unfolded in the Roman Catholic Church (1808); *Adam Müller*, who was led to take the same step by romantic poetry in connection with romantic views of the State (1805); further, *K. L. v. Haller*, the restorer of the science of politics according to mediæval-feudalistic and territorialistic principles (1820); *Jarcke* and *Phillips*, who walked in his footsteps (1824); *Friedr. Hurter*, the biographer of Innocent III., formerly superintendent at Zürich (1844); the blaséd novelist *Ida, Countess Hahn-Hahn;*

the publicist *Frans von Florencourt;* the Church historian *Gfrörer* (1853); the radical Hegelian *Daumer* (1858); and the Berlin licentiate *Hugo Lämmer.* — On the other hand, concern for the salvation of the soul, which found no satisfaction in Roman Catholic self-righteousness, led a number of pious men (*Martin Boas, Gossner, Henhöfer,* etc.) to embrace the Protestant doctrine concerning the Bible and justification, and from here in part into the Protestant Church. Still greater was the number of proselytes, who were led into the Protestant Church by Rationalism: their names have already passed into forgetfulness. In later times the proselytism of the Roman Catholic Church has been most successful in North America and in England. On the other hand, she has continually sustained the greatest losses in France, Ireland, Bohemia, and Sardinia, and is only able to suppress Protestant sympathies in Italy by the use of the prison, house of correction, and police.

The decision of the Church in the *Mortara affair* (1858) created a great excitement. The eight year old son of the Jew Mortara of Bologne was forcibly torn from his parents by the bailiffs of St. Ufficio, and taken to Rome, because his Christian nurse had said that she had baptized him two years before, when he was dangerously sick. In vain were the prayers and tears of the parents; in vain the cry of indignation, which was raised in all Europe; in vain all intercession; the Roman Catholic Church gives baptism the character indelebilis, and the pope declared that he could not change the laws of the Church. The pious nurse, however, who knew so well how to proselytize, was not censured by the laws of the Church.

4. *Ultramontanism.* — The mild, irenical, and profound mysticism of the noble Bishop *Sailer* (*ob.* 1832) met with a warm reception at the beginning of this period in the Roman Catholic Church of Germany. But the indifference of this school towards ecclesiastical works, its deep affinity with Protestant Pietism, and the undisguised proclivity of some of its adherents to the Protestant principle of the Bible and of justification, brought it into discredit with the hierarchy and its representatives, and called forth the antithesis of an Ultramontanism ever becoming more sharp. The master humbled himself like Fénélon; the disciples withdrew into the quiet closet, and gradually became extinct. Greater favor was shown by the Ultramontanes to another form of mysticism, which expressed itself in the miraculous cures of the Prince *Hohenlohe* (since 1820) and in the scars of the nun *Anna Catharine Emmerich* in the monastery at Dülmen in Westphalia (*ob.* 1824). In her latter years the poet *Clemens Brentano* sat at her feet, reverencing her as a saint, listening to her revelations concerning the life and sufferings of the Saviour and his mother, about which she was able to give the most exact information as to time and place, day and hour, as also the most unessential particulars (ex. gr. the fashion and color of the clothes of the co-workers). *Brentano* published from his

notes of these visions taken down with great care, "Das bittere Leiden unseres Herrn J. Chr. 1833, 6. A. 1842." The whole of the remainder is now being published under the supervision of a "pious and learned monk." — In the third decade of this century the opposition of the Ultramontane party was directed especially against the liberal and noble, but certainly latitudinarian, Baron v. *Wessenberg*, the friend and successor of the celebrated *K. v. Dalberg*, in the bishopric of Constance. Pius VII. decidedly refused to give his sanction. The government of Baden, however, protected him in the exercise of his office, until 1827, when, in consequence of a concordat with the pope, the bishopric of Constance was abolished. Since then Wessenberg has lived as a private citizen in Baden, and has offended the Ultramontanes by publishing a profound "Geschichte der groszen Kirchenversammlungen des 15. u. 16. Jahrh. Konst. 1840, 4 Bde." Ultramontanism also attempted to crush the excellent *Hirscher* in Freiburg, but the noble and also churchly conduct of the man put their efforts to shame. Within the last decades Ultramontanism has gained in power, and possesses also able scientific representatives. Its chief seat was *Bavaria*, its chief champion the always armed *Jos. von Görres* of Munich, who once apotheosized the revolution, then mediæval feudalism, hierarchism, and mysticism, and bewailed the Reformation as a second fall (*ob.* 1848). He established (1838) the "Historisch-politischen Blätter," at whose command (especially under *Edm. Jörg's* present direction) stands an unsurpassed versatility sparkling with spirit, wit, and ridicule. The most celebrated organs of Ultramontanism next to it, are the Paris Univers by *Veuillot*, and the Civiltà Cattolica, edited by the Jesuits at Naples, then at Rome. The talented Count *Jos. de Maistre*, Sardinian ambassador at St. Petersburg (*ob.* 1821), recognized in the infallibility of the pope the life-principle of all history (Du Papa; De l'église Gallicane; Soirées de St. Petersb.). The gigantic lie, that Protestantism is, in its inmost essence, not only ecclesiastically, but also politically revolutionary, whilst, on the other hand, Roman Catholicism is the only defence of States against revolution and democracy, is still dished up anew with unblushing audacity, in spite of the thousand-fold testimony of history against it, and (so true is the old proverb: Calumniare audacter, etc.) it is also believed.

5. *National Religious Liberalism.* — Whilst in the Roman Catholic Church, on the one hand, Ultramontanism was continually intensified and spread, on the other, anti-hierarchical Liberalism made itself felt more and more. Unions of clergymen were formed in Silesia (since 1826) and in South Germany (1830), which agitated the abolition of celibacy without result. The priest *Lamennais* in Paris, formerly a zealous adherent of the restoration and of absolutism, became in July 1830 the enthusiastic apostle of Liberalism. A preacher of universal human rights, he would have transplanted political radicalism into the heart of Christianity, and surrounded it with the halo of Roman Ca

tholicism. The journal l'Avenir became the organ of a school formed around him, and his Paroles d'un croyant (1834), according to the judgment of the pope a book "small in compass, but enormous in wickedness," written in the most exalted prophetic style, created a great excitement. But the unnatural union of that which was absolutely irreconcilable, could not continue. His school gradually became extinct, and Lamennais himself continually approached the principles of modern Socialism (*ob.* 1854). Likewise as a result of the revolution of July (1830) the Abbé *Chatel* of Paris established a so-called French Catholic Church, whose rationalistic poverty only survived to 1842. Nobler and more earnest, but equally without result, was the anti-hierarchical efforts of the Abbé *Helsen* in Brussels. His apostolic Catholic Church was dissolved (1837); its remnants embraced Protestantism. Of a more threatening character were the founding of a *German Catholic Church* in 1844. In August of this year Bishop *Arnoldi* of Treves exhibited the holy seamless coat of Christ preserved there (cf. *J. Gildemeister* u. *H. v. Sybel;* Der h. Rock zu Trier und die 20 audern h. ungenähten Röcke. Düsseld. 2. A. 1844) for the adoration of the faithful, and thereby attracted hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Treves. A suspended priest, *John Ronge*, at that time family tutor at Laurahütte in Silesia, published in October a letter to Arnoldi in the Saxon journals, in which, under sparkling and empty phrases, he denounced the trade in relics like a Luther of the 19th century. Earlier already, preacher *John Czerski* of Schneidemühl in Poland had renounced the Roman Catholic Church (1844), and now, still independent of the Rongean movement, he, with his congregation, published a "Christian-apostolic-Catholic" confession of faith, which agrees in its negations with the principles of the evangelical Church, without, however, acknowledging its affirmation (the doctrine of justification), but, nevertheless, for the rest, wishing to hold fast to the fundamental truths of Christianity. Meanwhile, Ronge's letter was discussed in all the journals, and since the beginning of 1845 German Catholic congregations were formed throughout Germany (except in Bavaria and Austria), which became the rendezvous of all kinds of religious Liberalism (in part also from the Protestant Church). A so-called general convocation at Leipsic in March 1845, which was to give a constitution and confession to the new church, brought to light its lamentable religious Nihilism. Czerski, who at least would not reject the divinity of Christ, repudiated the Leipsic resolutions. Ronge, however, marched in triumph through Germany, whereby his hollowness and communistic tendency was revealed more and more. The better portion of his adherents began to be ashamed of their enthusiasm for the new reformer. His congregations in great part divided among themselves, many were dissolved, many of the leaders cast off the religious mask, and endeavored to regain their lost respect amid the revolutionary disorders of 1848 as communistic and republican reformers The restora-

tion which followed put an end to its needy remnants. (Cf. *Edwin Bauer*, Gesch. d. deutsch-kath. K. Meiss. 1845.—*W. A. Lampadius*, d. deutsch-kath. Bewegung. Lpz. 1846.)

6. *The Unions.*—The stormy years of 1848 and 1849 brought great hopes and great dangers to the Roman Catholic Church of Germany, especially the hope of entire emancipation from the State and the danger of enslavement to the despotism of a Liberalism hostile to the Church. But its representatives knew how to steer skilfully between Scylla and Charybdis. To secure the first, they negotiated with the democracy; to avoid the last, with the reaction; and they were successful in gaining advantages from both. In Nov. 1848 the *German bishops* assembled at *Wurzburg* to consult together concerning the best way to proceed in this critical period. Unchangeable faithfulness to Rome was the first point settled; voluntary co-operation with the "political regeneration" of the fatherland, the second; thankful acceptance of the promise of unconditional freedom of conscience (in the fundamental rights of the Frankfurt parliament) in order to accomplish the most complete independence of the Church and absolute control of national education from the elementary to the high-schools, the third. They recognized the restoration of diocesan synods as an important means to elevate the clergy and to restore church discipline; but the holy Father considered the means as at that time doubtful. Shortly before this, however, an institute of far-reaching significance had been founded, in which also,—and prominently,—the laity were to co-operate, viz. the *Pius-union*, a Roman Catholic counterpart of the Protestant Church Diet. Soon after the days of March, unions were formed at several places in Germany, having for their object the protection and advancement of Roman Catholic interests. At the next anniversary of the building of the Cathedral at Cologne (Aug. 1848), the members of several of these unions met together and resolved upon a general convocation in Oct. 1848 at Mayence, where the first union of this kind was formed under the name of *Pius-union*. Here all the single unions were formed into a great collective union under the name of "*Catholic Union of Germany;*" although in practice the shorter name of *Pius-union* has been preferred. To direct the business of the collective union, one of the single unions was to be chosen every time from the annual general convocation, which was called "Vorart." The object of the union was: the obtaining and maintaining of the freedom of the Church and control of the same over the schools; national culture in the Roman Catholic spirit and practice of Christian mercy; as fundamental law obedience to the pope and to the episcopate; pacific posture towards the State and towards every existing form of government, so far as the rights of the Church were not thereby prejudiced; and defensive, not aggressive posture towards the non-Catholic confessions. The mother of God was chosen to be the patroness of the union. Every member bound himself to repeat a daily Pater-

noster and Ave Maria to further the objects of the union. At the second meeting at *Breslau* a letter was received from the pope, in which he gave his approbation and blessing. The meeting at *Vienna* (1853), however, had to acknowledge, that it had not succeeded in attracting the masses, for only the same faces were present. The meeting at *Cologne* (1854) became discordant, because the Comité refused to give the Prussian government a guarantee of abstinence from political utterances and confessional polemics. The ninth general meeting at *Salzburg* (1857) was a living testimonium paupertatis, which the Roman Catholic world exhibited to the union. Little was felt here of important men, deeds, and speeches. The cathedral capitular *Himioben* of Mayence, the "real miles gloriosus of the meeting," uttered hectoring fanfaronades about the glorious victories of Roman Catholicism in Germany, and expressed the confident hope, in regard to the 40 new Protestant churches built by the Gustave-Adolphus union, that these would shortly again be cast out into the garden of rejected stones. Harlequinades were also not wanting: Prof. *Kreuzer* of Cologne ex. gr. comforted those present, in regard to the charge of Ultramontanism, with the proverb: "There stands the ox at the mountain," from which it follows incontestably, that the *oxen* are the real Cismontanes, because they are not able to pass over the mountain; and as regards the papacy, it is evident, that Christ himself, who called upon his father on the cross, was a papist; indeed, every man is a born papist, because the child lisps "Papa" already in the cradle, and other such comical things. As a change, it was also greatly lamented, that 207 large and 1234 small journals were in the service of the Protestants of Germany, whilst, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics had only 6 large and 81 small ones. The tenth meeting (1858) was held at *Cologne*. Its deportment was in general more dignified, the contents of its speeches more important, than those of the previous year. Still the jester *Himioben* was not wanting this time also. He exhorted the women to form Parament-unions, and informed them, that the first union of this kind was formed in the year 33 after Christ, in consequence of the first secularization, when the soldiers cast lots for the garment of the Saviour, which he had worn the evening previous as a chasuble at the first celebration of the mass. Indeed, we can even go further back than this: Mary, who made swaddling-bands for the child Jesus, was the proper originator of the union. After being edified with such trifles, but also hearing many important truths, especially concerning the study of history and the musical culture of the young, the meeting was closed by consecrating the pillar of Mary, built at Cologne in honor of the immaculate conception.—The individual unions pursued various objects. The *Bonifacius-unions* ex. gr. supported needy Roman Catholic congregations in Protestant Germany (also an imitation of the Gustave-Adolphus union); the *Charles Boromeo-unions* spread good Roman Catholic writings; the *Vincentius and Elizabeth-unions*

had for its object the visiting of the sick and the care of the poor; the *Journeymen-unions* (already founded by *Kolping* of Elberfeld, 1846) the spiritual and temporal sustenance of journeymen; the *Unions of the holy childhood of Jesus* is composed chiefly of children, who contribute monthly five pennies for the salvation of exposed heathen children (especially in China), and daily pray an Ave Maria for them. The Union has also got control of the political daily press, and established (1855) a "Katholische Literaturezeitung," edited by Dr. *Brischar* of Vienna. Besides, the founding of a Roman Catholic university in Germany (at Salzburg) by art-unions, etc., is discussed.

To advance *Roman Catholic Missions* among heathens and unbelievers, there exist at Rome, in addition to the Propaganda, fourteen other educational institutions (the German-Hungarian, English, Scotch, Irish, Greek, etc. college); in Paris three; in the whole of Roman Catholic Christendom, thirty. The *Picpus-association* in Paris (so called after its central establishment in Picpus street in Paris), serving the same end, has acquired a wide reputation. The founder of this union was the deacon *Peter Coudrin*, a pupil of the priest's seminary at Poitiers. Amid the cruelties of the revolution against the church and the priests, he received in concealment, through divine inspiration, the call to found a society, having for its object "to atone for the extravagances, crimes, and desecrations of all kinds, by devoting one day and night to the adoration of the most holy sacrament of the altar," to instruct the youth in Roman Catholicism, to educate priests, and to carry the gospel to the heathen. He actually founded such a union in 1805, and Pius VII. confirmed it in 1817. The founder died in 1837, after the association had already spread over all the five parts of the globe. Its chief object now is heathen missions.—Whilst the Picpus-union, as also the other seminaries and monastic orders, furnished an inexhaustible supply of missionaries, other unions were formed to procure the necessary supplies of money and of prayer, among which the *Lyons-union for the spread of the faith* is by far the most important since 1822. The weekly pecuniary contribution of each member is one sou, the daily contribution of prayer a Paternoster, and English salutation and a "Holy Francis Xavier, pray for us." Its fanatically ultramontane "Jährbücher zur Verbreitung des Glaubens in beiden Welten" is spread yearly in almost 200,000 copies (in almost every European language) among the people. Its yearly income amounts to almost four million francs. The popes have overwhelmed the members of the union with rich indulgences. Roman Catholic missions are most active in China, Japan, North America, and the Levant. They have also acquired greater importance since 1837, through a measure of violence on the part of the French marine in the South Sea, and through French colonization in Algiers in North Africa. A bloody persecution raged against Roman Catholic Christians (1837–39) in Tonkin and Cochin China, by which many priests and Christians suffered martyrdom.

7. *Roman Catholic Theology.*—A biblically orthodox, but churchly latitudinarian school, which had its chief representative in *Jahn*, was transplanted from the former to this period. To it belong also the excellent *Leonh. Hug* of Freiburg, *ob.* 1846, (Einl. in die Schriften d. N. T. 1808, 3. A. 1826, 2 Bde.; Gutachten ü. d. Leben Jesu v. Strauss). *Sailer's* mystico-pietistic school (§ 44, 11) gradually died out without having contributed anything of importance to theology. The Archbishop *Wessenberg*, of importance also as a Christian poet and connoisseur, represents practically and scientifically a liberal Roman Catholicism, certainly not without rationalizing elements (Die Christl. Bilder, 2 Bde. 1826; Die gr. Kirchenversamll. d. 15. 16 Jahrh. 1840, 4 Bde.) Baron *Reichlin-Meldegg*, the friend and *biographer* of Dr. Paulus of *Heidelberg* (K. G. I. 1830), taught a superficial Rationalism, and in 1832 he joined the Protestant church. The learned *Movers* of Breslau (*ob.* 1856), a Richard Simon of this age, practised a boldness of destructive criticism on the canon and history of the O. T. that amazed even the father of Protestant hyper-criticism, De Wette (De utriusque recensionis Vaticiniarum Jeremiæ indole et origine, 1837; Die Phönizier, 1841 ff. 4 Bde.)—The noble *John Bapt. von Hirscher* of Freiburg, whom the Liberals too willingly reckoned among themselves, and the ultramontane fanatics condemn as a heretic, contributed towards an irenical and genial Roman Catholicism, which was as free from ultramontane as from rationalistic tendencies, and prejudiced Roman Catholic doctrines in nothing that was essential (Christl. Moral. 5. A. 1850, 3 Bde.; Katechetik. 4. A. 1845; Die kath. Lehre vom Ablass. 5. A. 1844, etc.) *George Hermes*, Prof. at Bonn, whose youth was not uninjured by critical philosophy, permitted the Roman Catholic dogmas of the Council of Trent to pass through the fire of doubt and rational investigation, with the confidence that they would endure the trial, because only what survived this trial was scientifically right and true. He died (1831) and left behind a school named after him, which has established itself especially in Treves, Bonn (*Braun* u. *Achterfeld*) and Breslau (*Elvenich* and *Balzer*), and has created a scientific organ in the "Bonner Zeitschrift für Philosophie u. kath. Theologie, 1833." Gregory XVI. condemned his writings (1835) (Einl. in d. Christkath. Theologie, 1819, 2. A. 1831; Christkath. Dogmatik, herausg. v. Achterfeld, 1824, 3 Bde.); and the new Archbishop of Cologne, *Droste-Vischering*, prohibited the students of Bonn from attending the lectures of the Hermesians. These made every effort to obtain the recall of the papal censure. *Braun* and *Elvenich* went to Rome for this purpose; but their assertion that Hermes had not taught *that* which the pope condemned was as little regarded as it had been previously in the case of the Jansenists. A controversy now arose, which was carried on by both sides with great passion, and which received new fuel through the Prussian-Cologne church controversy (§ 58, 7). Finally, in 1844, the professors Braun and Achterfeld of

Bonn were deposed from their professorships by the Arch-episcopal coadjutor *Geissel*. The professors of the Treves seminary, as also *Balzer* of Breslau (Beitr. zur Vermittelung eines richtigen Urtheils über Katholicism, u. Protestsm. 1840) retracted. (Cf. *Elvenich*, Acta Hermesiana, Gottg. 1836, and Acta Romana, Hann, 1838. *J. Perrone* (Jesuit at Rome), Gesch. d. Hermesianismus. From the Italian, Regensb. 1839; on the other side: Perronius, theologus Romanus vapulans. Col. 1840; *Chr. Gu. Niedner*, philosophiæ Hermesii explicatio et existimatio. Lpz. 1838; *Elvenich*, der Hermensianismus u. Perrone. Berl. 1844.) — A year before Hermes' condemnation, the same pope condemned the doctrine directly contrary to the Hermesian, taught by the Abbé *Bautain* of Strasburg, that the Christian dogmas cannot be proven, but must be believed, and therefore every application of the reason in the appropriation of saving truth is entirely excluded. Bautain immediately recanted as an obedient son of the Church.

Roman Catholic theology disregarded the development of German *philosophy* for a long time. Only since Schelling, whose philosophy had more points of contact with Roman Catholic views than any previous system, was a general and active interest awakened for philosophical studies and speculative confirmation and development of Roman Catholicism. *Franz v. Baader*, Prof. of speculative dogmatics in Munich (although not a theologian by profession, but rather a physician and metallurgist, *ob.* 1841), embraced the theosophy of the shoemaker of Görlitz. The most important among his numerous writings are: Vorlesungen über die specul. Dogmatik, 1828 ff. 5 Hefte, and Fermenta Cognitionis, 1822 ff. 6 Hefte. In his last years he broke entirely with Ultramontanism ("Ueber die Thunlichkeit od. Unthunlichkeit einer Emancipation von der röm. Dictatur, 1839;"—"Der morgenländische und abendländische Katholicismus, 1841.") A collective edition of his writings (1851 ff.) was published in connection with other friends by the late *Franz Hoffmann* of Würtemburg, whose "Vorhalle zur specul. Lehre Fr. Baaber's, 1836," was declared by the latter to be the purest and clearest exhibition of his doctrines. His doctrines were accepted by the Roman Catholic theological faculty of Giessen, whose destruction was certainly thereby hastened (§ 58, 6), — especially by *Leop. Schmid* (Geist des Katholicismus od. Grundlegung der chr. Irenik. 4 Bd. 1848 ff.) and *G. A. Lutterbeck* (die neutest. Lehrbegriffe, 2 Bde. 1853 ff.) A tendency closely related to that of Baader, although more closely allied with the Kabbala, was pursued by the talented *Molitor* of Frankfurt (Philos. d. Gesch. od. ü. d. Tradition, 4 Bde. 1827 ff.) — Reconcilableness towards Protestantism characterizes all the Roman Catholic adherents of this tendency.

A speculative theology of at least equally important speculative power, and in any case of purer Christian and more decided Roman Catholic contents, was developed by the secular priest *Anton Günther* of Vienna, in connection with his friend *Henry Pabst* and the beloved

preacher *Emmanuel Peith* of Vienna. Günther, a deep, original thinker, with combative humor, sparkling wit, and withal a roughness of expression bordering on burlesque, recognized the necessity of going back again, with philosophical and theological speculation, to Cartesius, who in his Cogito ergo sum yet held fast to the dualism of God and creature, absolute and finite, spirit and nature, whilst all philosophy after him has fallen into pantheistic monism. Proceeding from self-consciousness, the human spirit, it is true, recognizes itself as free, but yet limited, which must, therefore, of necessity have an *absolute* substance before and besides itself, whilst it at the same time knows itself as in unity with and yet different from nature. For in it the union of *nature* and *spirit* is completed; both principles are combined in it as in a Communicatio idiomatum. Accordingly man has two souls, one rational, the spirit,—and another sensuous, the psyche, which is *one* substance with the body, and has as the plastic principle of the body its own will and consciousness, but is connected with the spirit in a formal unity. From this fundamental view he endeavored to solve the two problems of Christian speculation: Creation and incarnation, and undertook a war of annihilation against all monism and semimonism, idealistic and realistic Pantheism, humpbacked and non-humpbacked Semipantheism among Protestants and Roman Catholics. His first great work was the "Vorschule zu specul. Theol." (Bd. I.: Creationslehre, 1828, Bd. II. Incarnationstheorie, 1829, 2. A. 1846). Then followed: Peregrin's Gastmahl. 1830; Süd-u. Nordlichter am Horizonte specul. Theologie, 1832; Januskopfe, 1832 (in connection with Pabst); Der letzte Symboliker, 1834 (participation in the controversy between Möhler and Baur); Thomas a Scrupulis, zur Transfiguration der Persönlichkeits-Pantheismen neuester. Zeit, 1835; Die Juste-melieu's in d. deutsch. Philos. 1838; Eurystheus und Herakles, 1842; Lydia, ein philos. Taschenbuch since 1849 (in connection with Veith). Although Günther never ascended a rostrum, he nevertheless soon gathered around him a great crowd of enthusiastic disciples; *J. H. Pabst*, doctor of medicine in Vienna (*ob.* 1838), translated the master's dark, aphoristic, almost dithyrambic effusions of mind and heart into luminous and spirited philosophical prose ("Der Mensch u. s. Geschichte, 1830; Giebt es eine Philos. des positiven Christenthums? 1832; Adam u. Christus, zur Theorie der Ehe, 1835,") and *John Eman. Veith* popularized them in sermons and devotional works (Das Vaterunser, 1831; Der heil. Berge, 1833, etc., 2 Bde.) Many of the former adherents of the condemned Hermes also, among others also *Baltzer*, became his disciples. On the other hand, the "Hist. polit. Blätter" charged him with annihilating all mystery in Christianity, with contradicting traditional churchly theology, etc., and a private docent of Philosophy at Bonn, *F. J. Clemens* (Die specul. Theol. A. Günther's u. die. kath. Kirchenlehre, 1853) became the spokesman of this party Thus a violent controversy arose, of which

notice must also be taken at Rome. The disposition here was from the beginning to doom Günther to the same fate that befell Hermes 20 years before; yet it was a matter of long deliberation, for intercession from those high in authority at Vienna was made in his behalf. Finally in 1857 the formal reprobation of Günther's philosophy was announced, and all his works were placed in the Index prohibitorum. *Günther* submitted most humbly as an obedient son of the Church; likewise *Baltzer*, who had earlier experience in such matters.

But the Roman Catholic Church of Germany also possessed speculative powers of great importance outside of these two schools, so that, when necessary, it was able boldly to measure its strength with Protestant theology. The most important of these is *Francis Anthony Staudenmeier* of Freiburg (*ob.* 1856), (Joh. Scot. Erigena u. die. Wsch. sr. Zeit, Bd. I. 1840; Encykl. d. theol. Wsch, 2. A. 1840, 2 Bde.: Der Geist d. göttl. Offenb. od. Wsch. d. Geschichts-principien d. Christth. 1837; Die Philosophie des Christth. od. Metaphysik d. h. Schr. Bd. I.; Geist d. Christth. 3. A. 1842, 2 Bde.; Krit. d. Hegel'schen Systems vom Standp. d. chr. Philos. 1844; Die chr. Dogmatik, 1844 ff. 4 Bde.; Der Protestsm. in s. Wesen u. sr. Entw. 1845 ff. 3 Bde. Bd. III.; Die Grundfragen der Gegenwart, 1850). Next to him were distinguished: *J. Kuhn* of Tübingen (Das Leben Jesu, wissensch. bearb. 1838; Ueber Glauben u. Wissen, 1839; Ueber Princip u. Methode d. specul. Theol. 1841; Kathol. Dogmatik, Bd. I. II. 1846–57), *Karl. Werner* (System d. chr. Ethik. 3 Bde. 1850; Grundlinien d. Phil. 1855; Der h. Thomas v. Aquin, 3 Bde. 1858), *Mart. Deutinger* (Princip d. Philos. u. chr. Wsch. 1857), *H. Denzinger* (4 Bb. v. d. rel. Erkenntn. 2 Bde. 1857), *J. N. Oischinger* (Philos. u. Relig. 1849; System d. chr. Glaubenslehre, Bd. I. 1858, etc.); *J. Sengler* (Ueber d. Wesen u. die Bedeutung d. specul. Philos. u. Theol. 1837; Die Idee Gottes. 1845 ff. 3 Bde.), *Seb. v. Drey* of Tübingen (Die Apologetik als Wsch. Nachweis v. d. Göttlichk. des Christth. 1838 ff. 3 Bde.), and others.—*H. Klee* of Munich (Die Beichte, 1827; Kath. Dogm. 3. A. 1839, 2 Bde.; Dogmengesch, 1837, 2 Bde.; Kath. Moral. 1843, etc.), and *Xav. Dieringer* of Bonn (Lehrb. d. kath. Dogmatik, 3. A. 1853; System d. göttl. Thaten d. Christenthums, 2. A. 1857) belong more to the Positivists of the old school.

None of all the Roman Catholic theologians of modern times has reached the importance and influence which *John Adam Möhler* attained in a life of but 40 years. Having been brought to a high scientific culture especially by the study of Schleiermacher's writings and of other Protestants, and devoting all the rich gifts of his heart and mind to the service of his Church, he won for it as great and even greater significance, than Schleiermacher before him did for the Protestant Church. His first treatise already: "Die Einheit der Kirche od. das Princip des Katholicismus, 1825," attested and guaranteed this. It was followed by his "Athanasius d. Gr. u. die K. sr. Zeit

1827," and this by his principal work, "Symbolik, 1832, 5. A. 1838," which combats Protestant doctrines with the weapons of Protestant science, and silently ennobles and exalts those of the Roman Catholic Church. Did the Protestants up to this time generally despise or ignore the contributions of Roman Catholic theologians, here a scientific power of the highest significance approached them, to despise which would have been a sign of weakness. And in fact, long as was the opposition which existed between both churches, no work from the camp of the Roman Catholics produced as much agitation and excitement in the camp of the Protestants as this, at least none with more reason. Of the Protestant rejoinders, those by *Nitsch* and *Bauer* were the most important. Möhler replied to that of the latter, who labored with him at the same university, in his "Neuen Unters. d. Lehrgegensätze zw. d. Kath. u. Prot. 1834, 2. A. 1835." The lukewarmness occasioned thereby rendered his residence at Tübingen unpleasant, and led him to accept a call to Munich. But increasing illness interfered with his scientific labors, and did not permit him to execute the great scientific works which he had made the task of his life. For already in 1838, in the vigor of his manhood, he was torn by death from his church and from science generally, which was justified in expecting from him still something great. But he sent rays of his spirit deep into the hearts and minds of hundreds of his enthusiastic pupils by his writings, addresses, and by his intercourse with them; and what the Roman Catholic Church of the present possesses of living scientific impulse and feeling was implanted, or at least revived and excited by him. His posthumous smaller works were collected by Döllinger (1839 f. 2 Bde.), and *Rheitmayr* published from his papers the first volume of a Patrology in 1839. His lectures on Church History constitute the basis of *Alzog's* text-book. *Staudenmaier* and *Kuhn* are the most important of his disciples in the sphere of dogmatics,—*Ign. Döllinger* of Munich (Die Reformation, ihre Entwickl. und Wirkung im Umfange des luth. Bekenntnisses, 1846 ff. 3 Bde.; Hippolyt. u. Kallistus od. d. röm K. im 3 Jahrh. 1853; Heidenth. u. Judenth., als. Vorhalle zur Gesch. d. Christenth. 1857), *K. Jos. Hefele* of Tübingen (Einführ. d. Christth. im südwestl. Deutschl. 1837; Der Kardinal Ximenez u. d. kirchl. Zustände Spaniens, 2. A. 1851; Concilliengeschichte, Bd. I. III. 1855 ff.) in the sphere of Church History. Roman Catholic learning (so far as ultramontane virulence, or historical concealment and bungling did not exert a baneful influence) has contributed many important works in the sphere of Church-historical monographs. Relatively weak and unimportant, on the other hand, are its *biblico*-critical, -historical and -exegetical contributions, most of all in the sphere of the Old Testament. The contributions of *Benj. Welte* of Tübingen (Nachmosaisches im Pentat. 1841; Buch Job. 1849; Herausgabe u. Fortsetz. d. Einl. ins A. T. v. J. H. Herbst. 3 Bde. 1840 ff.); of *Pet. Schegg* (Die kl. Proph. 2 Bde 1854; Die Evangelien,

2 Bde. 1856; Die Psalmen, 3 Bde. 1857); *Adalb. Maier* (Einl. ins N T. 1852; Korintherbr. 1857), are relatively of the most importance. A compilatory copious author is *Lor. Reinke* (Beitr. zur Erkl. des alt. Test. 4 Bde. 1851 ff.; Malachi, 1856; Messianische Psalmen, 1857, etc.)

§ 58. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC NATIONAL CHURCHES.

The restoration of 1814 again introduced a rigid ultramontanism into most of the purely Roman Catholic States. But the overbent bow broke now here, now there. The Papacy experienced the deepest humiliations and the greatest dangers just in the original Roman Catholic States of Romanic descent: in Spain, Portugal, France, and Sardinia. In consequence of the first French revolution the imperial rights and privileges of the German clergy were annihilated, its possessions were secularized, and the prelates were salaried as servants of the State, by the *chief decree of the imperial deputation* (1803). Only the prince-primas of the Rhine league and archbishop of Mayence, Baron *von Dalberg*, retained for a time his spiritual principality, whose seat was transferred to Regensburg, and received as indemnification the temporal principality of Frankfurt, which he resigned in 1813. A large number of Roman Catholic countries came under the rule of Protestant princes through the new division of territory made by the Congress of Vienna (1814). But as, besides, most of the bishoprics became vacant during the political complications of the previous decade, the governments now were active in bringing to pass an orderly state of ecclesiastical affairs through alliance with the papal chair, whereby many mistakes were made, and many vital questions concerning the relation of Church and State yet remain unsolved.

1. In *Italy* the old state of things returned after the restoration of 1814. But Liberalism with its strivings after the freedom and unity of Italy increased mightily, and, because mental bondage and Papism were identical, it worked to effect an uncatholization which was only too frequently also an unchristianization of the land. Where Liberalism was for a time victorious, there the Jesuits were driven out, and the power of the clergy restricted; where it was defeated, there both returned in increased strength. The arms of Austria, and later also of France, suppressed the revolutionary movements everywhere. *Pius* IX., who at first was not averse to placing himself at the head of the national movement, opposed as it was to all the traditions of the papacy, was compelled bitterly to atone for this connection with Liberalism

(§ 57, 1). Sardinia, Modena, and Parma, drew the bow of restoration most tightly, whilst Parma and Tuscany were distinguished for a relative kind of liberality. But when in 1848 Lombardy, in consequence of the French revolution of February, rose against Austrian dominion, King *Charles Albert* of Sardinia placed himself as the sword of Italy at the head of the liberal national movement. He, however, was defeated, and was compelled to abdicate (1849). *Victor Emmanuel* has permitted the liberal constitution of his father to exist, and even first gave it its full validity. The minister of justice, *Siccardi*, proposed a new act of legislation, according to which all spiritual jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, as well as the privilege of asylum and of tithes (the latter with partial indemnification), was to be abolished. The parliament approved, and the king signed it (1850). But the clergy, with the Archbishop *Fransoni* of Turin at their head, protested most vehemently against this sacrilegious attack on the rights of the church. Fransoni was compelled to atone therefor by one month's imprisonment, and, because he refused the last sacrament to a dying minister, he was condemned by a regular sentence to deposition and exile. The pope, Pius IX., declined every overture for a new concordat. The government, nevertheless, went forward only the more regardlessly. As Fransoni kept up a continual agitation from his exile in France, all the possessions of the archepiscopal foundation were sequestered in 1854, and a number of monasteries were confiscated. Soon thereupon all penalties in the statute-books concerning the spread of anti-Catholic doctrines were erased, and the non-Catholic military were exempted from compulsory presence at the mass on Sundays and holydays. The heaviest blow followed, March 2, 1855, in the form of the *monastery-law*, according to which all the orders and monasteries not devoted to preaching, to instruction, and to the care of the sick, were abolished (of 605 monasteries, 331 fell under this law). As this act of the chamber of deputies was in danger of failing in the Senate, the people rose in its favor in several cities. The pope did not omit to condemn all these sacrilegious measures, and, as his threats were disregarded, he pronounced in July, 1855, the great bann upon all originators, favorers, and executors of the same. This, it is true, caused some agitation among the common people, which, however, exploded nowhere. The government has been victorious up to this time, and goes boldly forward in carrying out its measures.

2. Into *Spain* also the restoration of 1814 again introduced Ultramontanism, but the triumph of the Liberals overthrew the hierarchical clergy after the death of Ferdinand VII. (1833). The revolution established its inquisition against monks and priests, and also celebrated its auto-da-fé's. All monastic orders were abolished, all monasteries were confiscated, the possessions of the Church were declared (1835–37) to be national property, and the papal nuncio was led across the borders. Since the accession to the throne of the present Queen Isabella

(1844) a beginning has been made in re-establishing a Roman Catholic Church in Spain. After many negotiations and fluctuations, amidst constant change of ministers, a *Concordat* was finally agreed upon (1851), according to which the church and monastery property not yet sold was restored, an indemnification given for that already sold, the number of former bishoprics reduced about six, instruction and censorship of books committed to the supervision of the bishops, and the Roman Catholic religion declared to be the only one to be tolerated. These terms were enlarged in the year following by an anti-Protestant alien-law. But although in March 23, 1854, the holy Virgin was chosen to be the generalissimo of the valiant army, and her image at Atocha decorated by the queen with a ribbon of the order of the Golden Fleece, nevertheless, a revolution broke out soon after from the ranks of the army, which threatened to destroy ultramontane Roman Catholism. Meanwhile, the republican party was not entirely successful. The motion in favor of the unconditional freedom of all religions failed by a small minority, and the new constitution of March 1, 1855, obligates the Spanish nation to preserve and to protect the Roman Catholic religion, to which the Spaniards belong; nevertheless, no Spaniard was to be persecuted on account of his faith, so long as he abstained from acts contrary to religion. A new law of May 3, 1855, ordained the sale of all church and monastery property, and compensation for the same by yearly rents according to the measure of the existing concordat. Several bishops were banished for obstinate opposition; the pope protested, and recalled his legates. Meanwhile, the clerical party soon regained influence with the queen. The sale of church and monastery property was arrested,—that already sold was compensated for by the restoration of former possessions. The matter was not brought to a definite conclusion, on account of the frequent change of ministers. The sale of church property already commenced was suspended, until the Cortes had determined upon a proper indemnification.

In *Portugal* the experience of the Roman Catholic Church was not better. After the overthrow of the Cathedral of *Miguel* by the liberal Cortes, all the monastic orders were abolished, the property of the monasteries was appropriated by the State, and the spiritual rights of patronage were assumed by the civil government. However, since 1841 a union with Rome has again been brought about under Donna Maria. The government negotiated with regard to a concordat, but it has not up to this time been obtained. All papal decrees need royal confirmation. But the Codigo penal of 1852 also menaced every subject, who went over to one of the non-Catholic confessions, with the loss of civil rights.

The liberal movements extended also to *South* and *Central America*, and also called forth there similar revolutionary attempts in the sphere of the church, but the popular faith was more closely attached to the chair of Peter here than even in the mother-countries.

3. The charte of restoration in *France* (1814) secured for *Roman Catholicism* the character of the established religion, for the other confessions only tolerance and protection. But Ultramontanism in its worst form soon prevailed among the clergy to such a degree, that every mention of Gallican church-freedom was regarded as heresy. The support of this tendency by the State led to its overthrow in the second French revolution of 1830. The Roman Catholic Church thereby again lost the privileges of an established or State religion, and the Protestants, who had been persecuted and oppressed up to this time, obtained equal rights with the Roman Catholics. But Ultramontanism again became ascendant even under the new constitutional government, and France assumed the protectorate of Roman Catholicism throughout the world. In the revolution of February the Roman Catholic clergy willingly permitted themselves to be absolved from obedience to the citizen-King Louis Philippe, and they did not hesitate, because the Roman Catholic Church is compatible with every form of civil government which only allows freedom of the Church, to bless the trees of liberty, together with the sovereign people on the barricades. *Napoleon* III. seemed at first disposed to regard the concordat of 1801 as existing by law, and jealously to guard the liberties of the Gallican Church. And although his bayonets made it possible for the pope to return to Rome and still uphold his temporal authority there, the latter has not yet fulfilled the chief desire of his heart, by placing the imperial crown upon his head. Still the Ultramontanes have grown in favor with him, at least in appearance. On a journey through Roman Catholic Bretagne (1858) he most emphatically declared the necessity of a strong, monarchical, and Roman Catholic government. And *Veuillot*, the editor of the Univers, had an audience, at which he laid before the emperor a memorial concerning strict measures that ought to be adopted against books hostile to religion, among which the minister, General *Espinasse*, reckoned in the sense of the Univers, especially Protestant bibles (§ 55, 10). But notwithstanding all the manifestations of favor, which the leaders of the Ultramontane party receive at the present time, it is evident that the advancement of their interest is not an object, but only a means, which can be cast aside and supplied by its opposite at any moment, when it becomes useless or hindering. — The attempt (1858) to sequester the property of the hospitals and benevolent institutions, and to compensate for it by government rents, called forth so great an opposition through the whole country, that the plan had to be abandoned.—For the rest, there is no country in the whole Roman Catholic world that is at the present day so highly favored with visions and miracles, as Roman Catholic France. — In *Belgium*, Ultramontanism connected itself with political Liberalism against the Protestant government, but after the separation from Holland became a fait accompli (1830), the two parties separated and opposed each other, and are represented especially in

the Liberal university at Brussels, and the Ultramontane one at Louvain. The latter, for the prize of the complete and unconditional independence of the Church of the State, submitted to the election of another Protestant king.—In *Holland*, the organic law of 1848 guaranteed complete freedom of religion. Taking advantage of this, the pope, in 1853, organized a Roman Catholic hierarchy in the country, with four bishops and an archbishop, at Utrecht. The Protestant population was greatly agitated by this action. The liberal ministry was compelled to resign, but the chambers nevertheless finally permitted the papal arrangement to continue, securing the Protestant established Church only against abuses and encroachments from it. The Holland *Jansenists* (§ 44, 6) have been again excommunicated by the pope on account of their protestation against the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary.

4. The Roman Catholic population of *Ireland*, under Protestant land-proprietors, and with the obligation to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy, is still destitute of civil rights. Since 1809, *O'Connell*, an agitator of captivating eloquence, placed himself at the head of the oppressed people, in order to obtain for them religious and political equality in a legal way. Finally, in 1829, the *Emancipation-bill*, which granted to Roman Catholics admission to parliament and to all civil offices, was passed, being supported by Peel and Wellington. But the odious tithes remained, and were collected wherever resisted by military power. After many contests in both houses of parliament, the *tithe-bill*, which laid the tithes as ground-rent of the tenant on the land-proprietor, was passed (1838), whereby the question was only postponed. O'Connell so regarded it. He declared that justice and deliverance for Ireland was only to be obtained by abolishing the legislative union with Great Britain, which existed since 1800, and by re-establishing an independent parliament; and he organized the *Repeal Association* to this end. Since 1840 another not less powerful popular agitator, the Irish capuchin *Matthew*, the apostle of temperance, labored with unparalleled success, leading many thousands of drunkards to sign the pledge of total abstinence from all spirituous liquors (tee-totallers). He abstained from all political agitation, but the fruits of his labors nevertheless contributed towards it. *O'Connell* began his monster-meetings in 1843, to which hundreds of thousands crowded. The government impeached him, the jury pronounced him guilty, but the court of peers declared the proceedings null and void, and released him from prison (1844). Peel's ministry, to conciliate, carried the *legacy-bill*, which permitted the Roman Catholic Church to receive property in its own name, and the *Maynooth-bill*, by which the theological seminary at Mainooth was richly endowed by the State (1845). Long-continued famine, and, as a consequence, the emigration of many hundred thousands to America and Australia, almost depopulated Ireland within the last few years, whilst Protestant mis

sions have labored successfully at the evangelization of the remainder through Bibles, tracts, and schools. On the other hand, on the 5th Nov. 1855, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder plot, the Redemptionists of Kingston near Dublin collected a large number of Bibles and burned them on the public street, and the Primate of Ireland referred, in a pastoral letter on the occasion, to the example of believers at Ephesus (Acts 19 : 19). Collections for the founding of a Roman Catholic university in Ireland, independent of the State, are still taken.—Encouraged to entertain the strongest hopes by the numerous transitions of Puseyites in *England* (§ 55, 8), the pope issued in September, 1850, a bull, by which the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England was re-established in twelve suffragan bishoprics under an archbishop of Westminster (Cardinal *Wiseman*). The bull created the greatest excitement among the Protestant population (anti-papal aggression), and the *ecclesiastical title-bill* forbade the use of ecclesiastical titles, not conferred by the laws of the land. But these measures by no means cut off the roots of the Romish aggression; conversions especially from the higher classes are still reported. The Roman Catholic prelates soon again used their repudiated titles without suffering punishment. Within six years not less than 54 splendid Roman Catholic churches in Gothic style have been erected. In *North America* the Roman Catholic Church has increased with like rapidity, although less by conversions than by the emigration of Irish and German Roman Catholics. Their number here is reckoned at present as being two millions souls. So much the greater is the violent excitement of the Natives, and especially of the Know-nothings (§ 55, 12). In any case, however, both in North America and in England, the accounts of the progress of the Roman Catholic Church are greatly exaggerated by both parties.

5. The Emperor of *Austria* retained from the Roman empire only the name of an advowee of the papal chair and of the Roman Catholic Church. The remnants of the church-constitution of Joseph have been since then gradually destroyed, and Roman Catholicism has been retained as the established religion, although the government preserves its independence over against all hierarchical claims. The government, since the restoration from the revolutionary disorders of 1848, has been much more compliant to the demands of the hierarchy. Already in April, 1850, an imperial patent exempted the papal and episcopal decrees from the necessity of imperial approbation, and on Aug. 18th, 1855, a concordat with the pope was signed, by which the hierarchy in Austria obtained unprecedented power and independence. The first article guarantees to the Roman Catholic religion in the whole empire all the rights and privileges to which it had claim according to divine institution and canon law. In the other articles, the intercourse of the bishops with Rome is granted unconditionally; no papal decree required in future the placet of the emperor; the prelates are unre-

stricted in the exercise of their hierarchical duties; the religious instruction of all the schools is placed under their supervision; no one is permitted to teach religion or theology without their approbation; none but Roman Catholic teachers need be in Roman Catholic schools; they have the right to prohibit all books that might be injurious to the faithful; all ecclesiastical cases at law belong to their forum, although the apostolic chair did consent that the purely temporal legal affairs of the clergy be decided before the civil courts; the right of nomination to vacant episcopal chairs is granted to the emperor, etc. The lower orders of the clergy, which are without any rights over against the prelates according to the concordat, have shown themselves to be not especially pleased with it, and the joy over it has also not been very great among the Roman Catholic laity. Even the government seems to entertain well-grounded apprehensions concerning its unlimited operation.—*Bavaria* was the first German State which, after the Congress of Vienna, concluded (1817) a concordat with Rome, by which all the prerogatives demanded by canonical law were guaranteed to the Roman Catholic Church; besides, two archbishoprics with six bishoprics were organized, the re-establishment of several monasteries permitted, the right of prohibiting books granted to the bishops, the annates restored, the election of bishops transferred to the king, their confirmation to the pope, etc. The excitement of the Protestant population concerning this concordat was allayed by a new organic law (1818), by which perfect freedom of conscience to all subjects, and equal civil rights to the three Christian confessions, was most solemnly guaranteed. The inconsistency of this law with the concordat was apparent, but the government permitted the former to prevail over the latter, even under the Ultramontane rule of King *Louis* (§ 55, 7). In 1850, it is true, the assembled bishops at Freising demanded the final and full realization of the existing concordat, but they obtained only small concessions through a rescript of 1852, which were somewhat enlarged on renewed complaints in 1854. The Ultramontane party took special offence at the circumstance that King *Maximilian* called so many distinguished learned Protestants to Munich. *Dr. Ringseis* gave public expression to this indignation in a university address, which represents Protestant science as a confused chaos (1855).—*Hanover* concluded a concordat with the papal chair in 1824, by which the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Osnabrück were re-established.

6. The Protestant governments of the South German States having Roman Catholic subjects assembled at Frankfurt in 1818, to form in common a concordat with Rome. But on account of the great contrariety of claims, nothing other was attained than a new circumscription of the bishoprics in the so-called *Upper Rhine Church province* (1821) (the archbishopric of *Freiburg* for Baden and the two Hohenzollern principalities, the bishopric of *Mayence* for Hesse-Darmstadt, of *Fulda* for Hesse-Cassel, of *Rottenberg* for Würtemberg, of *Limburg* for Nassau

and Frankfurt); and this also was only realized in 1827 after many mistakes, with the understanding that the election of bishops was to proceed from the chapters, but that the sovereign could strike off the obnoxious names from the list of candidates which was to be submitted to him before the election. What the pope would not admit into the concordat was proclaimed in 1830 by the princes, in behalf of the real equalization of Protestants and Roman Catholics, to be the law of the land; papal and episcopal decrees require approbation before their publication; taxes dare not be levied by any ecclesiastical court; appeal from the abuse of spiritual power to the civil courts; the future priests to receive their scientific education at universities; their practical training at the theological seminaries, etc. The pope issued a breve, in which he designates these arrangements as a scandal of innovations, and reminds the bishops of what is said (Acts 5 : 29.) But only the Bishop of *Fulda* heeded this admonition, and succeeded in abolishing the Roman Catholic theological faculty at *Marburg* after a brief existence, and in committing the education of priests alone to the seminary at Fulda. *Hesse-Darmstadt* founded a theological faculty at Giessen (1830); *Baden* had a Roman Catholic university already at Freiburg; and Würtemburg had also already in 1817 connected the faculty at Ellwangen with the university of *Tübingen*, and richly endowed it with a refectory. There reigned in all these faculties, in addition to a scientific spirit, a noble liberality without perversion of the Roman Catholic basis of faith. Some priests, who refused in Würtemberg to perform mixed marriages, were punished by the State; and when the aged Bishop *Keller* of Rottenburg, hitherto peaceable and submissive to the government, complained before the chambers about the violations of the rights of the Roman Catholic Church, and demanded the release of the same from the guardianship of the State, his motion failed in both chambers (1841). The revolutionary year of 1848 first gave the bishops prospect of the success of a contest for the unconditional freedom of the church. When in 1849 the bishopric of Mayence became vacant, Rome rejected Prof. *Leopold Schmid* of Giessen (§ 57, 7), who had been desired by *Darmstadt* and regularly elected by the chapter. The government permitted itself to be satisfied with the induction of the Ultramontane Baron *von Ketteler*, who did not rest until he had entirely desolated the Roman Catholic faculty of Giessen, and until the last student had removed from here to the newly established seminary at Mayence (1851). At the same time the five bishops (Feb. 1851) published a joint *memorial*, in which they demanded free intercourse with Rome, abolition of the sovereign placet, independent administration of church-property, abrogation of the examination of young priests by the State, unhindered exercise of episcopal power of punishment, abrogation of appeal to the State, change of academical studies, establishment of episcopal seminaries, supervision of schools, investiture of all spiritual offices alone by the bishops,

etc. As the government delayed its answer, they declared, in 1852 that they would from this time forward proceed as if everything had been conceded to them; and when the answer finally came, refusing what they demanded in most things, that, obeying God rather than man, they would proceed quite according to canonical law (1853). *Baden*, where the revolution shook the foundations of the State most of all, and where besides a young regent just at this time took hold of the reins of government, seemed best adapted to a dictatorial attempt. The eighty years old Archbishop of Freiburg, *Hermann von Vicari*, began it by prohibiting the mourning for the deceased (heretical) grand-duke, which had been appointed by the Roman Catholic high-consistory of Karlsruhe according to an old custom, and by condemning more than a hundred priests, who nevertheless observed it, to penances (1852). In the following year he publicly declared that he would for the future proceed according to the demands of the episcopal memorial, and he did it at once by appointing priests on his own authority, and by delaying the examination of seminaries without consulting the commissioner of the government. As a warning was disregarded, the government issued an order that all episcopal decrees until further notice must be subscribed by a grand-ducal special commissioner thereto appointed before their publication. The archbishop at once pronounced the bann upon him, as well as upon the entire high-consistory, published a fulminating pastoral letter, which was to be read with excommunication in all the churches, and commanded that the priests should preach for four weeks to instruct the people concerning this matter. He at the same time solemnly protested against all rights of sovereignty on the part of the State. The government banished the Jesuits, prohibited the reading of the pastoral letter, and punished the disobedient clergy with fines and imprisonment. Enthusiastic letters from foreign bishops and large collections of money were received; on the other hand, in 1854, both chambers gave the government a vote of confidence in regard to this matter. The archbishop, meanwhile, proceeded still more boldly and regardless of consequences. In May, 1854, the government began a criminal prosecution against him, during which he was guarded in his own house as a prisoner. The efforts of his party to excite the Roman Catholic population by demonstrations, were fruitless. After the close of the investigation, the archbishop was released from durance, and he proceeded again in his former way. But the government was also firm, and proceeded against all refractoriness with punishment and reprisals. In June, 1855, finally, a provisional agreement was arrived at in Rome. It consists in this, that all prosecutions be abandoned, and the archbishop fill all vacant benefices provisionally with vicars, until a concordat is obtained,—which has not yet happened.—On the other hand, *Würtemberg* concluded a concordat with the pope in 1857, by which the Roman Catholic Church has also become the established church of this country.

The bishop alone disposes of all vacant benefices; he has further the right to introduce religious orders and congregations without interference. The government renounced the right of having a commissioner at the examination of seminaries, and the bishop can establish seminaries where he pleases, and as many as he pleases. The sovereign placet is entirely given up. On the contrary, the pope permits, for a time, that the purely temporal legal matters of the clergy be transacted before the civil courts.

7. *Prussia* concluded a concordat with Rome already in 1821, according to which six bishoprics and two archbishoprics were established in the land. The free election of bishop was granted to the chapters, but in a secret appendix-article Rome promised, instructing the chapters, that only gratæ personæ were to be chosen. A rupture took place in spite of all the connivance of the government concerning the contradiction between canonical and civil law in regard to the mixed marriages existing between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Council of Trent absolutely forbade such marriages. A subsequent papal bull of 1741, however, permitted them under the condition of a merely passive assistance of the Roman Catholic clergy at the marriage, and of an obligation on the part of those thus marrying to educate their children in a Roman Catholic way. The Prussian law of 1803 enacted, on the contrary, that in doubtful cases all the children should adopt the religion of the father. But as this law also became valid since 1825 for the Rhine provinces, and the bishops here on this account made inquiry of the pope, *Pius* VIII. issued a breve (1830), which allowed the priest to solemnize marriages only in those cases where the instruction of the children in Roman Catholicism was guaranteed; in all other cases only a passive assistance was declared permissible. The government, however, received from the priests concerned, at a secret private convention (1834), the promise that they would not refuse to officiate in other cases; and the Archbishop of Cologne, Count *Spiegel*, who was both a friend and patron of Hermesian theology, gave ecclesiastical legislative authority to this convention. Spiegel's successor was *Clemens Droste of Vischering* (1836), after that he had given his adhesion formally to the convention, because he, as he later excused himself, had not called into question the agreement affirmed by the government with the breve. So soon, however, as he obtained a clearer insight into their contradictory character, he strictly forbade his clergy to solemnize any marriage without the guarantee required by the breve. At the same time he endeavored to give force to the papal condemnation of Hermesian theology by forbidding the students of Bonn in the confessional from attending the lectures of the Hermesians. As the archbishop could not be influenced to yield his position, he was arrested in 1837 as faithless to his word and exciting rebellion, and was taken to the castle of Minden. Both of the powers interested justified their conduct in public memorials,

with which was connected an immense number of controversial treatises from both parties. Görres called the archbishop the "Athanasius" of the 19th century. The example of the Archbishop of Cologne also emboldened the Archbishop *Dunin* of Gnesen and Posen to issue a secret pastoral letter, in which every priest of his diocese was threatened with suspension who did not unconditionally obey the papal breve (1838). He was legally deposed therefor, and condemned to a half year's imprisonment, but the king prevented the execution of the penalty. Dunin, however, fled from Berlin to Posen, and was now taken to the castle of Colberg (1839). Amid such complications *Frederick William* IV. ascended the throne (1840). Dunin was restored to his office in magnanimous confidence. Droste also was released from his imprisonment with public apology, and received, with his approbation and that of the pope, a coadjutor in the hitherto Bishop of Spire, *Geissel*, who administered the archbishopric in his name and with the right of succession (1842). The government let the Hermesians fall; the law in regard to mixed marriages remained in force, although so that the conscience of the Roman Catholic clergy was to be spared under all circumstances (cf. *K. Hase*, die beiden Erzsbischöfe. Lpz. 1839). After the year of revolution the Prussian bishops also presented a memorial containing the well-known Ultramontane demands. The organic law of Jan. 31, 1850, guaranteed free intercourse with Rome, and a Roman Catholic faction was formed in the chambers which voted at one time with the right wing, then with the left, as Ultramontane interests demanded. The government granted many things, although it in a measure forbade the studying in foreign Jesuit institutions and limited Jesuit missions (1852). When in March, 1853, the Bishop *Arnoldi* of Treves commanded his clergy only then to allow mixed marriages, when by an oath the education of the children in the Roman Catholic faith was granted by both parties, and even then also to refuse them ecclesiastical solemnization, the king declared that he would immediately dismiss any officer from his army who would submit to so shameful a condition. The prince-regent, at his accession to the throne (1858) declared, that the utmost parity must exist between both confessions. For the rest, how just the complaints of the Ultramontanes concerning slights are, appears from the fact that the State has only appropriated $400,000 annually to the ecclesiastical affairs of its ten millions of Protestants, whilst it permits the worship of six millions of Roman Catholics to cost it *three times* as much. To this must be added yet for extraordinary objects $10,000 for the former, but $50,000 for the latter. — In *Mecklenburg-Schwerin* the Chamberlain *von Kettenburg* went over to the Roman Catholic Church, and appointed a Roman Catholic priest on his estate. The government, however, banished this priest, because the laws of the country did not permit any Roman Catholic worship which went beyond simple family worship. A compliant on this account brought before the federal diet, then before the German diet, was disregarded by both.

8. The ecclesiastical chief administration of *Roman Catholic Switzerland* belonged formerly to the bishopries of Constance, of Milan, and of Besançon. But soon after the Reformation already the Roman court established a nunciature (at Lucerne) for the direct maintenance of the papal interests in Switzerland. When now in 1814 the liberal *Wessenberg*, for a long time already suspected of heresy (§ 57, 4), was called as coadjutor to Constance (without papal confirmation), the nuncio of Lucerne intrigued among the confederates until these petitioned the pope for the establishment of an independent and national bishopric. Pius VII. hastily tore the bond hitherto existing. But as every canton laid claim to the episcopal seat, a papal grand-vicar was appointed at Lucerne instead of a national bishopric. At the same time the Jesuits made their appearance. Thereby Roman Catholic Switzerland, and Lucerne at the head, became a chief home of Ultramontanism. The Jesuistic party, however, was also opposed by a radical liberal one, which attempted to overthrow the Ultramontane government in 1845, but was suppressed. As, meanwhile, the diet meddled in these internal affairs of the Roman Catholic cantons, the latter formed a separate league to maintain and protect their faith and their rights of sovereignty. This led to the civil war. The special league was defeated; the Jesuits and the Ultramontane government must disappear (1847). In the new federal constitution, which Switzerland made in 1848, the unconditional freedom of conscience and the civil equality of all Christian confessions is guaranteed, and the banishment of the Jesuits is renewed. A law of 1850 places the religious education of children of mixed marriages absolutely under the will of the father. Since this time, however, both Ultramontanism and Jesuitism have again celebrated great triumphs in the Roman Catholic cantons.

§ 59. THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH.

The *orthodox* Church of *Russia* has elevated itself more and more, especially since *Alexander* I. Theological learning was not rare among the higher clergy, and the government also provided for the better intellectual culture of the lower clergy. The *Greeks* in the West Russian provinces, who have been united with Rome since 1594, expressed the wish at the *Synod of Polozk* to return to the bosom of the orthodox church, and they were accordingly again received at the command of the Emperor.— The *orthodox* church in the *Turkish* provinces stood under the patriarch of Constantinople and its holy synod. Disappointed in their expectations from the Congress of Vienna, the Greeks arose in their own strength against Turkish tyranny. In 1814 a new *Hetairia* was formed, which soon spread over the whole

country, and nurtured thoughts of freedom among the people. The war of freedom broke out in 1821. The first consequence of it was a fearful massacre, especially in Constantinople. The patriarch *Gregorius*, together with his entire synod and about 30,000 Christians, were murdered within three months with terrible cruelty by the Turks. Finally, in 1830, the *London Conference* declared Greece to be an independent State, and a meeting of bishops at Nauplia in 1833 emancipated the Greek Church from the patriarch, who stood under Turkish arbitrariness. The chief supervision of the church was committed to a permanent *holy synod* at Athens, which was established by the king, but was entirely independent in all internal affairs. — But in 1840, Christian princes of all confessions reconquered the holy land for the Turks from the hands of a rebellious vassal, and the political interests of the Christian States of Europe are so complicated in regard to the Orient, that in 1854 it could be affirmed in the English Parliament, that Turkey, even with its putrefaction and weakness, if it were not in existence would have to be. The Turco-Russian war, which was closed at the beginning of 1856, therefore, made no material change in the condition of the Christians. For even though the *Hatti Humayun* of Feb. 18, 1856, granted them equal civil rights with the Moslems, especially also ability to bear arms and equality before the courts, still, well-meant as it may be by the Sultan, it is scarcely any longer regarded in practice, as formerly the also well-meant Hatti-scheriff of Gülhane (1839).

Whilst Protestant (especially North American) missionaries are unweariedy active in evangelizing the schismatic churches of the Orient (Nestorians, Armenians, Maronites) through distribution of Bibles and school-instruction, Rome also does not spare any labor in endeavoring to bring back these as well as the orthodox church itself into the bosom of the only saving church, but certainly without any apparent success. Only a short time ago (1855) the converted Greek *Pitzipios* of Scio founded an oriental Christian society at Rome, which has this object alone in view. Its leading thought, which Pitzipios has developed in a special treatise (L'église orientale, Rome, 1855, in German, by *H. Shiel*, Vienna, 1857), is this, that the oriental church is Roman Catholic of right and of God since the council of Florence, and it is only the lust of power and selfishness of the clergy which will not permit the historically grounded and lawfully existing unity to come to a manifestation.

IV. ANTI-CHRISTIANITY

§ 60. SECTS AND FANATICS.

The proper home for the formation and gathering of sects in this period is North America. Here *Unitarians* from England found entrance, whilst in return the *Methodists* and *Baptists* from America sent missionaries back to Europe. But in Europe also fanatical phenomena made their appearance here and there, which were in part guilty of *frantic* outrages. Even *Gnosticism*, with intellectual and moral errors, showed itself again in several societies. The *Harmonites* in North America represented a combination of communism with religious fanaticism. The *Darbyites* constituted the saints of the last times upon independent foundation, whilst on the other hand, the *Irvingites* and their caricature, the *Mormons*, represented the revival of the apostolic offices and charisma, — the latter with the addition of socialistic and gnostic tendencies.

1. *The Propagation of the Older Sects.* — *Baptistic* doctrines and practice proceeded often spontaneously in Germany from unchurchly Pietism and Mysticism. Besides, the English missionary *Oncken* of Hamburg worked towards the same end since 1834. Thus gradually from 30 to 40 small baptistic congregations arose, especially in East Prussia (where Memel is their chief seat), in Westphalia and the Rhine Provinces, in Würtemberg and Hesse, etc. Prussia granted them limited tolerance in 1843; also Würtemberg and Hesse. Mecklenburg warded them off by fines and imprisonments. But Denmark, which proceeded against them even more sharply, was finally compelled to permit the organization of a congregation at Fredericia (1842). Since then the number of their adherents has increased on the continent from year to year. Hamburg granted them full recognition in 1858, with the prohibition, however, not to baptize in the open air. — The North American missionary *Jakoby* proselyted for *Methodism* from Bremen. — The *Unitarians* possess yet in Transylvania of old a privileged and organized church establishment. In England the law still threatens them with the death-penalty, which, however, has not been inflicted for a long time. But they were not the less an object of insult and indignation to the people. A popular storm broke loose in 1791, upon *Jos. Priestley*, the celebrated chemist and natural philoso-

pher, who presided over a Unitarian congregation at Birmingham. His house, together with his scientific collection and apparatus, was burned; he only saved his own life with difficulty, and soon after emigrated to North America. But it was only after his death (1804) that the tendency represented by him met with favor there, and now hundreds of Unitarian congregations were formed in a short time. Its most celebrated apostle was *Ellery Channing* of Boston (*ob.* 1842). The blooming period of American Socinianism, however, has passed away already. Its latest most important representative was *Theodore Parker* of Boston (*ob.* 1860), who, advancing to the most notorious Rationalism, also emancipated himself entirely from the authority of the Bible. — Unitarian congregations have also greatly increased in England since they obtained formal tolerance in 1813.

2. *Fanatical Phenomena.* — *Johanna Southcote* of England imagined that she was the woman clothed with the sun spoken of in Rev. 12, or the bride of the Lamb. She appeared in 1801 with her prophecies. Her adherents, the *New Israelites*, built a chapel in London for their worship. A splendid cradle was prepared to receive the long promised Messiah, but Johanna died in 1814, without giving birth to him.—*Thomas Pöschl*, Roman Catholic priest at Ampfelwang near Linz, excited by Sailer's mysticism, labored to awaken and nourish a more living Christianity, which certainly was not altogether free from fanatical excitement (expectation of the approaching end of the world) in his congregation by devotional meetings and distribution of pietistic tracts. When this district was again joined to Austria in 1814, he was imprisoned, and his adherents connected themselves with a farmer named *Jos. Haas*, who led them only deeper into fanaticism. Indeed, their fanaticism went finally so far, that on Good Friday 1817 they permitted a young maiden of their number to die a sacrificial death for her brothers and sisters after the example of Christ. *Pöschl* was filled with horror at this awful deed, which was charged upon *him*. He died (1837) in prison. — A very similar deed of horror was perpetrated a few years later in the village of *Wildenspuch*, in the canton of Zurich. *Margaret Peter*, the daughter of a peasant, gathered around herself a little crowd of adherents, who revered her as a saint. In her fanaticism she had her younger sister killed and herself nailed to the cross with incredible courage "for the salvation of many thousand souls" (1823).—The *Jumping sect* in Ingermannland (concerning which *C. Ullmann* has given information in the "Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten für die evang. Geistlichk. Russl. 1857. III.") traces its origin to 1813. Proceeding from a religious excitement independent of the church, they came to the conviction that every individual required the direct illumination of the Holy Spirit in order to his salvation; they also soon believed that they enjoyed this illumination, and ecstatic praying, singing, and crying, connected with clapping of hands and *jumping* at their meetings, gave evidence of being possessed by the

Holy Spirit The special illumination required as correlative also a special holiness, and this was sought not only in despising marriage, but also in abstaining from meat, beer, brandy, and tobacco. He who applied for admission into the sect was required to prove nudus super nuda before the eyes of the meeting, that the old Adam with his sexual susceptibility was dead in him. The "holy love," which they placed in the stead of marriage, also led here, as ever, to fleshly errors, and this was the reason why many of them, after the example of *Skopzi* (§ 42, 5), with whom they probably were connected, choose the much more certain means of castration. Authors and chiefs of the sect were named, and were said to have been present here and there at the meetings, but the civil authorities were not able to get hold of them. At all events, the sect is now near its end. — A peculiar phenomenon appeared among the Swedish peasants since 1842 in the so-called *calling voices*. Uneducated laymen, especially women and even children, broke out, after preceding convulsions, into deeply moving sermons of repentance and prophecies concerning the approaching judgment of God. The contents of their sermons did not conflict with the doctrines of the church.

3. *The Harmonites.* (Cf. *J. Wagner*, Gesch. d. Harmoniegesellsch. Vaihingen, 1833.) — The dissatisfaction of the Würtemberg Pietists, which was increased by liturgical innovations, caused many emigrations at the beginning of this century. The farmer *George Rapp*, who believed himself to be favored with divine inspiration, emigrated to America with his adherents in 1803, and founded near Pittsburg the colony of *Harmony* with communistic basis, which he ruled autocratically as patriarch, high-priest, and judge. He sold the establishment in 1823 to the Scotchman *Robert Owen*, on account of its unhealthy location, and went with 700 Harmonites to Indiana, where he founded the new colony of *Economy*. Prosperity and peace reigned in the society until in 1831, when an adventurer named *Bernhard Müller* entered it as a troubler. He had before this played a brilliant part at Offenbach under the name of *Proli* as a prophet called to found a spiritual world-monarchy, but only escaped legal prosecution by flight. He appeared in the same character at Economy, claiming to be of princely descent, and calling himself Count *Maxim. v. Leon.* Rapp recognized him as a prophet. Proli caused a great part of Rapp's adherents to apostatize. Rapp had to pay them a large sum out of the common treasury, and Proli founded with them the *Society of New Jerusalem* at Philippsburg. When he had squandered the property of his adherents he abandoned them (1833), leaving them behind in great misery, and soon thereafter he was drowned in the Missouri river. Rapp's successor was a merchant named Becker.

4. *The New Templars.* (Cf. *Carové*, der Messianismus d. neuen Templar. Lpz. 1834.—*W. F. Wilcke*, die Tempelerei. Lpz. 1835.)— After the revolution of July there appeared publicly in Paris (1831) a

secret order, professing to have an unbroken series of grand-masters from the Old Templars, of whose existence mention is already made in the middle of the previous century. The religion of these *New Templars*, which has propagated itself as the primitive revelation through the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, and from which Moses also drew materials, then was further advanced by Christ and given to the grand-masters of the Templars by John and his successor in esoteric tradition, teaches a divine trinity of being, deed, and consciousness, an eternity of the world apart from God, and an indwelling of God in man. As the only true Christianity (église chrétienne primitive) it seeks to overthrow the Romish Church. The curious Parisians enjoyed themselves for a time with the striking worship and costume of the Templars, and then forgot them.

5. *The so-called Hypocrites* (*Mucker*) *in Königsberg.* (Cf. *H. Olshausen*, Lehre u. Leben des Königsb. Theosophen J. H. Schönherr. Königsb. 1834, *v. Wegnern*, Zuverläss. Mittheill. über Schönherr's Leben u. Lehre, in Illgen's hist. theol. Zeitschr. 1838. II.—*G. H. Diestel*, ein Zeugenverhör im Criminalprocesse gegen Ebel u. Diestel. Lpz. 1838. —*G. v. Hahnenfeld*, die rel Bewegung zu Königsb. Braunsb. 1858.)—There lived, at the beginning of this century (*ob.* 1826), at Königsberg, a pious but peculiar theosophist, named *John Henry Schönherr*, who, starting from the reception of two primitive beings (Elohim), namely, primitive fire and primitive water (fire-Eloah and water-Eloah, Gen. 1 : 2), from the conjunction and co-operation of which creation proceeded,—formed a gnostic-theosophic system, by which, on the basis of the Scriptures, he imagined that he had solved the problems of theogony and cosmogony, of hamartigeny and soteriology. Of the small circle of his disciples, two preachers, *Ebel* and *Diestel*, distinguished themselves, of whom especially the former labored with as much zeal as success as author, teacher, pastor, and preacher, for the awakening and revival of Christian feeling in the congregation. Their theosophy, which they inherited from Schönherr, exerted little or no influence on their official labors in the congregation; but they thought they must not withhold their deeper knowledge of revealed truth from a smaller circle of anxious souls of both sexes. Prof. *Olshausen* also, and *v. Tippelskirch* (then yet a student), who became better known later as Romish chaplain to an embassy, as also a Count *Finkenstein*, belonged for a time to this circle, but they soon withdrew and publicly combated this theosophy. Soon, however, rumors of mystico-religious practice of sensuality, which was based upon a gnostic dualistic view of religion and of nature, also became public. Those belonging to this circle were nicknamed the hypocrites (Mucker). Already a garden in Königsberg was spoken of as the "Seraphim grove," where they practised their orgies. Upon the complaint of a man of rank, who believed that the morality of his wife was endangered by this circle, the consistory instituted a preparatory investigation and

suspended *Ebel* and *Diestel*. In consequence of a thorough criminal investigation in 1839, both were formally deposed from office, and *Diestel* was besides condemned to imprisonment. Both appealed, and after a lengthy investigation they were finally in 1849 found guilty by the supreme court of Berlin, which confirmed the deposition of both, but released them from any other punishment, and granted them the privilege of being appointed to non-spiritual offices elsewhere. This sentence charges them with spreading a doctrine that contradicts and nullifies the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, to which, moreover, was given an application in regard to sexual relations, "which, even though designed by its author to promote holiness, must be regarded in truth as being very pernicious in its consequences, and could be nothing other in its nature than injurious to bodily health and provocative of the worst vices." *Ebel* was acquitted of the charge of sectarianism, because he neither formally renounced the church nor established a special worship, although it is true that an exclusive and closely united circle of adherents was formed around him.

6. *The "Catholic Apostolic Church" of the Irvingites.* (Cf. *M. Hohl*, Bruchstücke aus d. Leb. u. d. Schriften Irving's. St. Gallen, 1839.—The article by *Reich* in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1849, I., by *Schulze*, in Reuter's Repert. 1849, H. 7. — *L. J. Jacobi*, die Lehre d. Irvingiten. Berl. 1853.—*F. V. Schulze*, der Irvingismus. Berl. 1856.—*J. E. Jörg*, der Irvingianism. Münch. 1856. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, der Irvingism. In the luth. Zeitschrift. 1858, II.–IV.) — *Ed. Irving*, a powerful and popular preacher of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in London, accepted the doctrine that original sin dwelt in the human nature of Christ just as in ours, but that it was conquered and destroyed by the power of his divine nature. He at the same time came to the conviction that the spiritual gifts of the apostolic church could and must be renewed and revived by prayer and faith, and in fact the presumed gift of speaking in unknown tongues, exalted exclamations and prophesyings, soon manifested themselves in some members of his congregation. The presbytery of his church deposed him in 1832, and the Scotch general synod excommunicated him in 1833. Rich and respectable friends of the Episcopal Church (among them especially a rich banker, the subsequent Apostle *Drummond*) took up the outcast, and gave him the means to build a new church, but they also introduced into it, in spite of Irving's opposition (he died in 1835) a high-church Puseyite tendency, which soon dislodged the heretical as well as the puritanic element, and forced in the enthusiastic at least in hierarchical and liturgical formalism. The revival of the apostolic office became the centre of the movement. After various unfortunate attempts, the calling of twelve *Apostles* through the divinely illumined *Prophets* was accomplished. From the apostles as the chief rulers and guardians of the church *Evangelist* and *Shepherds* (or *angels* — Rev. 2 : 1, 8, etc.) were now consecrated according to Eph. 4 : 11 to each of the latter

of which was subordinated six elders and six deacons, so that the clergy of each congregation consisted of thirteen persons (a copy of Christ and his twelve disciples). Seven congregations were formed in London as copies of the seven apocalyptic congregations (Rev. 1 : 20), which together in their seven-fold perfection were to be the model and representative of the universal church. The promise of the near return of the Lord stood in the fore-ground of their new revelation. The Lord, who was to come again during the lifetime of the first apostles, and who was, therefore, expected very confidently by them, was compelled by increasing corruption and depravity to defer his return indefinitely, and even to arrest the full development of the second apostolate, which was appointed for the heathen, and for a time represented by Paul, because the church was no longer worthy of it. But now finally, after eighteen centuries of dishonor, during which the church unfolded itself as the *Babylon* of the Apocalypse (the Reformation of the sixteenth century also included), and has become ripe for judgment, the time has come, when the apostolate has been restored, to prepare the way for the end of all things. It was asserted at the beginning with great confidence, that none belonging to them would die, but that all would survive the end of the world. But since that death has torn so many, even several apostles from the midst of them, it is said that those are already born who shall survive the dawn of the consummation. It may break every day, every hour. It is to begin with the first resurrection (Rev. 20 : 5) and with the simultaneous transformation of the living saints (the wise virgins, *i. e.* the Irvingites), who will be borne up to the Lord in the clouds, and be united with him in a higher place by the marriage-supper of the Lamb. They are concealed in security, whilst Antichrist persecutes the other Christians (the foolish virgins), who can only be saved by severe martyrdom, and executes judgment on Babylon. The Gentile church is now at an end; on the other hand, the conversion of the Jews has commenced, who, being pressed by want and the persecution of the man of sin, seek and find a refuge in Palestine. After a complete, although only a brief victory of Antichrist, the Lord appears visibly in the midst of those who have risen from the dead and of the transformed. The kingdom of Antichrist is destroyed, Satan is bound, the saints live and rule with Christ a thousand years upon the earth delivered from the curse. After this Satan will be again let loose for a short time, and will cause a great apostacy. Finally Satan's overthrow follows, together with the second resurrection and the last judgment. — In regard to the *wtrship* of the Irvingites, their liturgy, professing to have been formed by the apostles, is only a compilation of Anglican and Roman Catholic elements. The idea of a priesthood and of sacrifice is very prominent, and splendid priestly garments are an essential requisite. Nevertheless, they rejected the Romish doctrine of a bloodless repetition of the bloody sacrifice, as also the doctrine of transubstantiation. They, however,

insisted strictly upon the payment of *tithes* as made a Christian duty by Heb. 7 : 4. Their *typical* interpretation of the history and legislation of the Old Testament, especially of the tabernacle, is the most abitrary and absurd that was ever given. — The first sending forth of the Apostles, only to reconnoitre and prepare the ground for future efforts, took place in 1835. The first public demonstration was made in 1836 by an apostolic "epistle to the patriarchs, bishops, and overseers of the Church of Christ in all lands, as also to the emperors, kings, and princes of all nations of the baptized," which was sent to the most distinguished of those addressed (also to the pope), but was altogether disregarded (printed in Rheinwald's Acta eccls. 1837, p. 793 ff.) Since then they have carried on their missionary work more publicly. But they from principle only direct their efforts towards those who already believe and take no part at all in heathen missions, because they say that they are sent forth neither to the heathen, nor yet to unbelievers, but only to collect and save believers. In England, where they at first met with great favor, their time seems already to have come to an end. They only succeeded in establishing a few congregations in North America. Their efforts in Germany and Switzerland seem to promise better success. They gained here several respectable theologians (*Karl Rothe*, *Albert Köppen*, and especially *Henry W. J. Thiersch*, the proper Tertullian of this modern Montanism), which was so much the more important for them, as they lacked influential, at least scientifically and theologically educated, adherents. Frankfurt-on-the-Main became a chief point of their labors, especially through the agency of the book-trade (bookseller *Zimmer*). Besides, they established congregations at Berlin, Stettin, Königsberg, Marburg, and Basle. They even found favor among the Roman Catholic clergy, especially in Bavaria. But a series of depositions and excommunications during 1857 suppressed this movement. There have been published of their theopneustic (apostolic) writings, in addition to the "Zuschrift an die Patriarchen," etc.; "Die Ordnung der Feier der h. Eucharistie und der h. Communion" (but only printed as manuscript); "Die mosaische Stiftshütte als Vorbild für die Christl. K. Frankf. 1847;" "Die Kirche in unserer Zeit. Düsselth. 1843;" "Die Entrückung od. die Verwandlung der lebendigen Heiligen von *John Hooper*. Berl. 1847;" "Erzählung von Thatsachen in Verbindung mit der jetzigen Lage u. der Zukunft der Kirche;" "Die sieben Sendschreiben der Off. Joh.;" "Schatten u. Licht in dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der K. von *Charles Böhm*, bevorwortet von *Thiersch*. Berl. 1855." Irving himself wrote the little book: "Die Kirche mit ihrer Ausstattung von Macht und Heiligkeit, aus d. Engl. Stuttg. 1841." — Their missionary representatives in Germany are distinguished by a religious and moral earnestness joined with dignity, mildness, and amiableness of character. Likewise, it cannot be denied that, apart from their groundless apostolate and what is connected

therewith, a sound, clear, moderate, and genuine churchly feeling, expresses itself in their views, in their judgments, and in their efforts.

7. *The Darbyites or Plymouth Brethren.* (Cf. *J. J. Herzog*, les Frères de Plymouth. Laus. 1855.)—The Plymouth Brethren, related on the one hand with Irvingianism by their expectation of the near approaching advent of Christ, and likewise regarding themselves as the latter-day saints, formed, on the other hand, the most decided antithesis to Irvingian hierarchism by their absolute Independentism. *John Darby*, at first advocate, then a clergyman in the Anglican church, established a sectarian, apocalyptico-independent society at *Plymouth*, but he soon emigrated to Paris, and from thence to Vaud (1840), where Lausanne became the chief seat of the sect. They held, that all spiritual offices, all ecclesiastical forms, are of evil, and a witness of the secularization of the church. There is only *one* office, the spiritual priesthood of all believers, and every believer has the right to preach and to administer the sacraments. Not only the Roman Catholic, but also the Protestant church is a Babylon. They are rigidly Calvinistic in doctrine.

8. *The Amen Society.*—It owes its origin to the Jewish-Christian *Israel Pick* of Bohemia, who, being converted by Scotch missionaries, was baptized Jan. 1, 1854. In the conviction that he did not thereby renounce his Judaism, but rather only first then *became* in truth a Jew, he came, through a one-sided apprehension of the promises given to his nation in the Old Testament, to thoughts and plans similar to those entertained by *Christ. Hoffmann* of Würtemberg (§ 55, 4), only that the latter would accomplish the gathering of the people of God in the promised land through heathen-Christians, but *Pick* through Jewish-Christians. The entire Mosaic law, including the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision, was to be (together with baptism and the Lord's Supper) there the foundation of the ecclesiastical and civil organization, and because the idea of salvation was first to be fully manifested in this true Israel, heathen Christianity would also through it first attain to the full possession of the blessings of grace appointed for it. Every effort, therefore, is made in the interest of all heathen-Christians to prepare the way for this colonization of Palestine through converted Israelites. But as Pick met with little favor among his countrymen with such ideas, he turned to the Christians converted from the heathens, and he succeeded in here and there gaining a few adherents, to whom he gave the name of the *Amen* Society, because all the promises of the old covenant are *yea* and *amen* in Christ. The centre of the society is in Munich-Gladbach.

9. *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints.* (Cf. *Mor. Busch*, Die Mormonen. Lpz. 1855; *Theod. Olshausen*, Gesch. der Mormonen. Göttg. 1855.)—*Joseph* (*Joe*) *Smith*, a bankrupt farmer of the State of Vermont, who was engaged in knavish hunting for hidden treasure, declared in 1825, that, directed by livine revelations and visions, he dug out of the hill of Comara in New York a stone chest containing golden tables in-

scribed with holy records. A pair of prophetical spectacles (Urim and Thummin) which were also in the chest, enabled him to read, to understand, and to translate the records. He published the translation in the *Book of Mormon*. According to this book, the Israelites emigrated to America under their captain *Lehi*, after the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes. The nation, however, perished after many changes on account of its sins. Its last prophet *Mormon* wrote his revelation on the above-mentioned brazen tables, which he hid in the earth as a future testimony for the latter-day saints. Smith now declared that he was called of God to establish the church of the *Latter-day Saints* on the basis of these records and the revelations that were made to himself. The leading tendency of this sect is the religious socialistic establishment of a theocratic community under the direction of apostles and prophets. Crowds of believers soon flocked around the new prophet. It is true, the widow of a preacher in New York affirmed, that the Book of Mormon was an almost literal plagiarism from a historico-didactic romance, written by her deceased husband, Solomon Spaulding. The manuscript came into the hands of the printer, *Sidney Rigdon*, who was Smith's right-hand, and after that it disappeared. But this did not disturb the faithful; just as little also the circumstance, that, besides Smith and his associates, no one could testify to the existence of the tables. In 1830 Smith and his adherents emigrated to the State of Missouri. To escape from the daily increasing hatred of the people they went to Illinois, and founded here the city of *Nauvoo*, together with a splendid and majestic temple. The wealth, power, and extent of the community increased rapidly through diligence, industry, and good discipline; but in the same degree also the envy, hatred, and wrath of the people, who accused them of the worst crimes. To avoid the shedding of blood, the Governor summoned the two chiefs, Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram, to submit to voluntary imprisonment for the purpose of a judicial investigation. They obeyed. But an armed raging mob attacked the prison, and shot both of them (1844). The mob then grew into a great army, which destroyed the city of Nauvoo, burned the temple, and expelled the inhabitants. These now numbering 15,000, travelled in several successive companies "through the wilderness" towards the West over the mountains, to establish beyond them a Zion. Smith's successor, as prophet and hierarch, was *Brigham Young*. The journey occupied two full years. In the great salt sea basin of the territory of *Utah* or *Deseret* they laid the foundations of Salt Lake City, or New Jerusalem, as the capitol of a new State. The gold mines of California did not entice them away, for their prophets taught them that it was better to pave streets, to build houses, and to cultivate fields, than to seek for gold. In this way they also here soon became a flourishing community. The ambiguous book of Mormon receded, as it appears, more and more into the back-ground; on the other hand, the doctrines and prophecies of their

apostles and prophets became more prominent. The most talented among these is *Orson Pratt.* To him chiefly belongs the credit of developing a most fantastic system of religion, which, compiled from neo-platonic, gnostic, and theosophico-mystical elements, reveals all the mysteries of time and eternity. They have, in common with the Irvingites, who recognize in the Mormons their own demoniac caricature, the revival of the apostolic and prophetic offices, the gift of speaking in tongues and of miracles, the expectation of the near second advent of the Lord, the paying of tithes, etc. But that which distinguishes them from all other Christian sects is the practice of *polygamy* as a religious duty, inasmuch as only those women who are "sealed" to a latter-day saint can participate in the blessedness of eternal life. The book of Mormon prohibited polygamy. A later revelation made to Smith allowed it at least to the overseers; nevertheless, it was at this time still concealed from and denied to the "heathen." It was only openly acknowledged in 1852, and made the duty of all "saints." That polygamy is allowable they would prove from the Old, and also from the New Testament (Matth. 19 : 29). On the other hand, the saints would punish adultery and prostitution with death. — Their missionaries have also been active within the last decade in spreading the sect in Europe. It is said that 50,000 converts have been baptized in England and Scotland, of whom about 20,000 have already emigrated to Utah. In Denmark, Schleswig, in Western Germany, and in Switzerland, their missionaries have also met with great success. They have endeavored to draw all their converts to Utah, in order soon to reach their first great object,—to be recognized by the United States as an independent State, and to be freed from the burdensome obligation of being ruled by a governor appointed by the central government. From connivance with the odd saints the office of governor was at first entrusted to the prophet Brigham Young. But his administration was so arbitrarily absolute, that the other government officers were compelled to leave Utah to save their lives. The newly elected president of the Union, *Buchanan,* fully resolved to restore the authority of the government, appointed a new governor in Young's place, named *Cummings* (1857), and sent troops to Utah, who were to enforce his recognition and authority. Young prepared to resist even unto death. However, a compromise was finally made. A full amnesty was granted to the saints, the government troops entered peaceably in June 1858 into Salt Lake City, and Young now lives on pretty friendly terms with the governor.

§ 61. PRACTICAL ANTICHRISTIANITY.

Whilst Antichristianity (1 Thess. 2 : 11), especially in the philosophy of self-deification, prepared a way for itself theoretically, efforts were also put forth to introduce it practically into the world.

In *Germany* the poet *H. Heine* proclaimed the gospel of the rehabilitation of the flesh; around him was gathered in 1834 and 1835 the literature of *Young Germany* (*K. Gutzkow, Th. Mundt*, etc.), whose pantheistic and immoral principles called forth pretty general indignation, in spite of their poetic garb. In *France*, *St. Simonism* flourished only for a short time. But of a much more threatening character was *Socialism* in England and *Communism* in France, Germany, and Switzerland. That the revolution of 1848 broke out so suddenly and almost at the same time in so many different places, that it was of a character radically destructive of all order and all right, — this was chiefly the result of Communism. Nevertheless, it has not been able up to this time to attain its proper object even in a temporary way. Amid all the disorders of the present, the promise stands still secure, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church of Christ.

1. *St. Simonism.* (Cf. *Carové*, d. St. Simonism, u. die neuere franz. Philos. Lpz. 1831. — *M. Veit*, St. Simon, u. d. St. Simonisten. Lpz. 1834.) — The Count *St. Simon* of Paris, impoverished by many wild undertakings, thought of establishing a new blessed order of the world, with pure enjoyment without any poverty and deprivation, by means of a thorough organization of industry. An unfortunate attempt at suicide, from the consequences of which he died (1825), made him a saviour of the world in the eyes of his disciples. The revolution of July 1830 gave the new-world religion, which would give the flesh its long denied rights, and to each individual that position in the community which his capacities and talents deserved, a new impulse. The Father *Enfantin*, whom his adherents honored as the highest revelation of Deity, contended with pompous phrases and in fantastic costume for the emancipation of woman and against the unnature of marriage. But St. Simonism was soon condemned (1832) by the public as ridiculous, by the courts as immoral, and the remnants of its adherents fled from the ridicule of the people and the vengeance of the courts to Egypt, where they soon disappeared.

2. *Socialism and Communism.* (Cf. *C. B. Hundeshagen*, der Communismus im Laufe der Jahrhh.; in the Studd. und Kritt. 1845. III. — *L. Reybaud*, Études sur les réformateurs contemporains ou socialistes modernes. Brux. 1841. — *H. Gelzer*, Zur. Gesch. d. modernen Radicalism. u. Communismus. Basel. 1847.) — The Scotchman *Robert Owen*, after he had made practical experiments on a small scale with his manufactories, addressed himself through lectures and tracts to the working classes of England, to win them to the idea of Socialism. A noble brotherhood, having for its object mutual advancement and en-

joyment of the common possessions of the fraternity, was to make an end of all the misery of the earth. Religion, marriage, family, and private property, were to be abolished, as being the source of all evil; the training of children was to be public, etc. To promote this object a socialistic union, with nearly a half million members, with a central residence and a yearly congress at Birmingham, was organized in 1836 in Great Britain and Ireland, especially in the great manufacturing cities. However, the danger with which this union threatened Church and State has already been avoided by the sound sense of the English people.—On the other hand, the same reformatory ideas, only in a more bold and radical form, appeared on the continent as *Communism*. Already during the first French revolution a certain *Babœuf* issued a communistic manifesto (1797). His ideas were embraced by *Charles Fourier*, later by *Proudhon*, *Cabet*, and others in France, and by *W. Weitling*, *Max Stirner*, etc., in Germany. A secret communistic propaganda spread over the whole of Western Europe. Its missionaries were especially travelling journeymen. All altars were to be cast down, all religion was to be exterminated, as being a pest to humanity, family and marriage were to be abolished, as being the roots of all selfishness, all goods and pleasures of the world were to be equally enjoyed; "war on the rich" was the battle-cry. The revolution of 1848, for which they prepared the way, compelled them, by its results, to flee to England or North America.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

FIRST CENTURY.

A.D.	Vol. and Paragraph.
14–37.	Tiberius, Emperor, I. 23, 1.
40.	Conversion of Paul, I. 16.
41–54.	Claudius, Emperor, I. 23, 1.
44.	Martyrdom of James the Elder, I. 17.
45.	First Missionary Tour of Paul, I. 16.
50.	Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, I. 19, 1.
50–54.	Second Missionary Tour of Paul, I. 16.
54–58.	Third Missionary Tour of Paul, I. 16.
54–68.	Nero, Emperor, I. 23, 1.
64.	Persecution of Christians in Rome. Paul, *ob.*, I. 23, 1. James the Just, *ob.*
66–70.	Jewish War, I. 21.
70–100.	John in Ephesus, I. 17.
81–96.	Domitian, Emperor, I. 23, 1.

SECOND CENTURY.

98–117.	Trajan, Emperor, I. 23, 2.
107.	Simeon of Jerusalem, Martyr, I. 23, 2.
115.	Ignatius of Antioch, Martyr, I. 23, 2.
117–38.	Hadrian, Emperor, I. 23, 2. Basilides, Valentine, I 28, 2, 3.
132–35.	The Insurrection of Barcochba, I. 21.
150.	Celsus, I. 24, 4. Marcion, I. 28, 10.
160.	Easter-controversy between Polycarp and Anicetus, I. 31, 1 Montanus, I. 37, 1.
161–80.	Marcus Aurelius, Emperor, I. 23, 3.
166.	Justin Martyr, *ob.*, I. 39, 2.
167.	Persecution of Christians in Smyrna, I. 23, 3.
168.	Martyrdom of Polycarp, I. 23, 3.
177.	Persecution of Christians at Lugdunum and Vienna, I. 23, 3.
180–93.	Commodus, Emperor, I. 23, 3.
196.	Easter-controversy between Polycrates and Victor, I. 31, 1.
193–211.	Septimus Severus, Emperor, I. 23, 4.

THIRD CENTURY.

A. D.		Vol. and Paragraph.
201.	Tertullian becomes a Montanist,	I. 37, 2.
202.	Pantænus, *ob.*,	I. 39, 4. Irenæus, *ob.*, I. 39, 3.
220.	Clement of Alexandria, *ob.*,	I. 39, 4. Tertullian, *ob.* I. 39, 5.
235.	Settlement of the schism of Hippolytus,	I. 38, 1.
235–38.	Maximinus the Thracian, Emperor,	I. 23, 4.
243.	Ammonius Saccas, *ob.*,	I. 24, 2.
244.	Arabian Synod in opposition to Beryllus,	I. 40, 5.
249–51.	Decius, Emperor,	I. 23, 5.
250.	The Schism of Felicissimus,	I. 38, 2.
251.	The Schism of Novatian,	I. 38, 3.
253–56.	Controversy about the Baptism of Heretics,	I. 32, 2.
353–60.	Valerianus, Emperor,	I. 23, 5.
254.	Origen, *ob.*,	I. 39, 4.
258.	Cyprian, *ob.*,	I. 39, 5.
260–68.	Gallienus, Emperor, Edict of Toleration,	I. 23, 5.
262.	Synod of Rome in opposition to Sabellius and Dionysius of Alexandria,	I. 40, 6.
269.	Third Syrian Synod in opposition to Paul of Samosata,	I. 40, 7.
277.	Mani, *ob.*,	I. 29, 1.
284–305.	Diocletian, Emperor,	I. 23, 6.

FOURTH CENTURY.

303.	Commencement of the Diocletian Persecution,	I. 23, 6.
305.	Synod of Elvira,	I. 35, 1.
306.	The Schism of Melitus in Egypt,	I. 38, 4.
	Constantius Chlorus, *ob.*,	I. 23, 7.
311.	Galerius, *ob.*,	I. 23, 6. Mensurius, *ob.*, I. 63, 2.
312.	Constantine's Campaign against Maxentius,	I. 23, 7.
313.	Edict of Milan,	I. 23, 7.
318.	Arius accused,	I. 50, 1.
323–37.	Constantine the Great, sole Monarch,	I. 42, 1.
325.	First Œcumenical Council at Nice,	I. 50, 1.
335.	Synod of Tyre,	I. 50, 2.
336.	Athanasius deposed. Arius, *ob.*,	I. 50, 2.
341.	Council of Antioch,	I, 50, 2.
343.	Synod of Sardica,	I. 50, 2. Persecution of Christians under Shapur II., I. 64, 2.
346.	Council of Milan in opposition to Photinus,	I. 50, 2.
348.	Ulfilas, Bishop of the Goths,	I. 76, 1.
350–61.	Constantius, sole Monarch,	I. 42, 1.
351.	First Council of Sirmium in opposition to Marcellus,	I. 50, 2.
357.	Second Council of Sirmium. Homoiites,	I. 50, 3.
358.	Third Council of Sirmium,	I. 50, 3.
359.	Synods of Seleucia and Rimini,	I. 50, 3.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

361–63. Julian the Apostate, Emperor, I. 42, 2.
361–413. The Meletian Schism at Antioch, I. 63, 1.
362. Synod of Alexandria under Athanasius, I. 50, 4.
366. Schism of Damasus and Ursinus, I. 63, 1.
368. Hilary of Poictiers, *ob.*, I. 47, 5.
373. Athanasius, *ob.*, I. 47, 4.
379–95. Theodosius I., Max., I. 42, 3.
380. Synod of Saragossa, I. 54, 2.
381. Second Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, I. 50, 4.
385. Priscillian beheaded at Treves, I. 54, 2.
390. Gregory of Nazianzus, *ob.*, I. 47, 4.
391. Destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria, I. 42, 3.
393. Council of Hippo, I. 59, 1.
395. Division of the East and West Roman Empire.
397. Ambrose, *ob.*, I. 47, 5.
399. Rufinus condemned at Rome as an Origenist, I. 51, 2.
400. Martin of Tours, *ob.*, I. 54, 2.

FIFTH CENTURY.

402–17. Innocent I. of Rome, I. 46, 2, etc.
403. Synodus ad Quercium, I. 51, 3. Epiphanius, *ob.*, I. 47, 4.
407. Chrysostom, *ob.*, I. 51, 3.
408–50. Theodosius II. in the East, I. 52, 3.
411. Collatio cum Donatistis, I. 63, 2.
412. Synod of Carthage in opposition to Cœlestius, I. 53, 4.
415. Synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis in opposition to Pelagius, I. 53, 4.
416. Synods of Milene and Carthage in opposition to Pelagius, I. 53, 4.
418. General Synod of Carthage, I. 53, 4.
420. Jerome, *ob.*, I. 47, 5. Persecution of Christians under Behram V., I. 64, 2.
428. Nestorius chosen Patriarch of Constantinople, I. 52, 3.
429. Theodorus of Mops., *ob.*, I. 47, 1. Vandals in North Africa, I. 76, 3.
430. Cyril's Anathemas, I. 52, 3. Augustin, *ob.*, I. 47, 5.
431. Third Œcumenical Council at Ephesus, I. 52, 3.
432. Patricius in Ireland, I. 77, 2. John Cassianus, *ob.*, I. 53, 5.
440–61. Leo I., Max., I. 46, 2, etc.
444. Cyril of Alexandria, *ob.* Dioscurus his successor, I. 52, 4.
445. Valentinian III.'s Rescript, I. 46, 2.
448. Eutyches excommunicated at Constantinople, I. 52, 4.
449. "Robber-Synod" of Ephesus, I. 52, 4. Invasion of Britain by the Angles and Saxons, I. 77, 4.
451. Fourth Œcumenical Council at Chalcedon, I. 52, 4.
457. Theodoret, *ob.*, I. 47, 1.
475. Semi-pelagian Synods of Arles and Lugdunum, I. 53, 5.
476. Downfall of the West Roman Empire, I. 76, 6. The Monophysite Encyclion of Basiliscus, I. 52, 5.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

482. Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, I. 52, 5. Severinus, ob.
484–519. Thirty-five years' Schism between the East and West, I. 52, 5.
496. The Battle of Tolbiac. Clovis baptized, I. 76, 9.
498. The Persian Church adopts Nestorianism, I. 52, 3.

SIXTH CENTURY.

503. Synodus Palmaris, I. 46, 2.
517. Council of Epaon, I. 76, 5.
527–65. Justinian I., Emperor, I. 52, 6.
529. Synods of Arausis and Valence, I. 53, 5.
The Rule of Monk Benedict of Nursia, I. 85.
533. Theopaschite Controversy, I. 52, 6. Downfall of the Empire of the Vandals, I. 76, 3.
541. Renewed Condemnation of Origen at Constantinople, I. 52, 6.
544. Condemnation of the three Chapters, I. 52, 6.
553. Fifth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, I. 52, 6.
554. Downfall of the East-Gothic Empire in Italy, I. 76, 7.
563. Synod of Braga, I. 54, 2. Columba among the Picts and Scots, I. 77, 3.
568. The Lombards under Alboin in Italy, I. 76, 8.
589. Synod of Toledo under Recared, I. 76, 2. Columban and Gallus among the Vosges, I. 78, 1.
590–604. Gregory I., Max., I. 46, 2, etc.
595. Gregory of Tours, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
596. Augustine sent among the Anglo-Saxons, I. 77, 4.
597. Columba, *ob.*, I. 77, 3. Ethelbert baptized, I. 77, 4.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

606. Emperor Phocas acknowledged the Primacy of Rome, I. 46, 2.
611–41. Heraclius, Emperor, 52, 8.
622. Hejirah, I. 65.
636. Isidore of Seville, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
637. Omar conquered Jerusalem, I. 65.
638. Monothelete Ecthesis of Heraclius, I. 52, 8.
640. Omar conquered Egypt, I. 65.
642–68. Constans II., Emperor, I. 52, 8.
646. St. Gallus, *ob.*, I. 78, 1.
648. Constans II.'s Typos, I. 52, 8.
649. The first Lateran Synod under Martin I., I. 52, 8.
652. Emmeran in Regensburg, I. 78, 2.
657. Constantine of Mananalis, I. 71, 1.
662. Maximus, Confessor, *ob.*, I. 52, 8.
664. Synod of Streaneshalch (Syn. Pharensis), I. 77, 6.
668–85. Constantine Pogonnatus, I. 52, 8; 71, 1.
677. Wilfrid among the Frisians, I. 78, 3.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

680. Sixth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople (Trullanum I.), I. 52, 8.
690. Willibrord among the Frisians, I. 78, 3.
692. Concilium Quinisextum (Trullanum II.), I. 63, 3.
696. Rupert in Bavaria (Salzburg), I. 78, 2.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

711. The Saracens conquered Spain, I. 81.
715–31. Gregory II., Pope, I. 66, 1; 78, 4.
716. Winfrid went to Frisia, I. 78, 4.
717. Corbinian in Freisingen, I. 78, 2.
717–41. Leo the Isaurian, Emperor, I. 66, 1.
718. Winfrid in Rome, I. 78, 4.
722. Winfrid in Thuringia and Hesse, I. 78, 4.
723. Winfrid the second time in Rome. His consecration as Bishop (Boniface) and oath of allegiance, I. 78, 4.
724. The fall of the ancient oak at Geismar, I. 78, 4.
726. Leo's first edict against image-worship, I. 66, 1.
730. Leo's second edict against image-worship, I. 66, 1.
731–41. Gregory III., Pope, I. 66, 1; 78, 4; 82, 1.
732. Boniface, Archbishop and Apost. Vicar, I. 78, 4. Battle of Poictiers, I. 81.
735. The Venerable Bede, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
739. Willibrord, *ob.*, I. 78, 3.
741. Charles Martel, *ob.*, I. 78, 4. Gregory III. *ob.;* Leo the Isaurian, *ob*
741–52. Zacharias, Pope, I., 78, 4.
741–75. Constantine Copronymus, Emperor, I. 66, 2.
742. *Concilium* Germanicum. Sturm founded Fulda, I. 78, 4.
743. Synod at Liptinæ.
744. Synod of Soissons, I. 78, 4.
745. Boniface, Archbishop at Mayence, I. 78, 4.
750. John Damascenus, *ob.*, I. 68, 4, 5.
752. Childeric III. dethroned. Pepin the Short, King, I. 82, 1.
754. Iconoclastic Synod at Const., I. 66, 2.
755. Boniface, *ob.*, I. 78, 4. The establishment of the Papal dominion through Pepin's donation, I. 82, 1.
760. Canonic Rule of Chrodegang of Metz, I. 84, 4.
767. Synod of Gentilly, I. 91, 2; 92, 1.
768–814. Charlemagne, I. 82, 1.
772–95. Hadrian I., Pope, I. 82, 1.
772. Destruction of Eresburg, I. 78, 5.
774. Charlemagne's donation to the Papal See, I. 82, 1.
785. Widukind and Albion were baptized, I. 78, 5.
787. Seventh Œcumenical Council of Nice, I. 66, 3. Establishment of Monastery and Cathedral Schools, I. 90.
790. Libri Carolini, I. 92, 1.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

792. Synod of Ratisbon, I. 91, 1.
794. General Synod of Frankfurt, I. 91, 1; 92, 1.
795-816. Leo III., Pope, I. 82, 2.
799. Alcuin's Controversy with Felix at Aix-la-Chapelle, I. 91, 1.
800. Leo III. crowns Charlemagne, I. 82, 2.

NINTH CENTURY.

804. Close of the Saxon War, I. 78, 5. Alcuin, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
809. Council at Aix-la-Chapelle on *filioque*, I. 91, 2.
813-20. Leo the Armenian, Emperor, I. 66, 4.
814-40. Louis the Pious, I. 82, 2.
817. Reformation of Monasticism through Benedict of Aniane, I. 85, 2.
820-29. Michael Balbus, Emperor, I. 66, 4.
825. Synod of Paris against image-worship, I. 91, 1.
826. Theodorus Studita, *ob.*, I. 66, 4. Ansgar goes to Denmark, I. 80, 1.
827. Establishment of Saracenic dominion in Sicily, I. 81.
829-42. Theophilus, Emperor, I. 66, 4.
833. Formation of the See of Hamburg, I. 80, 1.
835. Synod of Thionville, I. 82, 2. Pseudo-Isidore, I. 87, 2.
840. Claudius of Turin, *ob.*; Agobard of Lyons, *ob.*, I. 92, 2.
840-74. Charles the Bald, I. 82, 2, 5.
842. Feast of Orthodoxy, I. 66, 4. Theodora ordered the extermination of the Paulicians, I. 71, 1.
843. The Treaty of Verdun, I. 82, 2.
844. Eucharistic Controversy of Paschasius Radbertus, I. 91, 3.
845-82. Hincmar of Rheims, I. 83, 1.
847. See of Hamburg-Bremen, I. 80, 1.
848. Synod of Mayence against Gottschalk, I. 91, 4.
850-859. Persecution of Christians in Spain, I. 81, 1.
853. Synod of Chiersy. Capitula Carisiaca, I. 91, 4.
855. Synod of Valence for Gottschalk, I. 91, 4.
856. Rabanus Maurus, *ob.*, I. 90, 5.
858-67. Nicholas I., Pope, I. 82, 4.
858. Photius, Patriarch of Const., I. 67, 1.
859. Synod at Savonnières, I. 91, 4.
861. Methodius among the Bulgarians, I. 72, 3.
863. Cyrill and Methodius in Moravia, I. 79, 1.
865. Ansgar, *ob.*, I. 80, 1.
867. Encyclical Letter of Photius, I. 67, 1.
867-86. Basil the Macedonian, Emperor, I. 67, 1.
867-72. Hadrian II., Pope, I. 82, 4.
869. Eighth Œcumenical Council (Latin) at Const., I. 67, 1.
870. Treaty of Mersen, I. 82, 2.
871. Basil the Macedonian conquered the Paulicians, I. 71, 2. Borzivoi and Ludmilla baptized, I. 79, 2.
871-901. Alfred the Great, I. 90.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

875 John VIII. crowned Charles the Bald, Emperor, I. 82, 5.
879. Eighth Œcumenical Council (Greek) at Const., I. 67, 1.
886–911. Leo the Philosopher, Emperor, I. 67, 2.
891. Photius, *ob.*, I. 67, 1.

TENTH CENTURY.

910. Abbot Berno founded Clugny, I. 98, I.
911. The German Carolingians die out, I. 82, 5.
911–18. Conrad I., German King, I. 96, 1.
914–28. John X., Pope, I. 96, 1.
919–36. Henry I., German King, I. 96, 1.
934. Henry I. exacted toleration of Christianity in Denmark, I. 93, 1.
936–73. Otto I., Emperor, I. 96, 1.
942. Odo of Clugny founded the Cluniacum-congregation, I. 98, 1.
950. Gylas of Hungary baptized, I. 93, 2.
955. Olga baptized in Const., I. 72, 4.
960. Atto of Vercelli, *ob.*, I. 101, 1.
962. Establishment of the holy Roman German Empire, I. 96, 1.
963. John XII. deposed at a Synod in Rome, I. 96, 1.
966. Miecislav of Poland baptized, I. 93, 2.
968. Establishment of the See of Magdeburg, I. 93, 2.
970. Transportation of Paulicians to Thracia, I. 71, 1.
973–83. Otto II., Emperor, I. 96, 1.
974. Ratherius of Verona, *ob.*, I. 101, 1.
983–1002. Otto III., Emperor, I. 96, 1.
983. Mistevoi overthrew all Christian Institutions among the Wends, I. 93, 2.
987. Hugo Capet assumes the French crown, I. 96, 1.
988. Vladimir christianized Russia, I. 72, 4.
991. Synod at Rheims, Gerbert., I. 96, 1.
992–1025. Boleslav Chrobry of Poland, I. 93, 2.
996–999. Gregory V., Pope, I. 96, 1.
997–1038. St. Stephen, I. 93, 2.
997. Adalbert of Prague, Ap. among Prussians, *ob.*, I. 93, 3.
999–1003. Sylvester II., Pope, I. 96, 1.
1000. Olaf Tryggvason, *ob.*, I. 93, 1. Christianity in Greenland, I 93, 1. Stephen of Hungary obtained the crown, I. 93, 2.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1002–24. Henry II., Emperor, I. 96, 2.
1005. Monk Nilus, *ob.*
1008. Olaf Skautkonung of Sweden, *ob.*, I. 93, 1.
1009. Bruno martyred, I. 93, 3.
1012–24 Benedict VIII., Pope, I. 96, 2.
1014–36 Canute the Mighty, I. 93, 1.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph

1018. Romuald founded the Camaldolite Order, I. 98, 1
1024–39. Conrad II., Emperor, I. 96, 2.
1030. Olaf the Fat of Norway, *ob.*, I. 93, 1.
1031. Downfall of the Ommiyah in Spain, I. 95, 2.
1039–56. Henry III., Emperor, I. 96, 2.
1046. Synod of Sutri, I. 96, 2.
1048. Bruno of Cologne founded the Carthusians, I. 98, 3.
1048–54. Leo IX., Pope, I. 96, 3.
1050. Synod of Rome. Vercelli against Berengar, I. 102, 2.
1053. Synodal Letter of Michael Cerularius, I. 67, 3.
1054. Excommunication of the Greek Church through the Papal Legates, I. 67, 3.
1056–1106. Henry IV., Emperor, I. 96, 3.
1059. Nicholas II., Pope, conferred the election of Pope on the College of Cardinals, I. 96, 3.
1060. Robert Guiscard established the Norman rule in Italy, I. 95, 1.
1066. Assassination of Gottschalk, King of the Wends, I. 93, 2.
1073–85. Gregory VII., Pope, I. 96, 4.
1077. Henry IV., a penitent at Canossa, I. 96, 4.
1079. Berengar at Rome avers Transubstantiation, I. 102, 2.
1081–1118. Alexius Comnenus, Emperor, I. 71, 1, 3.
1088–99. Urban II., Pope, I. 96, 5.
1095. Councils of Piacenza and Clermont, I. 94.
1096. First Crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon, I. 94, 1.
1098. Synod at Bari. Anselm of Canterbury, I. 67, 4.
Robert of Citeaux founded the Cistercian Order, I. 98, 2.
1099. Conquest of Jerusalem, I. 94, 1.
1099–1118. Paschal II., Pope, I. 96, 5.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

1106–25. Henry V., Emperor, I. 96, 5.
1106. Michael Psellus, *ob.*, I. 68, 3.
1109. Anselm of Canterbury, *ob.*, I. 102, 1, 3.
1115. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, I. 103, 1; 98, 2.
1118. Founding of the Order of Templars. Knights of St. John I. 98, 6.
1119–24. Calixtus II., Pope, I. 96, 5.
1119. Basil, Head of the Bogomiles, died at the stake, I. 71, 3.
1121. Norbert founds the Order of Remonstrants, I. 98, 3.
1122. The Concordat of Worms, I. 96, 5.
1123. Ninth Œcumenical Council (I. Lateran) II. 6, 3.
1124. Peter de Bruys burned, I. 108, 3.
Tanchelm killed, I. 108, 4.
First Missionary Tour of Otto v. Bamberg, I. 93, 2.
1128. Second Missionary Tour of Otto v. Bamberg, I. 93, 2.
1130–43. Innocent II., Pope, I. 96, 6.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1135. Rupert of Deutz, *ob.*, I. 103, 3.
1139. Tenth Œcumenical Council (II. Lateran), I. 96, 6.
1140. The Synod of Sens condemns Abelard's writings, I. 103, 1.
1141. Hugo St. Victor, *ob.*, I. 103, 2.
1142. Abelard, *ob.*, I. 103, 1.
1143. Arnold of Brescia effects the expulsion of the Pope from Rome, I. 96, 6.
1145–53. Eugene III., Pope, I. 96, 6.
1146. Fall of Edessa, I. 94, 2.
Second Crusade, Conrad III.; Louis VIII., I. 94, 2.
1149. Henry of Lausanne, *ob.*, I. 108, 3.
1150. Decretum Gratiani, I. 99.
1152–90. Frederick I., Barbarossa, I. 96, 6.
1153. Bernard of Clairvaux, *ob.*, I. 103, 1.
1154. Vicelin, *ob.*, I. 93, 2.
1154–59. Hadrian IV., Pope, I. 96, 6.
1155. Arnold of Brescia condemned to death, I. 108, 3.
1156. Peter the Venerable, *ob.*, I. 98, 1.
The Order of Carmelites founded, I. 98, 3.
1157. Christianity introduced into Finland, I. 93, 3.
1159–81. Alexander III., Pope, I. 96, 6.
1164. Peter Lombard, *ob.*, I. 104, 2.
Meeting of the Estates at Clarendon, I. 96, 6.
1165. Catharian Council at Toulouse, I. 108, 1.
1168. The Island of Rügen christianized, I. 93, 3.
1170. Thomas à Becket murdered, I. 96, 6.
1176. Battle of Legnano, I. 96, 6.
1179. Eleventh Œcumenical Council (III. Lateran), I. 96, 6.
1180. John of Salisbury, *ob.*, I. 103, 3.
1182. The Maronites unite with Rome, I. 73, 3.
1186. Meinhart in Livonia, I. 93, 3.
1187. Saladin takes Jerusalem, I. 94, 3.
1189. Third Crusade (Fred. Barb.), I. 94, 3.
1190–97. Henry VI., Emperor, I. 96, 6.
1190. Establishment of the Teutonic Knights, I. 98, 6.
1194. Eustathius of Thessalonica, *ob.*, I. 68, 3.
1198–1216. Innocent III., Pope, I. 96, 7.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

1202. Joachim v. Floris, *ob.*, I. 108, 4. The Order of the Brethren of the Sword founded, I. 93, 3. Genghis Khan overthrows the kingdom of the Presb. John, I. 93, 4.
1204. Amalric of Bena, *ob.*, I. 108, 2.
1204–61. The Latin Empire in Constantinople, I. 94, 4.
1207. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, I 96, 7.
1208. Peter of Castlenau slain, I. 109, 1.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1209–29. Crusade against the Albigenses, I. 109, 1.
1209. The Council of Paris against the sect of the Holy Ghost. Erigena condemned, I. 108, 2. Christian commences his mission among the Prussians, I. 93, 3.
1212. Battle of Tolosa, I. 95, 2.
1213. John of England receives his kingdom as a papal fief, I. 96, 7.
1215–50. Frederick II., Emperor, I. 96, 7, 8.
1215. Twelfth Œcumenical Council (IV. Lateran), I. 96, 2.
1216. The Dominican Order confirmed, I. 98, 4.
1216–27. Honorius III., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1217. Fourth Crusade. Andrew II. of Hungary, I. 94, 4.
1223. The Franciscan Order confirmed, I. 98, 4.
1225. Francis of Assisi, *ob.*, I. 98, 4.
1226–70. Louis IX., St., I. 96, 6; 94, 6.
1277–41. Gregory IX., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1228. Fifth Crusade (Fred. II.), I. 94, 5. Settlement of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, I. 93, 3.
1229. The Synod of Toulouse, I. 109, 2.
1231. St. Elisabeth, *ob.*
1232. The Inquisition, I. 109, 2.
1233. Conrad of Marburg slain, I. 109, 2.
1234. Crusade against the Stedingers, I. 109, 2. Decretum Gregorii, I. 99.
1237. The Union of the Order of the Sword with the Teutonic Knights, I. 98, 6.
1243–54. Innocent IV., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1245. Thirteenth Œcumenical Council (I. Lyons), I. 96, 8. Alexander of Hales, *ob.*, 104, 1.
1248. The corner-stone of the Cologne Cathedral laid, I. 106, 6. Sixth Crusade (Louis IX.), I. 94, 6.
1253. William Ruysbroek (de Rubruquis) among the Mongols, I. 93, 4. Robert Grosstete, *ob.*, 104, 3.
1254. Condemnation of "The Everlasting Gospel," I. 108, 4.
1260. The first march of the Flagellants at Perugia, I. 114, 1.
1260–82. Michael Palæologus, Emperor, I. 67, 4.
1261–64. Urban IV., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1262. Arsenian Schism, I. 70, 1.
1268. Conradin on the scaffold, I. 96, 8.
1269. Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX., I. 96, 8.
1270. Seventh Crusade (Louis IX.), I. 94, 6.
1271–76. Gregory X., I. 96, 8.
1272. Italian Mission to the Mongols. Marco Polo, I. 93, 4.
1273–91. Rudolph of Hapsburg, Emperor.
1274. Fourteenth Œcumenical Council (II. Lyons), I. 67, 4. Bonaventura, *ob.*, I. 104, 1. Thos. Aquinas, *ob.*, I. 104, 1 Robert of Sorbonne, *ob.*, I. 104, 3.
1275. The Strassburg minster, I. 105, 6.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1280. Albertus Magnus, *ob.*, I. 104, 1.
1282. The Sicilian Vespers, I. 96, 8.
1283. Prussia subjugated, I. 93, 3.
1286. Barhebræus, *ob.*, I. 73, 2. Raymund Martini, *ob.*
1291. Fall of Acre, I. 94, 3. John de Monte-Corvino goes to the Mongols, I. 93, 4.
1294. Roger Bacon, *ob.*, I. 104, 3.
1294–1303. Boniface VIII., Pope, I. 110, 1.
1296. The Bull Clericus laicos, I. 110, 1.
1300. The First Roman Jubilee, I. 115. The Lollards in Antwerp, I. 114, 1. Gerhard Segarelli burned, I. 108, 4.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1302. The bull Unam sanctam, I. 110, 1.
1305–14. Clement V., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1307. Dolcino burned, I. 108, 2.
1309–77. The Popes in Avignon, I. 110, 2.
1311–12. Fifteenth Œcumenical Council in Vienne, I. 110, 2. The Order of Templars dissolved, I. 112, 3.
1315. Raymund Lullus, *ob.*, I. 93, 5.
1316–34. John XXII., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1321. Dante, *ob.*, I. 114, 4.
1322. The Franciscan Order split, I. 112, 2.
1322–47. Louis the Bavarian, Emperor, I. 112, 2.
1329. Master Ekkart, *ob.*, I. 117, 1.
1332. William Durandus, *ob.*, I. 116, 1. John de Monte-Corvino, *ob.*, I. 93, 4.
1334–42. Benedict XII., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1335. Bishop Hemming in Lapland, I. 93, 3.
1338. Electoral Union in Rhense, I. 110, 2.
1339. Union Negotiations at Avignon. Barlaam, I. 67, 5.
1340. Nicholas v. Lyra, *ob.*, I. 116, 2.
1341–51. Hesychast Controversy in Constant., I. 69, 5.
1342–52. Clement VI., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1347–78. Charles IV., Emperor, I. 110, 2.
1347. Cola di Rienzi, I. 110, 2. Emperor Louis, *ob.*, I. 110, 2. William Occam, *ob.*, I. 116, 1.
1348. University of Prague founded, I. 119, 2.
1348–50. The Black Death. Flagellant processions, I. 114, 1.
1349. Thomas Bradwardine, *ob.*, I. 116, 2.
1355. Charles IV. renounces all imperial supremacy over the territory of the Church, I. 110, 2.
1360. Wycliffe opposes the mendicant Friars, I. 119, 1.
1361. John Tauler, *ob.*, I. 117, 2.
1365. Henry Suso, *ob.*, I. 117, 2.
1369. John Palæologus enters the Latin Church, I. 67, 5.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1374. The Dancers, I. 114, 1.
1378–1409. The Papal Schism, I. 110, 3.
1380. Catharine of Siena, *ob.*, I. 112, 2.
1384. Wycliffe, *ob.*, I. 119, 1. Gerhard Groot, *ob.*, I. 112, 6.
1386. Introduction of Christianity into Lithuania, I. 93, 3.
1400. Florentius Radewin, *ob.*, I. 112, 6.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1402. Hus appointed preacher of Bethlehem Chapel, I. 119, 3.
1409. General Council at Pisa, I. 110, 3. Emigration of the Germans from Prague, I. 119, 3.
1410–15. John XXIII., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1410–37. Sigismund, Emperor, I. 110, 3.
1412. Indulgence traffic in Bohemia, I. 119, 3.
1413. Papal ban against Hus, I. 119, 3.
1414–18. General Council of Constance, I. 110, 3.
1415. Martyrdom of Hus, I. 119, 3.
1416. Martyrdom of Jerome of Prague, I. 119, 3.
1417. Vincentius Ferreri, leader of the Flagellants, I. 114, 1.
1417–31. Martin V., Pope, I. 110, 3.
1420. Calixtines and Taborites, I. 119, 4.
1423. General Council of Paria and Siena, I. 110, 3.
1424. Ziska, *ob.*, I. 119, 4.
1425. Peter d'Ailly, *ob.*, I. 118, 1.
1429. Gerson, *ob.*, I. 118, 1.
1431–43. General Council at Basel, I. 110, 3.
1433. Basel Compacts, I. 119, 4.
1434. Defeat of the Hussites at Böhmischbrod, I. 119, 4.
1438. Papal Council at Ferrara, I. 110, 3. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, I. 110, 3.
1439. Union Council at Florence, I. 67, 6.
1453. Fall of Constantinople, I. 67, 6.
1456. Laurentius Valla, *ob.*, I. 120, 1.
1457. Francis of Paula founded the Order of the Minimi, I. 112, 4.
1458–64. Pius II., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1459. General Council of Mantua, I. 110, 4.
1464–71. Paul II., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1467. Convention of the Bohemian Brethren at Lhota, I. 119, 5.
1471. Thomas à Kempis, *ob.*, I. 118, 1.
1471–84. Sixtus IV., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1482. Rudolph Agricola, *ob.*, I. 120, 2.
1483. Luther born Nov. 10, II. 2, 1. Spanish Inquisition, I. 115, 1.
1484–92. Innocent VIII., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1484. Malleus Maleficarum, I. 115, 2. Zwingli born, Jan. 1, II. 10, 1
1489. John Wessel, *ob.*, I. 119, 6.
1492–1503. Alexander VI., Pope, I. 110, 4.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1492. Fall of Granada, I. 95, 2.
1493–1519. Maximilian I., Emperor, I. 110, 4.
1495. Gabriel Biel, *ob.*, I. 116, 1.
1497. Melanchthon, b., II. 2, 5.
1498. Savonarola at the stake, I. 119, 7.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1502. University of Wittenberg founded, II. 2, 1.
1503–13. Julius II., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1508. Luther appointed Professor in Wittenberg, II. 2, 1.
1509. Calvin, b., II. 8, 1.
1509–47. Henry VIII. of England, II. 9, 4.
1510. Luther visits Rome, II. 2, 1.
1511. Council of Pisa, I. 110, 4.
1512. Luther made a doctor and appointed preacher, II. 2, 1. The Fifth General Lateran Council, I. 110, 4.
1513–21. Leo X., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1514. Reuchlin's Controversy with the Dominicans, I. 120, 2.
1515–47. Francis I. of France, II. 19, 7.
1516. Epistolæ obsc. virorum, I. 120, 2. Erasmus' N. T., I. 120, 3. Zwingli, preacher at St. Mary's Church in Einsiedelm, II. 10, 1.
1517. The Lateran Council, I. 110, 4. Luther's theses, Oct. 31, II. 2, 2.
1518. Luther in Heidelberg, and before Cajetan in Augsburg, Miltiz, II. 2, 3. Melanchthon Prof. in Wittenberg, II. 2, 5.
1519. Disputation in Leipsic, II. 2, 4. Zwingli in Zurich, II. 10, 1. Olav and Lorenzo Peterson in Sweden, II. 19, 1.
1519–56. Charles V., Emperor, II. 3, 3.
1520. Papal bull against Luther, II. 3, 1. Preaching free in Zurich, II. 10, 2. Christian II. in Denmark, II. 19, 2.
1521. Luther at Worms, II. 3, 4. Melanchthon's Loci, II. 4, 1. Ignatius Loyola wounded, II. 29, 2. Reformation in Riga.
1521–2. Luther at the Wartburg, II. 3, 5.
1522. The Zwickau prophets in Wittenberg, II. 4, 1. Reuchlin, *ob.*, I. 120, 2.
1522–23. Hadrian VI., Pope, II. 6, 1.
1523. Thomas Münzer in Allstädt, II. 4, 4. Luther's controversy with Henry VIII., II. 5. Reformation in Livonia, II. 19, 3. The first martyrs, H. Voes and J. Esch, II. 8, 1. Fall of Sickingen, II. 4, 2.
1523–34. Clement VII., Pope, II. 6, 3.
1524 Staupitz, *ob.*, I. 117, 2. Carlstadt in Orlamunde, II. 4, 3. Erasmus opposes Luther, II. 5, 1. Diet of Nuremberg, and overthrow of the regency of the Empire, II. 6, 3. Regensburg league, II. 6, 4. Hans Tausen in Denmark, II. 19, 2. The Order of Theatines founded, II. 29, 3.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph

1525. Controversy about the Lord's Supper, II. 11, 1. Luther's marriage, II. 9. Albert of Prussia, hereditary duke, II. 4, 5. The Order of Capuchins founded, II. 29, 4.

1525–32. John the Constant, Elector of Saxony, II. 5, 5.

1526. Synod of Homburg, II. 7, 2. The Torgau Confederacy, II. 6, 5. Diet of Spires, II. 6, 7. Disputation at Baden, II. 10, 6.

1527. Diet of Odense, II. 19, 2; of Westeräs, II. 19, 1.

1528. The fraud of Pack, II. 12, 1. Disputation in Berne, II. 10, 6.

1529. Church visitation in Saxony, II. 7, 1. Diet of Spires, II. 12, 3. Marburg colloquy, II. 12, 4. First peace of Cappel, II. 10, 9.

1530. Diet of Augsburg. Confessio Augustana, II. 12, 2.

1531. The Smalcaldic league, II. 13, 1. Zwingli, *ob.* Second Cappel peace, II. 10, 9.

1532. John Frederick the Magnan., Elector, II. 13, 2. Religious peace of Nuremberg, II. 13, 2. Farel in Geneva, II. 18, 1. Henry VIII. renounces allegiance to the Pope, II. 19, 4.

1534. Luther's complete translation of the Bible, II. 9, 1. The Reformation in Würtemberg, II. 13, 2. Jacob Horter in Transylvania, II. 19, 11.

1534–35. Anabaptist disorders in Münster, II. 13, 6.

1534–49. Paul IV., Pope, II. 14.

1535. Vergerius in Wittenberg, II. 14, 1. Calvin's Institutes, II. 18, 5.

1536. Erasmus, *ob.*, I. 120, 3. Wittenberg Concord, II. 13, 8. Calvin in Geneva, II. 18, 2. Diet of Copenhagen, II. 19, 2. Menno Simons baptized, II. 27, 2.

1537. Articles of Smalcald, II. 14, 1. Antinomian Controversy, II. 21, 2.

1538. The Nuremberg league, II. 14, 2. Calvin driven from Geneva, II. 18, 3.

1539. The Frankfort suspension, II. 14, 3. Reformation in Albertinian Saxony, II. 14, 4. Joachim II. reforms Brandenburg, II. 14, 5. Diet of Odense, II. 19, 2.

1540. The Society of Jesus, II. 29, 2. The Landgrave's bigamy, II. 15, 1. Religious conferences at Spires, Hagenau, and Worms, II. 15, 2.

1541. Carlstadt, *ob.*, II. 4, 3. The Regensburg Interim, II. 15, 3. The Naumburg See, II. 15, 5. Calvin recalled to Geneva, II. 18, 3.

1542. Reformation in Brunswick, II. 15, 6. States' convention in Bonn, II. 15, 7. Francis Xavier in the East Indies, II. 30, 1.

1544. Diet at Spires; Peace of Crespy; Wittenberg Reformation, II. 15, 9. Diet at Westeräs, II. 19, 1.

1545–47. Council of Trent, II. 16, 4.

1544. Regensburg Colloquy; murder of John Diaz, II. 15, 10. Synod at Erdöd, II. 19, 10.

1546. Luther, *ob.*, Feb. 18, II. 15, 11. Reformation of the Electoral Palatinate, II. 15, 6. Herman of Cologne under the ban; he resigns, II. 15, 2.

1546–47. Smalcaldic war, II. 16.

1547–49. Council of Bologne.

A D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1547–53. Edward VI. of England, II. 19, 4.
1548–72. Sigismund Augustus of Poland, II. 19, 8.
1548. The Augsburg Interim, II. 16, 5. The Leipsic Interim, II. 16, 7 Adiaphoristic Controversy, II. 21, 4. Priests of the Oratory, II. 29, 3.
1549. Consensus Tigurinus, II. 18, 7. Andr. Osiander in Königsberg, II. 21, 3. Jesuit mission in Brazil, II. 30, 3.
1550–55. Julius III., Pope, II. 16, 8.
1550. Brothers of Mercy, II. 29, 3.
1551–52. Resumption of the Council of Trent, II. 16, 8.
1551. Majorist Controversy, II. 21, 5. The first Jesuits in Germany, II. 31, 2.
1552. Treaty of Passau, II. 17, 3. The Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy begun, II. 21, 7. Francis Xavier, *ob.*, II. 30, 1.
1553–58. The Catholic Mary of England, II. 19, 4.
1553. The Elector Maurice, *ob.*, II. 17, 1. Servetus burned, II. 28, 2.
1554. Consensus pastorum Genevensium, II. 18, 7. John Frederick the Magnanimous, *ob.*
1555. Religious peace of Augsburg, II. 17, 5. Commencement of the Synergistic Controversies, II. 21, 6.
1555–98. Philip II. of Spain, II. 19, 12.
1556–64. Ferdinand I., Emperor, II. 31, 1.
1557. States' diet at Clausenburg, II. 19, 11. Confessio Hungarica, II. 19, 10.
1558–1603. Elizabeth of England, II. 19, 4.
1559–65. Pius IV., Pope, II. 29, 1.
1559. Gustavus Vasa's mission in Lapland, II. 22, 6. Confessio Gallicana, II. 19, 7.
1560. Confessio Scotica, II. 19, 5. John à Lasco, *ob.*, II. 19, 8. Calvinism in the Palatinate, II. 24, 1. Melanchthon, *ob.*, II. 21, 7.
1561. Gotthard Kettler, Duke of Courland, II. 19, 3. Religious conferences at Poissy, II. 19, 7.
1562–63. Resumption and close of the Council of Trent, II. 29, 1.
1562. Confessio Belgica, II. 19, 6. Edict of St. Germain, II. 19, 7. The 39 Articles of the Anglican Church, II. 19, 4. Calvinizing of Bremen, II. 24, 2. The Heidelberg Catechism, II. 24, 1. Lælius Socinus, *ob.*, II. 28, 4.
1563. Act of Uniformity, II. 19, 4.
1564. Calvin, *ob.*, II. 18, 4. Michael Angelo, *ob.*, II. 29, 7. Professio fidei Tridentina, II. 29, 6. Cassander's union-project, II. 31, 1.
1564–76. Maximilian II., Emperor, II. 31, 1.
1566. Corpus doctr. Pruthenicum, II. 21, 3. Catechismus Romanus, II. 29, 6. Confessio Helvetica posterior, II. 18, 7. The league of the Guises, II. 19, 6.
1567. The writings of Mich. Baius condemned, II. 29, 5.
1570. General Synod at Sendomir, II. 19, 8. Third peace of St. Germain, II. 19, 7.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1572–85. Gregory XIII., Pope, II. 29, 1.
1572. John Knox, *ob.*, II. 19, 5. St. Barthol. massacre, Aug. 24, II. 19, 7.
1573. Pax dissidentium in Poland, II. 19, 8.
1574. Maulbroun convention, II. 21, 9. Restoration of Catholicism in Eichsfelde, II. 31, 2.
1576. The Torgau Book, II. 21, 9. Pacification of Ghent, II. 19, 6.
1576–1612. Rudolph II., Emperor, II. 31, 1.
1577. The Form of Concord, II. 21, 9. Restoration of Catholicism in Fulda, II. 31, 2.
1578. Passewin, the Jesuit, in Sweden, II. 31, 3.
1579. The Union of Utrecht, II. 19, 6.
1580. The Book of Concord, II. 21, 9. Possewin in Russia, II. 31, 3.
1582. Second attempt to reform Cologne, II. 17. 6. Matthew Ricci in China, II. 30, 2. The calendar changed, II. 29, 1.
1585–90. Sixtus V., Pope, II. 29, 1.
1586. The Feuillants, II. 29, 4.
1587. Mary Stuart beheaded, II. 19, 5.
1588. Louis Molina, II. 29, 5.
1589–1610. Henry IV., of France, II. 19, 7.
1589. Patriarchate of Moscow, II. 72, 4.
1590. Margrave Jacob of Baden embraces Catholicism, II. 33, 4.
1592. Articles of the Saxon Visitation, II. 21, 10.
1593. Meeting of the Estates in Upsala, II. 19, 8.
1594. Synod of Brzesc, I. 72, 4.
1595. Synod of Thorn, II. 19, 8.
1597. The principalities of Anhalt adopt Calvinism, II. 24, 3. Congregatio de auxiliis, II. 29, 5.
1598. The Edict of Nantes, II. 19, 7.
1600. Giordano Bruno burned, II. 26, 3. The Society of the Piarists founded, II. 35, 2.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1604. Maurice makes Hesse-Cassel Calvinistic, II. 34, 1. Faustus Socinus, *ob.*, II. 28, 2.
1605. The Gunpowder plot, II. 33, 3.
1606. The peace of Vienna, II. 19, 10.
1608. The Jesuits found the State of Paraguay, II. 35, 3.
1609. The letter of Majesty, II. 19, 9.
1610–43 Louis XIII., of France, II. 33, 2.
1610 Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, II. 40, 1.
1611. Pères de l'Oratoire, II. 35, 2.
1613. Transition of the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenb., II. 34, 3. George Calixtus in Helmstädt, II. 38, 2.
1614. Confessio Marchica, II. 34, 3.
1616. Leonhard Hutter, *ob.*, II. 39, 2.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1618. The Maurines in France, II. 35, 2.
1618–48. The Thirty Years' War, II. 33, 1.
1618–19. The Synod of Dort, II. 40, 1.
1619–37. Ferdinand II., Emperor, II. 33, 1.
1620. The Valteline massacre, II. 33, 1.
1621. John Arndt, *ob.*, II. 39, 1.
1622. Francis of Sales, *ob.*, II. 36, 1. Congregatio de propaganda fide, II. 35, 3.
1624. End of the controversy concerning the κένωσις and χρῦψις, II. 38, 1. Jacob Böhme, *ob.*, II. 39, 2.
1625. The Jesuits in Abyssinia, II. 32, 1.
1628. Adam Schall in China, II. 35, 3.
1629. The edict of Restoration by Ferdinand II.; II. 33, 1.
1631. Religious conference at Leipsic, II. 34, 4.
1632. Gustavus Adolphus slain at Lützen, II. 33, 1.
1637. John Gerhard, *ob.*, II. 38, 4.
1638. The school of Rakov broken up, II. 28, 4. Cyrillus Lucaris strangled, II. 32, 2. Scottish Covenant, II. 34, 4.
1641. Irish massacre, II. 33, 3.
1642. Condemnation of the Jansenist Augustine, II. 36, 2.
1643–1715. Louis XIV. of France, II. 33, 2.
1643. The Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, II. 32, 3. Westminster Con.
1645. Hugo Grotius, *ob.*, II. 40, 4. Religious conference at Thorn, II. 33, 5.
1649. Charles I. of England beheaded, II. 33, 3. The Quakers, II. 42, 3.
1650. Descartes, *ob.*, II. 43, 1.
1652. Liturgical reform of the patr. Nikon, II. 42, 5.
1653. Innocent X. condemned the five Jansenist theses, II. 36, 2.
1654. Christian of Sweden embraced Catholicism, II. 33, 4. John Val. Andreä, *ob.*, II. 39, 1.
1655. Consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranæ, II. 38, 2.
1656. George Calixtus, *ob.*, II. 38, 2. Pascal's Lettres provinc., II. 36, 2.
1660. Vincent de Paula, *ob.*, II. 35, 2.
1661. Religious Conference at Cassel, II. 34, 4.
1664. The Order of Trappists founded, II. 35, 2.
1666. Spener in Frankfort, II. 38, 3.
1669. J. Cocceius, *ob.*, II. 40, 3.
1673. The Test-act, II. 33, 3.
1675. Formula Consensus Helvetici, II. 40, 2.
1676. Paul Gerhardt, *ob.*, II. 34, 4. Gisb. Vœtius, *ob.*, II. 40, 3.
1677. Spinoza, *ob.*, II. 43, 1.
1682. Quartuor propositiones Cleri Gallicani, II. 35, 1. Penn. settled.
1685. Abrogation of the Edict of Nantes and expulsion of the Waldenses from Piedmont, II. 33, 2.
1686. Spener in Dresden and the Collegia philobiblica in Leipsic, II. 38, 3. Abr. Calov, *ob.*, II. 38, 4.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1687. Michael Molinus compelled to abjure, II. 36, 1.
1689. Toleration Act, England, II. 34, 5.
1690. The Pietists driven from Leipsic, II. 38, 3. John Eliot, *ob.*, II. 41, 2.
1691. Spener in Berlin, II. 38, 3.
1693. Quesnel's New Testament, II. 44, 9.
1694. The University of Halle founded, II. 38, 3.
1697. Frederick Augustus the Strong, of Saxony, embraces Catholicism, II. 33, 4.
1699. Fénélon's propositions condemned, II. 36, 1.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1701. Thomas of Tournon in the East Indies, II. 35, 3.
1702. Löscher's Unschuldige Nachrichten, II. 46, 1. Eva Buttlar's sect, II. 49, 4.
1703. Collegium caritativum in Berlin, II. 48, 2. Peter Codde deposed, II. 44, 6.
1704. Bossuet, *ob.*, II. 33, 5.
1705. Spener, *ob.*, II. 38, 3.
1706. Lutheran Mission founded in Tranquebar, II. 46, 7.
1707. The praying children in Silesia, II. 46, 1.
1709. Port Royal abolished, II. 36, 2.
1712. Richard Simon, *ob.*, II. 37, 1. The Mechithartist congr., II. 44, 2.
1713. The Constitution Unigenitus, II. 44, 6.
1714. Godfr. Arnold, *ob.*, II. 39, 2. The Inspiration congregations founded in Wetteraw, II. 49, 2.
1715–74. Louis XV. of France, II. 44, 4.
1715. Fénélon, *ob.*, II. 36, 1.
1716. Leibnitz, *ob.*, II. 43, 1.
1717. Mad. Guyon, *ob.*, II. 36, 1. Gottfr. Arnold, *ob.*
1721. The holy Synod at St. Petersburg, II. 45. Hans Egede's mission to Greenland, II. 46, 7.
1722. Herrnhut founded, II. 47, 2.
1727. A. H. Franke, *ob.*, II. 46, 6. Thomas of Westen, *ob.*, II. 39, 6. Formation of the Brethren's (Moravian) Church, II. 47, 2.
1728. Callenberg's Institution for the conversion of the Jews, II. 46, 7.
1729. Fr. Buddeus, *ob.*, II. 46, 2. The Methodist society, II. 48, 1.
1731. Emigration of the Evang. Salzburgers, II. 44, 4.
1732. Moravian Mission to St. Thomas, II. 47, 6.
1733. Moravian Mission to Greenland, II. 46, 7.
1736. John Clericus, *ob.*, II. 40, 4. Zinzendorf banished, II. 47, 3.
1740–86. Frederick II. of Prussia, II. 40, 3.
1741. Special Covenant of the Brethren with the Lord Jesus, II. 47, 4.
1749. The Moravians (Brethren) recognized in Saxony, II. 47, 3.
1750. Seb. Bach, *ob.*, II. 46, 5. The Jesuit government of Paraguay terminated, II. 44, 3.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1751. Semler prof. in Halle, II. 50, 4.
1752. J. A. Bengel, *ob.*, II. 46, 2.
1754. Chr. v. Wolf, *ob.*, II. 46, 2. Winckelmann a convert, II. 44, 5.
1755. J. L. Mosheim, *ob.*, II. 46, 2.
1758–69. Clement XIII., Pope, II. 44, 2.
1759. The Jesuits banished from Portugal, II. 44, 7.
1760. Zinzendorf, *ob.*, II. 47, 3.
1762. Judicial murder of Jean Calas, II. 44, 4.
1765. Universal German library, II. 50, 3.
1765–90. Joseph II., Emperor, II. 44, 8.
1769–74. Clement XIV., Pope, II. 44, 7
1772. Swedenborg, *ob.*, II. 49, 5.
1773. The Order of Jesuits abolished, II. 44, 7.
1775–99. Pius VI., Pope, II. 44, 8.
1774. Wolfenbüttel Fragments, II. 50, 4.
1775. Chr. A. Crusius, *ob.*, II. 46, 2.
1776. Order of Illuminati founded, II. 44, 10.
1778. Voltaire, *ob.* Rousseau, *ob.*, II. 44, 10.
1780. Joseph II., Monarch, II. 44, 8.
1781. Joseph II., edict of toleration, II. 44, 8.
1782. Pius VI. in Vienna, II. 44, 8.
1786. Ems punctuation and Synod of Pistoja, II. 44, 8.
1787. Edict of Versailles, II. 44, 4.
1788. Religious edict of Wöllner, II. 50, 2.
1789. The French Revolution, II. 44, 9.
1791. Wesley, *ob.*, II. 48, 1. Semler, *ob.*, II. 50, 4.
1792. Spangenberg, *ob.*, II. 47, 5.
1793. The Christian Religion abolished in France. Temple de la Raison, II. 44, 10.
1794. Le peuple Français reçonnait l'Être suprême et l'immortalité de l'âme, II. 44, 10.
1795. The London Miss. Society founded, II. 51, 5.
1799. Pius VI. a prisoner in France, II. 44, 9. Schleiermacher's discourses on Religion, II. 56, 1.
1800. Stolberg, a convert, II. 44, 5.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1800–23. Pius VII., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1801. French concordat, II. 57, 1.
1804. The British and Foreign Bible Soc. founded, II. 54, 9.
Kant, *ob.*, II. 50, 7. The pope crowns Napoleon, II. 57, 1.
1806. End of the German Empire.
1809. Napoleon banished; the pope captured, II. 57, 1.
1810. The American For. Miss. Soc. established at Boston, II. 54, 10.
Schleiermacher prof. in Berlin, II. 56, 1.
1811. French National Council in Paris, II. 57, 1.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1812. Neander the historian called to Berlin, II. 56, 1.
1813. Second French concordat, II. 57, 1.
1814. Congress of Vienna. The pope restored. The Jesuits reinstated II. 57, 1.
1815. The Holy Alliance, II. 52.
1816. The Mission School at Basel, II. 54, 10. The House of Refuge in Düsselthal, II. 54, 9.
1817. Harmes' Theses, II. 54, 1. Frederick William III. and the Union, II. 54, 3. The venerable Compagnie in Geneva prohibits preaching upon the divinity of Christ, original sin, and predestination, etc., II. 55, 5.
1818. The Congregation of Dissenters founded at Kornthal, II. 55, 4.
1822. The Prussian Liturgy introduced, II. 54, 3. Society of Lyons for the spread of the Gospel, II. 57, 6.
1823–29. Leo XII., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1825. The Book of Mormon, II. 60, 7.
1826. Tholuck goes to Halle, II. 55, 3.
1827. Hengstenberg's Evang. Kirchenzeitung, II. 54, 1.
1829. Emancipation bill, England, II. 58, 4. Mission institution at Barmen, II. 54, 10.
1829–30. Pius VIII., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1830. The July Revolution, France, II. 55, 10. London Conference, II. 59. The Halle controversy, II. 54, 1. Abbé Chatel in Paris, II. 57, 5. The slave-trade abolished, II. 54, 10.
1831–46. Gregory XVI., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1831. Hegel, *ob.*, II. 53, 1.
1832. Dr. Scheibel driven from Breslau, II. 54, 4. J. M. Sailer, *ob.*, II. 57, 4.
1833. Commencement of the Puseyite agitation, II. 55, 8. The Synod of Nauplia, II. 59.
1834. Schleiermacher, *ob.*, II. 56, 1. Boutain recalled to Strassburg, II. 57, 7.
1835. Strauss' Life of Christ, II. 56, 4. Hermesianism condemned, II. 57, 7. Edward Irving, *ob.*, II. 60, 6. Persecution of Christians in Madagascar, II. 54, 10.
1836. The Dresden Mission institution founded, II. 54, 10. Society of deaconesses at Kaiserwerth, II. 54, 9.
1837. The Zillerthal emigrants, II. 55, 6. Commencement of the Cologne disturbances, II. 58, 7.
1838. Archb. Durim of Posen, II. 58, 7. Emigration of the Stephanites, II. 55, 2. The Altenburg rescript, II. 55, 2. J. A. Möhler, *ob.*, II. 57, 7. The English Tithe-bill, II. 58, 4.
1839. Dr. Strauss called to Zurich, II. 55, 5. The Synod of Polozk, II. 59.
1840. Frederick William IV. of Prussia, II. 58, 7.
1841. Schelling goes to Berlin, II. 53, 1. Organization of the Lutherans who separated from the Prussian State Church, II. 54, 4. Establishment of the Evangelical See in Jerusalem, II. 54, 10. The Gustavus Adolphus Society founded, II. 54, 5.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1843. The Free Church of Scotland establised, II. 55, 8.

1844. German Catholic Church, II. 57, 5. Wislicenus, *ob.*, Schrift, *ob.*, Geist, II. 53, 1. Nauvoo destroyed, II. 60, 9.

1845. Free Church of Vaud, II. 55, 5. Assembly of the German Catholic Church in Leipsic, II. 57, 5. The Maynooth bill, II. 58, 4.

1845–46. Conversions in Livonia, II. 55, 11.

1846. Pius IX., Pope, II. 57, 1. The Evangelical Alliance established in London, II. 54, 5. The Evangelical Conference in Berlin, II. 54, 5. Prussian General Synod in Berlin, II. 55, 1.

1847. Toleration patent of Prussia, II. 55, 1. The Swiss "Sonderbund" war, II. 58, 8. The Lola-Montez scandal, II. 55, 7.

1848. The March Revolution, II. 53. Establishment of the Evangelical Church Diet in Wittenberg, II. 54, 5. The Missionary institution of Dresden removed to Leipsic, II. 54, 10. Pius societies formed by the Catholics, II. 57, 6.

1849. Rome Republican, II. 57, 1. Formation of Lutheran provincial societies in Prussia, II. 54, 6. First convention for Home Missions, II. 54, 9.

1850. Installation of the Supreme Consistory in Berlin, II. 55, 1. Return of the pope to Rome, II. 57, 1. Church title-bill of England, II. 58, 4.

1851. Memorial letter of the bishops of the Upper Rhine, II. 58, 6.

1852. Eisenach Conference, II. 54, 5. Division of the Prussian Supreme Consistory according to their confessions, II. 55, 1. Commencement of the Catholic disturbance in Baden, II. 58, 6.

1852–70. Napoleon III. Emp. of the French.

1853. The Church diet in Berlin adopts the Augustana, II. 54, 5. Unfavorable decision of the king of Prussia regarding the Lutherans, II. 55, 1. Founding of the Hermansburg Miss. institution, II. 54, 10.

1854. Founding of the Melanchthonian Church, II. 54, 7. Sanction of the Immaculate Conception, II. 57, 1.

1855. Monastery law of Sardinia, II. 58, 1. Austrian Concordat, II. 58, 5. Alexander II. of Russia assumes the Empire, II. 52.

1856. The Turkish Hatti-Humayun, II. 59.

1857. Günther's philosophy condemned, II. 57, 7. The Evangelical Alliance in Berlin, II. 54, 5. The Church agitation in Bavaria, II. 55, 7.

1858. Prince Regent William of Prussia assumes the government, II. 55, 1. Liturgical agitation in Baden, II. 55, 4.

1859. The Franco-Austrian war in Italy.

1860. Christians persecuted in Syria. Concordat with Baden abrogated.

1861. The Austrian Patent. Ecclesiastical Constitution of Baden Radama II. in Madagascar. Lutheran Schism in Prussia.

1862. The Catechetic Scandal of Hanover. Renan's Life of Jesus.

1863. Catholic Congress at Munich.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1864. Encyclica and Syllabus. Strauss and Schenkel's Life of Jesus.
1865. The First Protestant Diet at Eisenach.
1866. The North German Confederation.
1867. St. Peter's Centenary at Rome.
1869. Irish Church Bill.
1870. Proclamation of Papal Infallibility. Austrian Concordat abrogated. Fall of the Papal States.
1871. The New German Empire founded. First Old Catholic Congress at Munich. The Pulpit Paragraph.
1872. The Prussian School Law. The Roman Disputation. The German Law against the Jesuits.
1873. The Four Prussian Ecclesiastical Laws. Removal of Mermillod and Lachat. The Old Catholic Church constituted in the German Empire. The Swiss Old Catholic Congress.
1874 The Austrian Ecclesiastical Law. The London Sympathy Meetings Ledochowski's removal from Office.

ADDENDA.

1. (Vol. I., p. 65.) *Was Peter in Rome?*

Galatians II. shows that, as late as A. D. 50, Peter was still in Jerusalem. Irenaeus, Eusebius, Rufinus, and the Apostolic Constitutions agree that Linus, not Peter, was the first Bishop of Rome. It has not been proved that Peter was even a successor to Linus. It is quite likely that Peter's first Epistle was written (66) in Babylon (1 Pet. v. 23). Clement, of Rome, states the fact, but not the place of Peter's martyrdom. And while Dionysius, of Corinth, Caius, of Rome, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, assert that Peter died at Rome, their testimony is rendered almost valueless by the many false dates mingled with it. This much, however, is proved, that Peter was, in the second century, supposed to have been put to death with Paul at Rome.

2. (Vol. I., p. 91.) *Maximian and the Legio Thebaica.*

The Martyrologies assert that by Maximian's command, a legion of 6,600 men, composed entirely of Christian soldiers, was put to death with their leader, St. Mauritius. The story first appeared in the fifth or sixth century, and its credibility is disputed.

3. (Vol. I., p. 109.) *Mani.*

We have recent information in regard to Mani, through the labors of Chwolsohn and Flügel, from Arabic sources, of which that from the learned historian of the tenth century, Mohammed-en-Nedim, who had access to the writings of Mani himself, is of special interest. These authorities agree with the Persian as to the history of Mani and his sect, but confirm the Western writers in the statements of his doctrinal system. Mani was taught the tenets of the Elkesaites by his father Fonnak, who belonged to that sect. Through divine visions, he was called to proclaim a new revelation. En-Nedim supposes that Mani drew his system from Scythianus.

4. (Vol. I., p. 128.) We find even in the Shepherd of Hermas the beginnings of the later distinctions between divine commands and evangelical counsel.

5. (Vol. I., p. 130.) The Shepherd of Hermas has lately been ascribed by Zahn to a Roman of the same name (A. D. 97), otherwise unknown. That the Greek copy recently brought from Greece is the

original, has lately been proved by Tischendorf, who found in a Sinaitic MS. of the Bible of the fourth century a fragment of the original Greek of Hermas. It contains, however, many Latinisms.

6. (Vol. I., p. 152.) *Constantine.*

Constantine's tolerance toward heathenism seems more like political craft. He forbade only such worship as was immoral, and granted the Christians but few temples.

7. (Vol. I., p. 173.) *Cyril, of Jerusalem, and Jerome.*

Cyril, of Jerusalem, though first an Arian, became orthodox. He was deposed by his Arian Metropolitan, because he had sold, during a famine, certain unneeded church furniture for the relief of the poor. He was present at the General Council of Constantinople 381, and died 386, in possession of his diocese. Jerome learned Hebrew from Bar Hanina, and was the only scholar in this language of Christian antiquity.

8. (Vol. I., p. 261.) Mohammed II. invested the Patriarch (Gennadius, cf. I. § 68, 5) with both spiritual and secular jurisdiction over all the orthodox Rajah of the Turkish Empire. Jerusalem and Antioch were made coördinate in religious affairs, but politically subordinate to Constantinople. A synod of twelve Archbishops, four of whom resided in Constantinople, chose the Patriarch, subject to the Sultan's approval. Talk of union was now over. The scattered Grecian fugitives in the West either entered the Catholic church, or constituted churches of their own (United Greek), securing their old ecclesiastical constitution and liturgy by recognizing the Romish dogma and the Papal supremacy.

9. (Vol. I., p. 266.) *Barlaam and Josophat.*

The romance of Barlaam and Josophat was groundlessly ascribed during the Middle Ages to John Damascenus. An Indian Princess, Josophat, was converted through the labors of Barlaam, an Asiatic hermit. The story aims to show the power of Christianity over the temptations of sin, and its superiority over other religions. In uncritical times it was received as historical, and its heroes were revered as saints. But Liebrecht has lately discovered that the honored tale was but a partially christianized reproduction of the legendary history of the founder of Buddhism.

10. (Vol. I., p. 266.) Saracens, equivalent to Orientals, were called Arabs early in the Middle Ages. The name came afterward to designate all Mohammedans, including, too, at times, heathen nations.

11. (Vol. I., p. 337.) *St. Meinrad.*

St. Meinrad, in Switzerland, was such a hermit. He was murdered by robbers (861), and his cell became changed into a Benedictine cloister of the hermits of Mary.

12. (Vol. I., p. 340.) *The Spurious Decretals.*

While the Spurious Decretals are all from one mould, they are not pure fiction. The materials were gathered from the entire range of theological and ecclesiastical literature of the day. These were changed as required, and grouped into a whole.

13. (Vol. I., p. 373.) *The Greenland Mission* prospered four hundred years. About 1408 its fall was brought about through the incursions of the Esquimaux, and the severity of the winters.

14. (Vol. I., p. 384.) The descendants of the Crusaders, born in the Holy Land, the so-called Pullani, were, in particular, a cowardly and treacherous race.

15. (Vol. I., p. 387.) Judaism, on the other hand, could not be suppressed, either by constant persecution from the state, and repeated massacres by the rabble, or by the zealous efforts of the Theologians to instruct and convert the nation of the covenant.

16. (Vol. I., p. 390.) There was nothing of Papal Infallibility in the systems of Gregory VII. or Innocent III. But Thomas Aquinas ascribed to the Pope alone the right to develop the confession of faith. John XV. (993) was the first to claim the exclusive right of canonization. Alexander III. secured it as permanently belonging to the Pope. Innocent IV. invested the Cardinals with the red hat.

17. (Vol. I., p. 407.) The union, with the Greek church, was meaningless, and the Pope strove in vain to revive zeal for the Crusades. On the other hand, the new German Emperor, Rudolph of Habsburg (1273–91), in order to suppress the political disorders at home, offered to surrender, in favor of the papacy, the important points in the long controversy between the two thrones. Nicholas III. (1277–80), accordingly, brought about a concordat, in which the Emperor formally renounced all imperial rights over the states of the church.

18. (Vol. I., p. 428.) On leaving his chair, William retired to St. Victor's chapel, in Paris, where he founded a cloister, under the rule of St. Augustine.

19. (Vol. I., p. 431.) *Abelard*, trusting to his dialectic skill, became zealous to undertake, without further preparation, the difficult task of expounding the prophecy of Ezekiel. He succeeded to the satisfaction of his pupils, but was forbidden by Anselm to complete his lectures.

20. (Vol. I., p. 435.) Philosophy and Theology became almost identical. There sprang up in Paris a reaction against this coalition, in the doctrine of twofold truth, viz., that a proposition could be at the same time philosophically true and theologically false, and conversely.

21. (Vol. I., p. 440.) But Alexander of Hales recognized baptism and communion as the only sacraments instituted by Christ, though he admits other sacraments *not* instituted by Christ.

22. (Vol. I., p. 479.) It is not known when or how that legend arose according to which the "scala santa" at Rome were the marble steps of Pilate's prætorium. There were before Luther fourteen translations of the Bible in High German, and six in Low German. They are really, however, but slightly varied forms of a single translation from the Vulgate. The translators, one or many, are unknown. The language is generally clumsy, and the sense often obscure. Many passages, however, are better, and Luther seems to have intentionally retained them. There were also translations in English by Wicliffe; in Bohemian by Huss; in Spanish by Bonif. Ferrer; in Italian by the Benedictine, Nic. Malherbi; and in French by Faber Stapulensis.

23. (Vol. I., p. 483.) *The Maid of Orleans.*

Born of peasant parents, even as a child she was led, by what she supposed to be a heavenly voice, to vow eternal chastity. More frequent visions, in which the saints appeared to her and other voices were heard, called her to be the deliverer of her oppressed fatherland. France had been torn asunder, under the erratic King Charles VI., and still more after his death (1422), by the ambitious parties of the Armignacs and Burgundians. The first fought for the rights of the Dauphin, Charles VII. The others allied themselves to the Queen Mother Isabella, and the English King Henry V. Joan of Arc adhered zealously to the Dauphin. When Charles was driven by the English into Orleans, his last stronghold, and closely pressed (1428), Joan heard the voice, directing her to rescue Orleans, and to lead the Dauphin to Rheims for coronation. She now made public her mission, hitherto concealed. Breaking through every difficulty, and recognized as a heavenly messenger, she placed herself, clad in armor and bearing the standard of the lilies, at the head of the enthusiastic troops, and gloriously realized her twofold mission. In the later course of the war she was captured by the Duke of Burgundy, who delivered her up to the English. At Rouen, after a four months' trial by a clerical court, she was condemned to death as a heretic. Her courage failed her in face of the stake, and she recanted, whereupon her sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. But a week later she was nevertheless executed at the stake. She died bravely, and resigned to her fate, 1431. At the solicitation of her family, afterwards elevated to nobility, a revision of her trial was secured, 1450, and she was declared to be innocent.

24. (Vol. I., p. 498.) Among the friends of reform in Germany was Jacob von Jüterbogk, of 1465. He had been a Cistercian in Poland, and a theological instructor at Krakau, and was afterwards Carthusian Friar at Erfurt. Throughout his life he was an earnest defender of the decrees of the Council of Basle, at which he was present, 1441. His reformatory writings leave the ecclesiastical

dogmas untouched, but are all the more earnest and powerful against the political and moral corruptions of the papacy and monasticism. He opposed the covetous misuse of indulgences, favored placing the Pope under the General Councils, to be deposed by them when necessary. And he said, that to dispute this was to teach that Christ had committed the church to a sinful man as a bridegroon, who should deliver his bride to the absolute will of a soldier.

25. (Vol. II., p. 60.) *Döllinger's Tribute to Luther.*

The celebrated Catholic Historian *Ign. Döllinger*, who, in his "*Res. Gesch.*," had with ultramontane animosity defamed Luther, could not refrain, in a public speech twenty years later, from eulogizing him as the mightiest man of the people Germany ever produced. And in 1871, he said of him, "Luther's overpowering greatness and wonderful versatility made him the man of his time. No German understood so profoundly the German people, and in return none was ever so laid hold of by them as this Augustine monk of Wittenberg. The German taste and the German spirit his hand touched as an artist sweeps the lyre. No other in Christian times gave to his people such gifts—language, Bible, sacred song. Each attack and each defence of adversaries became weak and flat beside his passing eloquence. They stammered; he spoke. Only he could indelibly stamp the German mind, as he had done the German tongue. Even those Germans, who in their heart of hearts despised him as the mighty teacher of error and corrupter of religion, were compelled to speak with his words and to think with his thoughts."

26. (Vol. II., p. 162.) *Clement VIII.* (1592–1605.)

He took an active part in the political movements of his time, and succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between France and Spain. The Jesuits have been charged with his death, but on insufficient grounds. Clement had incurred their displeasure through favoring the Dominicans in the strife "*de auxiliis gratiae*," and by refusing to canonize Loyala.

27. (Vol. II., p. 165.) *The Jesuits* held Pelagian views of sin and grace. They defended the doctrine of Immaculate Conception, and were zealous supporters of Papal Infallibility. They were exceedingly active in securing chairs of instruction at the Gymnasia and Universities, as well as in founding schools of their own. They thus sought to fill the ranks of their own order, and to train up for it friends and patrons.

28. (Vol. II , p. 169.) In regard to *Papal Infallibility, Pope Hadrian VI.* wrote that it was quite possible for a Pope to err, even in matters of faith. Cardinal Cajetan, however, zealously contended that the entire Church, without the Pope, could more easily err than the Pope without the Church. And the Jesuit general, *Lainez*, strove

at Trent, earnestly, but in vain, to secure for Papal Infallibility ecclesiastical recognition.

29. (Vol. II., p. 185.) *Galileo and the Inquisition.*

Galileo Galilei (ob. 1642) was Professor of Mathematics at Pisa and Padua. He rendered numerous and brilliant services in mathematics, astronomy, and physics, and was the pioneer defender of the Copernican system. On this account, charged by the Jesuits with heresy, Paul V. threatened him with the Inquisition, if he should continue to defend his heresy. Afterwards he was compelled to recant, and for a short time was imprisoned. The stories that he was driven to recantation by the rack, and that after the torture was over, gritting his teeth, and stamping his feet, he said, "*E pur si muove,*" are doubtless false. Not so, however, that the *Index Lib. Prohib.* declared the Copernican doctrine false, preposterous, and throughout contradictory of the Bible, and that in 1660 Pope Alexander VII. formally confirmed this decree, and not until 1820 was it abrogated by the Papal Court, and in a new edition of the Index, 1835, the works of Galileo and Copernicus were left out.

30. (Vol. II., p. 211.) *Hugo Grotius*, while standing firmly with the Remonstrants, strove earnestly, but without success, for a reconciliation between the Arminians and Calvinists, as well as with all the Protestant parties. For a long time he cherished decided aversion to the Catholics, but intimate intercourse with prominent Catholics, especially during his voluntary exile in France, induced him to change his attitude toward them. He spoke with ever growing favor of their faith and their institutions, and in his "*votum pro pace*" he recommends, as the only possible way of restoring ecclesiastical unity, a return to the Catholic church, though demanding, of course, certain concessions from the Catholics.

31. (Vol. II., p. 232.) *The old Catholic Church of the Netherlands.*

The first Jesuits came to Holland in 1592. The peculiar piety of the clergy, handed down from the Brethren of the Common Life, as well as the comparatively independent position of the Archbishopric of Utrecht, were to them alike fundamentally distasteful. They were soon brought into conflict with the clergy, through their political and religious machinations. *Vosmeer*, the Archbishop, i. p., and after his deposition, his successors, strenuously opposed the attempt to abolish the see of Utrecht, and to place the church of Holland under the jurisdiction of the papal Nuncio at Cologne. Meanwhile the Jansenist controversy in France had completed its first stage. The Dutch officials had received with favor the accused book of their pious and learned countryman, though in the further course of the controversy they had submitted without opposition to the papal bann against the five sections, and yet not agreeing that Jansen had taught

these in the sense supposed. The Jesuits, accordingly, charged them with Jansenistic heresy, and insinuated in an anonymous memorial, 1697, that Jansenism had taken its rise in Holland. They traced its beginnings to a visit of Arnauld in Holland, 1681. It was fostered, they said, by Bible reading; by the general contempt for the worship of Mary, for indulgences, for the holy pictures, relics, etc. Codde, the Archbishop, was allured to Rome, to be blinded by dissembling favors and demonstrations, while behind his back his deposition was determined on. But the chapter refused to recognize his successor, and the estates of Holland demanded, on pain of the expulsion of all Jesuits, the immediate return of their Archbishop. Codde was, indeed, sent back with a papal blessing, but was followed with a formal decree of deposition, 1703. His rival, *De Cock*, was obliged to flee from a charge of high treason. But, because of conscientious scruples, Codde refused, to his death, 1710, to exercise again the functions of his office. For thirteen years the see remained vacant. The vacant pulpits were filled with emissaries of the Jesuits, at the nomination of the Nuncio in Cologne. Thousands of the people were caught in the nets of the Jesuits, and fell over to Ultramontanism. At last, 1723, the chapter took courage, and chose Cornelius Steenhowen to be Archbishop. After waiting a year and a half without receiving an answer to their request for papal confirmation, he was ordained by the French missionary, Bishop *Varlet*. The same was done with his next three successors. In order to secure legitimate ordination for future Archbishops, after Varlet's death, 1742, a Bishop was consecrated by the Haarlem chapter, which had left their right of choice unexercised, and in 1758 the new bishopric of Deventer was provided with an occupant. Meanwhile the second and last act of the Jansenistic tragedy in France had been played. Many persecuted appellants sought refuge in free Holland, and the friendly reception they received seemed to justify the long loved charge of Jansenistic heresy against Utrecht. The accused continued to repel the charge with all energy, but refused expressly to recognize the bull of Alexander VII., and the acceptance there demanded of Papal Infallibility. And thus were thwarted all efforts at reconciliation, which had been set on foot. The church of Utrecht prospered, and at a Council, 1765, declared itself to be *the Old Roman Catholic Church of the Netherlands*. The Pope was acknowledged, in spite of his ban against Utrecht, as the visible head of the Christian Church. A confession was produced corresponding in detail to the decrees of Trent, and sent with all the acts of the Council to Rome, as evidence of orthodoxy. The Jesuits succeeded in counteracting the good impression which this transaction had at first created at Rome. Clement XIII. declared the Council void, and its participants stiff-necked children of iniquity. But the

church still lives, with five or six thousand souls, nineteen parishes under two Bishops, and an Archbishop.

32. (Vol. II., p. 299.) The English Naturalist, *Darwin*, threw intc the arena of natural science the magic formula, "Natural Selection," according to which it is supposed that the present variety of animal life has arisen through a process of development, continued through millions, perhaps milliards of years, from some primary marine animal springing from a minute cell.

33. (Vol. II., p. 303.) In *Italy* the amiable *Aless. Manzoni* (ob. 1873), though himself more of a Christian than a Catholic, gave to Catholic Christianity, in his "*Inni Sacri*," and "*Promessi Sposi*," the noblest expression. The celebrated poet, *Silvio Pellico* (ob. 1854), in "*Le mie Prigioni*," offered noble testimony of the power of Christianity.

34. (Vol. II., p. 304.) Among the pupils of the *Munich school*, *Julius Schnorr* (ob. 1872) devoted himself chiefly to religious material. His "Bible in Pictures" is a masterpiece of biblical illustration.—*Phil. Veith* left an immortal monument to his memory in numerous frescoes and altar-paintings in Germany and Italy. From *Will v. Kaulbach* we have *The Battle of the Huns*, *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, and the staircase paintings of the Museum at Berlin.—*Lessing* has won the honor of being the painter of reformatory ideas in his *Burning of the Papal Bull by Luther*, and in *The Leipsic Disputation.*

35. (Vol. II., p. 306.) *Interconfessional Relations.*

The Evangelical and the Catholic churches were both of them enriched during the present century, each at the cost of the other, by numerous conversions. The Protestants, on the one hand, freely recognized their opponents, cherishing sometimes such admiration for individual Catholic institutions as to throw into the shade the dignity of their own church. Even in Germany many Romanizing tendencies appeared. The sometimes absurd suspicions of lurking Jesuitism were not, it would seem, without some justification in the case of the Court Preacher Stark, of Darmstadt. And there were not wanting those who formally went over to the Catholics, and, too, from the best of men, *e. g.* Fr. Schlegel, Adam Müller, H. L. von Haller, and others. But the Catholics did not return the liberal recognition they received. The Ultramontanes were, on the other hand, unwearied in heaping abuse and slander upon even the noblest of Protestant labors and Protestant men. Ketteler, in a pastoral letter, 1855, compared the Germans to the Jews, who, by crucifying their Lord, lost their high calling in the kingdom of God, because in the Reformation they had torn asunder the unity of faith grounded by St. Boniface. Cardinal Riccabona asserted that Luther gathered round his standard the most depraved reprobates of Europe, treading under foot the blood of the Redeemer. Prof. Michelis, in Münster, compared Protestantism to Antichrist. Nevertheless, many truly pious

men were led, in their longing after salvation, to examine the Protestant doctrines, and sometimes to enter the fold of the Protestant Church. Such were Martin Boos, Goossner, Henhöfer, Duke Leop. von Seldnitzky, and others. The Vatican sanction of infallibility moreover drove many sober-minded men into the evangelical church.

Pius IX. invited both Greek and Protestant Bishops to the Vatican Council, but not, as at Trent, to participate in the proceedings, but to return like the prodigal son to his father's house. In a letter to the German Emperor, 1873, he said that all who had been baptized, Catholic or not, even the Emperor himself, "belonged to the Pope."

Thoughts of union appeared at times among the Old Catholics as hopeless as ever, indeed, but looking only to the long future for any material result. Of like character were similar propositions between the Oriental Orthodox Church on the one side, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican on the other.

36. (Vol. II., p. 310.) *The Revival Period of* 1857—61.

Following in the footsteps of a financial crisis, there appeared in North America, toward the close of the year 1857, a religious movement of so great dimensions, of such continuance and energy, and such remarkable results in repentance and conversion, as to surpass all that had been seen before even in America, the land of revivals. Along with that which was merely ecstatic, there appeared much of genuine and healthy repentance. The movement spread to the West Indies, West and South Africa, and the East Indies. And in Europe, especially Ireland, it was almost as fruitful as in America.

37. (Vol. II., p. 323.) *Foreign Missions.*

Among the Protestant sects, the Methodists and Baptists have been most zealous in the missionary cause, though the Moravians have lost nothing of their former activity. The results of evangelical missions for the last eighty years are estimated at 800,000 or 900,000 converts from heathendom. That these results are so much less than might have been looked for in return for the zeal and labor put forth, is owing in part doubtless to the rigidity of the Protestant methods of labor. Only such heathen were admitted to baptism as had been fully enlightened and converted, and the efficacy of baptismal grace was lightly esteemed. *Guiana,* in South America, was a field too difficult and dangerous for anything but the patience of the Moravian missionaries, though in the British parts the London Missionary Society labored not without result. In *Madagascar* (p. 325), Radama II., the Christian son of the bloody Ranavalona, ascended the throne in 1861, and recalled the Christians and missionaries driven out by his mother. Ranavalona II. abjured heathenism, and was baptized in 1869, when she became queen. The next year she burned the national idols.

After the complete suppression of the military insurrection of *East India,* 1857 (p. 325), the mission there flourished even more than before.

The Island of *Ceylon* was in large part christianized, but only nominally under the Portuguese and Dutch. The American Baptists sent numerous missionaries to *India*, among whom Judson and his heroic wife were specially distinguished. Their labors among the Burmans and Carens belong to the noblest of Protestant missions.

In *Java*, also, the Baptists have been quite active, and with good results. In spite of the treaty of 1858, in *China* (p. 326) the Regent Prince Kung could not prevent further bloody persecutions. In 1865 he was himself deposed. A new treaty, 1868, similar to the other, included North Germany among the favored powers. In *Japan*, all edicts against Christianity and Christians were formally revoked in 1873. In 1809 was formed the London Society for the Spread of the Gospel among the Jews, which labored with varying results in London, Poland, Germany, Holland, France, and Turkey.

38. (Vol. II., p. 327.) *The Conflict with Ultramontanism in the New German Empire.*

The glorious day of Sedan, September 2, 1870, resulted in the overthrow of the civil power of the Pope, and in the establishment of a new hereditary German Empire in the Protestant dynasty of the Prussian Hohenzollerns, January 18, 1871. German Ultramontanism, displeased alike with both of these results, demanded of the German Emperor the restoration of civil power to the Pope. This demand was not complied with, and formal war was declared against the Empire through the press at the command of the Ultramontanes, but only to be met with defeat after defeat at the energetic hands of the attacked. The Chancellor Prince Bismark said in regard to these demands, "We go not to Canossa." And the Emperor, in his letter to Lord Russell, February, 1874, thanking him for the sympathies expressed by the English people, announced his firm and royal determination to fight out to the end the thousand years war between the Pope and the German Empire.

While in South Germany the Ultramontanes, at the outbreak of the war, expressed their sympathies with France, and at its close strove to prevent the alliance of Bavaria to the Empire, in North Germany different tactics were employed. There the Ultramontanes hoped to use the Empire to advance their own ends. Even the Pope congratulated the new Emperor, expressing the hope that he would labor for the good of all Europe, including the protection of the rights and liberties of the Catholic religion. The conflict resulted, among other things, in the enactment by the Imperial Diet of the celebrated *Jesuit Law*, and of the so-called *Pulpit Paragraph*. The latter (1871) threatened with two years' imprisonment every misuse of the pulpit or clerical office for political agitation. The former (1872) dissolved the Jesuits and kindred orders, banishing all foreign members from the Empire, and prescribing the others to a limited resi-

deuce. But other measures being required, Ultramontanism was laid hold of in its schools and seminaries. In order to put an end to the despotic power of the Bishops in matters of ecclesiastical discipline and church appointment, they were placed under civil oversight and jurisdiction through *the four Prussian Ecclesiastical Laws.*

39. (Vol. II., p. 352.) The left wing of Schleiermacher's school became of greater importance to theology after its union, in 1854, with the older representatives of the historico-critical, æsthetic, and philosophic rationalism, as well as with the younger generation of the Bauer school, and a number of capable men, who had at first belonged to the moderate theology, but in the course of their theological development had become more and more estranged from it. From this union *there came forth the Free Protestant Theology of the latest date.*

40. (Vol. II., p. 366.) Strauss' second "Life of Jesus, 1864, for the German people," was too full of clumsy criticism for the people for whom it was designed, not excepting the more educated classes among them; and for science it could not win the importance granted to the first, published twenty-five years before. He published, in 1872, the most radical of all his books, "The Old Faith and the New," in which he makes Christianity a mere reproduction of Judaism. Strauss died 1874.

41. (Vol. II., p. 376.) *The Vatican Council and the Old Catholics.*

After the announcement of Pius IX., at the centenary of St. Peter, 1867, in regard to an Ecumenical Council at no distant future, the statements of the Romish *Civiltà Cattolicá* soon left no room for doubt that the first work of the Council was to confirm the Syllabus of 1864, to sanction the absolute fulness of the Papal power in the sense claimed by Boniface VIII., in his bull Unum Sanctum (Vol. I. § 110, 1), and to proclaim Papal Infallibility. When the Council actually assembled, December 8, 1869, all imaginable means were brought to bear on the Opposition—the cunning and intrigue of the Jesuits, the persuasives and threats of the Pope, aiming, in case it should prove impossible to win them over, at least to suppress their opposition by force. In numbers, the members of the Opposition were not inconsiderable, and they far outweighed the other side, both in theological attainments, moral character, and ecclesiastical position; but the schemes of the Pope and his counsellors were mightier than they. But fifty out of the one hundred and fifty in the Opposition continued in their protest to the close of the

Council, and even these cowardly withdrew from the deciding battle, and afterwards declared, from their bishoprics at home, their most devoted agreement to the dogma.

On the other hand, in Germany (Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and Hesse), and in Switzerland, a reaction arose against the Council and its decisions, from the liberal circles of the Catholics, in the so-called Old Catholic movement. The movement was set on foot by highly-respected and distinguished scientific men, and has advanced with ever-growing favor. In Germany it has already resulted in an independent and well-organized church, and in Switzerland hastens towards the same goal on comparatively a wider scale.

1. *The Council before its Assembly.*

Pius IX. announced to the Bishops assembled at the centenary of St. Peter that he purposed, in the near future, to call an Ecumenical Council. The Bishops, in reply, expressed the hope that such a Council might prove, through the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, a wondrous source of unity, peace, and holiness. The formal proclamation followed the next year, 1868, on Peter-Paul's day, June 29th. The purpose in view was stated in general to save the Church from all threatening evils; to uproot all modern errors, and to overthrow all godless enemies of the Church and the Apostolic See. The General Council of Catholics, at Bamberg, assembling soon after this proclamation, recorded their opinion, that a new era in the world's history would begin with the Council of the Vatican, for "Either salvation would be brought to the world through this Council, or there is no salvation for the world." But this hope was far from being general throughout the Catholic world. The learned Bishop in partibus, Maret, Dean of the Theological Faculty at Paris, appeared in the arena with an eloquent defence of the Gallican liberties. And even Count Montalembert, hitherto a strict Catholic, astounded the world with his hostility to the Council. Six days before he died, March 7, 1870, he earnestly protested against the intrigues of the Jesuits, and the proposed dogma of Infallibility. But the greatest stir was created by the pseudonymous work, entitled, "*Der Papst und das Council von Janus*, Leipzig, 1869." It was probably written by Döllinger, Friedrich, and Huber, and brought to bear against the plans of the Papal Court the heavy artillery of a far-reaching acquaintance with ecclesiastical history. The Papal Secretary, Cardinal Antonelli, quieted the foreign ambassadors at Rome, with the assurance that neither the confirmation of the Syllabus nor the definition of the dogma of Infallibility was purposed by the Pope. Prince Hohenlohe, of Bavaria, urged the other Powers of Europe to unite in preventive measures

against every encroachment of the coming Council upon the rights of the states. But he urged in vain. The Powers thought best to wait, and, not until it was too late, uttered their protests and their threats.

2. *The Organization of the Council.*

Seven hundred and sixty-seven of the ten hundred and forty-four invited prelates made their appearance at the Council. Of these one hundred and nineteen Bishops in partibus were sworn satellites of the Papal Court. A still greater number were Missionary Bishops, who had come to Rome at the expense of the Holy Father, and were quartered with attendants at the Propaganda. The sixty-two Bishops of the States of the Church were doubly dependent on the Pope, and it was said in Rome, of the eighty Spanish and South American Bishops, that at the demand of the Pope they would define the Trinity as consisting of four persons. Then there were forty Italian Cardinals, and thirty Generals of Orders. The Romans were represented with more than six hundred votes, and all Germany had some fourteen. For the first time since ecumenical councils were held, the laity were entirely shut out from the proceedings of the Council. The regulations imposed by the Pope aimed throughout at laming the Opposition. The right of making motions was, indeed, granted to all the Fathers of the Council, but a *Deputation* chosen by the Pope decided as to what motions might be admitted. Drafts of the decrees came from the *Special Commissions*, whose chairmen the Pope nominated, to the *General Congregation*, where the president could at will interrupt any speaker, and deprive him of the floor. Instead of the unanimity demanded by the canonical laws in decrees relating to faith, voting by simple majority was introduced. A solemn protest, by the minority, against this and similar acts of violence, received no attention. The proceedings were stenographically recorded, but even the members of the Council were not allowed access to these records. The resolutions of the *General Congregations* were returned to the *Special Commissions* for final revision, and at last came to vote without discussion at the *Public Sessions*, by the simple *Placet* or *Non-Placet*. The right transept of St. Peter's Church, where the acoustic properties were as poor as possible, was used as the hall of assembly, and the Pope steadfastly refused to change to a better location. Added to this, was the great variety of pronunciation, and in many cases a scanty knowledge of Latin. In spite of the obligations imposed of strict secrecy, a tolerably complete insight into the daily proceedings of the Council was obtained in certain circles at Rome, by carefully gathering up all that was told here and there. Out of these sources came the "*Roman Letters*," written probably by Lord Acton, a friend and pupil of Döllinger. They were sent by trusted messengers beyond the bounds of the Papal territory, and then forwarded to Munich, where they were revised by Döllinger and

his friends, and then made public in the columns of the *Augsburger Allg. Zeitung*. Professor Friedrich, who had accompanied Cardinal Hohenlohe to Rome, as Theological Adviser, published in his "*Tagebuch Während d. Vat. Conc.*," second edition, Nördl., 1873, what information he had received from the Bishops and Theologians.

3. *The Proceedings of the Council.*

The first *Public Session* occurred December 8, 1869, and the second on January 6, 1870, when the Confession of Faith was presented. The first proposition was the *Scheme of Faith*, the second the *Scheme of Ecclesiastical Discipline*. Then followed the *Scheme of the Church and the Primacy of the Pope*. Three articles presented the supremacy of the Church over the State; the absolute power of the Pope over the whole Church according to Pseudo Isidore (Vol. I., § 87, 2), and the claims of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII; the principal points of the Syllabus of 1864; and the sketch of a catechism for the instruction of the youth throughout the Church. On March 6th, as a fourth article to the *Scheme of the Church*, the sketch of the decree of *Infallibility* was presented. An agitation on this point had commenced shortly after the opening of the Council. An address to the Pope, originating in the Jesuit College, in behalf of Infallibility, received four hundred signatures. An address on the other side was signed by one hundred and thirty-seven names. Leading the agitation for the Infallibility were Archbishops Manning, of Westminster; Deschamps, of Mechlin; Spalding, of Baltimore; and Bishops Fessler, Secretary of the Council; Senestry, of Regensburg; Martin, of Paderborn; and Mermillod, of Geneva. Among the leaders of the opposition were Cardinals Rauscher, of Vienna; Schwarzenberg, of Prague; Mattieu, of Besançon; and Föster, of Breslau; Archbishops Scherr, of Munich; Melchers, of Cologne; Darboy, of Paris; and Kenrick, of St. Louis; and Bishops Ketteler, of Mayence; Dinkle, of Augsburg; Hefele, of Rottenburg; Strossmayer, of Sirmium; Dupanloup, of Orleans, etc.

The *Scheme of Faith* was carried unanimously at the third *Public Session*, April 24th. Discussion over the *Scheme of the Church* was commenced May 10th, and was almost entirely confined to the question of Infallibility. While attempts were made to find some basis in the Scripture and in tradition for the dogma, the great argument was built upon its necessity arising from the office of the Pope as vicar of Christ. The Opposition did not so much attack the doctrine of Infallibility on its own merits, as question the expediency of its formal declaration. They thus greatly weakened their cause, some of them not wishing to offend the Pope, and others anxious to leave open a way of retreat, which was sure to be needed. The longer the debate continued, the more decided ground in favor of the dogma was taken by the Pope. He coaxed and threatened as he thought

best. He upbraided the opponents as enemies to the Church and the Apostolic See, and placed over against the fears of schism his confidence in the assistance of the Holy Virgin. To the question whether he looked upon the definition as expedient, he replied, "No, but necessary." It was notorious, he said, that the whole Church through all times had taught the Infallibility of the Pope. Long ago he had *believed* in Infallibility, and as Pope he *felt* it. July 13th, the final vote was reached in the *General Congregation*, with three hundred and seventy-one votes simply *Placet*, sixty-one *Placet Juxte Modum*, and eighty-eight *Non-Placet*. After a final and hopeless attempt to secure agreement to a milder form of the decree, the fifty members of the minority, who had continued steadfast, left Rome, leaving behind them a written declaration that, while they were obliged to maintain their former objections to the dogma, out of respect for the Pope they would not protest at the *Public Session*. On the following day, July 18th, the fourth and last *Public Session* occurred. Five hundred and forty-seven Fathers voted *Placet*, and only two (Riccio, of Cajazzo, and Fitzgerald, of Little Rock), *Non-Placet*. A fearful storm breaking out during the session, Pius IX. announced, amidst thunder and lightning, as "second Moses" (Ex. 19: 16), the absolute power and Infallibility of himself, and of all his predecessors and followers. It was the same day on which Napoleon III. declared war against Prussia, in consequence of which the Pope lost the last vestige of secular power, and every hope of regaining it.

4. *The Recognition of the Decrees of the Council.*

All protests which had been made became legally worthless, because they were not maintained. And nothing remained for the dissenting Bishops, but to accept at last what they had so long refused. And this they did. As for the Civil Powers, not one of them has so far recognized the Council.

5. *The Constitution of an Old Catholic Church in Germany.*

So early as August, 1870, Prof. Michelis, in Braunsberg, openly charged Pius IX. with heresy, and by the end of the month he was joined by several prominent theologians, among whom were Döllinger, Friedrich, Reinkens, Weber, and others, who declared at Nuremberg that the Vatican Council could not be looked upon as ecumenical, nor the new dogma as Catholic. Forty-four instructors at the University of Munich responded to this declaration, as also others from Breslau, Freiburg, Würzburg, and Bonn. April 14, 1871, Döllinger was excommunicated. September, 1871, the first *General Congress of the Old Catholics* met at Munich, with five hundred deputies present, gathered from all Germany. They agreed to retain the faith, worship, and constitution of the Old Catholic Church. They declared the decrees of the Vatican Council invalid, and recognized the Old Catholic Church of Utrecht. They expressed the hope of a union with the

Greek Church, and of agreement with the Protestants. In spite of Döllinger's opposition, they determined to institute independent worship, and an episcopal jurisdiction of their own, as early as possible. At the second *General Congress*, 1872, at Cologne, representatives were present from the Anglican Church in England and America, from the Orthodox Church of Russia, from France, Italy and Spain, either to express their sympathies or to participate in the proceedings as deputies. It was the uniform opinion that a thorough reform was demanded, both in constitution, discipline, and worship. Prof. Friedrich said: "In the dogma of Infallibility, we wrestle not against one single error, but against the whole Papal system, whose false development, through a thousand years, had reached its climax in this dogma." It was agreed, however, that the first duty was the selection of a Bishop. The synodal and ecclesiastic arrangements provided for a yearly synod, to be called by the Bishop, in which all the clergy should participate, and to which the churches should send deputies, one representative for every two hundred. A permanent synodal representation, consisting of five clergymen and seven laymen, was to stand at the right hand of the Bishop. The churches were to choose their own clergyman, subject to the approval of the Bishop. Prof. Reinkens was chosen Bishop the next year, 1873.

42. (Vol. II., p. 378.) *Downfall of the States of the Church.* By a popular vote, Romagna was annexed to Sardinia, 1860, and in September of the same year a revolution broke out in Umbria and the Marches, in consequence of which Victor Immanuel took possession of these Papal provinces also. So that only two of the five, Rome and the Campagna, were left to the Pope, and the possession of these depended entirely on the uncertain continuance of the French troops in Italy. When, in December, 1866, these troops had departed, an unsuccessful attempt was made to liberate Italy from the Papal rule. Garibaldi appeared at the head of the movement, but, through the interposition of Napoleon, it failed. A French garrison continued to protect Rome until, in August, 1870, it was compelled to withdraw to the helpless defence of France itself. An Italian army occupied the Papal territory, in order to protect it against fresh outbreaks. But, after the battle of Sedan, all Italy, to a man, demanded Rome for their capital, and Victor Immanuel had to concede. The Pope sought help near and far, from Catholic and non-Catholic powers, but in answer from all sides came the echo of the Pope's own stereotyped expression, "*Non possumus.*" After a four hours' cannonade, breaches were made in the walls of the Eternal City. The white flag was raised, and amidst the shouts of the populace the Italian troops entered. A popular vote in the remaining Papal territory resulted in 133,681 votes for, and 1507 against, the annexation. In Rome the vote was 40,785 to 46, in favor of annexation.

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INDEX.

(*The Figures refer to the Page.*)

Abolitionists, 348
Abraham St. Clara, 194
Abyssinia, 171, 175
Acceptants, 232
D'Achery, 194
Adiaphoristic contr., 135
Æpinus, John, 138
Agenda, Prussian, 310
Agricola, John, 100, 133
—— Martin, 145
Agrippa v. Nettesh., 155
Aguirre, 194
Ahle, 208
Alba, duke, 99, 121
Alberti, 205
Alberus, 144
Albinus, 206
Albert of Bavaria, 173
—— Brandenburg, 105
—— Mayence, 33
—— Prussia, 52, 56
Albrights, the, 351
D'Albret, 123
Aleander, 39
D'Alembert, 236
Alexander I. II. 293, 294
—— of Jerusalem, 325
—— Dr. J. Addison, 348
Allatius, Leo, 194
Allegri, Greg., 194
Allendorf, 248
Alliance, Holy, 294
—— Evangelical, 313
—— Torgau, 52
Alombrados, 189
Alzog, 391
Amen Society, 412
American Catholic Miss., 170–71
Amesius, 216
Amling, 153
Ammon, v., 358
Amsdorf, 91, 135
Amyrault, 211, 216
Anabaptists, 42, 65, 157–60
Anderson, 116
Andreä, Jacob, 138
—— Val., 203
Angela of Brescia, 166
Angelo, Michael, 169
Angelus, Silesius, 189, 207
Anhalt, 79, 152
Anna of Prussia, 183
Antinomian controversy, 133
Anti-hierarchical movement in Germany, 234
Anti-papal aggression, 396
Anti-Trinitarians, 158
Anthony of Navarre, 122
—— Paul, 199
Apocryphal controversy, 323
Apology for the Augsb. Conf., 74
Apostoolians, 218
Appellants, 232
Appenfeller, 273
Arcanum regium, 268
Armenians, 210
Arnold, 191
Arnold, Gottf., 201, 204
Arnoldi, 382, 402
Articles, the XXXIX, 120
Asseburg, 270
Auberleon, 369
Augsburg Conf., 74
Augustus of Saxony, 137, 139
Augusti, 361
Augustine, Trappist abbot, 380
Augustinianism, opposed, 167
Avenarius, 146

Baader, Fr., 388
Baboef, 416
Bach, Seb., 250
Bacon of Verulam, 223
Baden, 333, 399
Baden-Baden, 173
Bahrdt, 280, 282
Baier, Dr., 75, 201
Baius, 167
Balde, 195
Ballenstedt, 298
Balsac, 302
Balthasar of Fulda, 173
Baltzer, 389
Baluze, 194
Bampfield, 219
Banez, Dom., 167
Baptists, 219, 349, 278
Barclay, 219
Barkers, 276
Barnabites, 165
Barnim of Pomerania, (13, 4), 79
Baronius, 169
Barrière, 167
Barth, 303
Bartholomew's Eve, 123
Basedow Basel, 63, 324, 280
Basuage, 216
Bassi, 166
Bathori, St., 125
Bauer, Bruno, 296, 364
—— Lorenzo, 283
Baumgarten, Crusius, 360
—— Michael, 331, 374
Bauer, F. C., 364

Bauer, Gustavus, 364
Bautain, 388
Bavaria, 336, 397
Baxter, 226
Bayle, 226
Beaulieu, Peace of, 123
Beaumont, 232
Becanus, 193
Beck, Fr., 302
—— J. Tob., 369
Beethoven, 305
Becker, Balth., 213
Belgium, 344, 395
Bellarmine, 165, 168
Benedict XIII., XIV., popes, 228
Bengel, Alb., 245
—— E. G. v., 360
Benno v. Meissen, 60
Berg, John, 180
Bergic Book, 138
Berleberg Bible, 271
Berlin, General Synod, 327
Berne, Reformation in, 64
Bermudez, Cath. patriarch, 171
Bertheau, 360
Berthold of Chiem-see, 47, 168
—— Leonard, 283
Berylla, Peter, 186
Beschi, 230
Bespopowtschini, 222
Besser, 323, 373
Bethmann-Holweg, 299, 315
Beuggen, 322
Beyschlag, 314
Beza, 112, 149, 150
Bibles, annotated, 323
Bible Societies, 322
Biblical Theol., Roman Cath., 238
Bickell, 299, 332
Bienemann, Caspar, 144
Bilderdijk, 342
Billik, 95
Billroth, 364
Birken, v., 206
Bitzius, 303
Blandrata, 159
Blaurer, 49, 79, 149
Bleek, 370
Blondel, 212, 216
Blount, 226
Blumhart, 333
Bobadilla, 163
Bochart, Samuel, 215
Bockelson, 81
Bodin, Jean, 159
Bogatzky, 248, 251
Böhm, Charles, 411
Böhme, Jacob, 203–4
Böhme, Martin, 144
Bohemia, 125, 177, 336
Böhmer, Justus Henning, 247
Bohemian Brethren, 125
Boleyn, Anna, 119
Bolingbroke, 278
Bolland, 194
Bollandists, 194
Bolsec, Jerome, 112
Bona, Card., 194
Bonfrere, 193
Boniface Society, 385
Book of Common Prayer, 120
Book Society of Berlin, 322
Boos, Martin, 381
Bora, Catharine, v., 59
Börner, 238
Bordelum sect, 273
Borgia, Francis, 164
Borromeo, Charles, 169
Borromeo Society, 385
Bossuet, 181, 185, 190, 193, 231
Botskai, Stephen, 126
Bourdaloue, 194
Bourignon, 190
Bouthillier de Rancé, 187
Boyle, Robert, 226
Brandenburg, 86, 182
Brandt, 323
Braniss, 297
Brazil, 171
Braun, John, 216
—— Josiah, 387
Breckling, 221
Breithaupt, 200
Bremen, 56, 152
Brendel, Dan., 108, 173
Brentano, 302, 380
Brenz, John, 69, 72, 142, 146
Brest, Synod of, 174
Brethren, Christ. school, 187
Bretschneider 298, 358
Breviarum Romanum, 167
Bridaine, 194
Briegel, 209
Brischar, 386
Broad Church party, 331
Brochmand, 201
Brown, Thomas, 226
Browne, Robert, 120
Bruccioli, 127
Brück, Dr., 75
Brücker, 251
Bruder, 200
Brüggeler's sect, 273
Bruno, Giordano, 156
Brunsfeld, Otto, 50
Brunswick, 56, 91
Bucer, 44, 69, 72, 82, 88, 89, 92, 119
Buchanan, 414
Buchel, 274
Buchführer, George, 58
Buddeus, 245
Buffalo, Synod Lutheran, 351
Bugenhagen, 50, 56, 79, 118, 142
Bülau, St., 118
Bullinger, 83, 113
Bundschuh, the, 45
Bunsen, 314, 319, 371
Büren, 152
Burmann, 216
Burnet, Gilbert, 211
Buscher, Statius, 198
Busenbaum, Hermann, 165
Buttlar, the sect, 273
Buxtorf, 212, 214
Byron, 303

Cabet, 416
Cajetan, Cardinal, 34
Calas, Jean, 230
Calazanze, 186
Calderon, 199
Calender, Reform of, 162
Calixtus, Geo., 180, 201
—— Ulrich, 198
Callenberg, 252
Calmet, 238
Calov, 198, 200, 201, 204
Calw. publication soc., 322
Calvin, 109, etc.

Calvinism, 318
Camerarius, 146
Camisards, 178
Campanella, 222
Campanus, 158
Campe, 280
Campeggio, 50, 51, 74
Camp-meetings, 349
Canisius, 168
Canova, 305
Canstein, 250.
Canticles, 206
Canus, 168
Canz. 246
Capellus, 212, 214
Capito, 44, 63, 69, 150
Cappadose, 342
Cappel, peace of, 67
Capuchins, 166
Caraffa, 165
Cardley, 314
Carl, Dr., 271
Carlstadt, 35, 42, 43, 69, 117
Carmelites, barefooted, 166
Carpentarius, 58
Carpzov, J. B., 199, 246
—— J. G., 245
Casas, Las, 171
Casimir of Brandenburg, 52
—— Berleburg, 270
Caspare, 374
Cassander, 172
Cassel Colloquy, 183
Castellio, Sebastian, 112, 150
Castellus, 214
Catharine of Arragon, 119
—— de Medici, 122
—— II. of Russia, 234
Catechism, Heidelberg, 151
—— Lutheran, 55
—— Roman, 167
Chaise, la, 189
Chalmers, 341
Chalybäus, 296
Chamier, 216
Chandler, 278
Channing, of Boston, 406
Chantal, 186
Charles V., Emperor, 82
Charles I., II., of England, 179, 184
—— IX. of France, 123
—— IX. of Sweden, 116
—— XX. " 230
—— Albert of Sardinia, 393
—— Alexander of Würtem., 231
Chateaubriand, 238
Chatel, Abbé, 383
Chemnitz, 133, 134, 138, 142, 146
Cherbury, 225
Chierégati, 49
Children, Praying, 461
China, 170, 172, 188, 326
Chinese mission, 188
Chlistowtschini, 222
Choral music, 145, 320
Christian II. III., 117
Christian Germ. Society, 292
Christians, 275
Christiern II. of Denmark, 115
Christopher of Würtem., 78
Chubb, 278
Chytræus, 146
Cistercians, 166
Clara, Abr. de St., 194
Clarenbach, 58
Clarke, 225
Claude, 212
Claudius, Matthew, 288
—— of Savoy, 159
Clausen, Prof., 342
Clausenberg, diet of, 126
Clausnitzer, 205
Clement VIII., 167, 192
—— XIII., XIV., 233, 324
—— F. J., 389
Clericus (le Clerc), John, 215
Cluniacensians (Clugny), 229
Cocceius, 213, 214
Cochlæus, 60, 75
Cock, Henry de, 342
Codde, 232
Cœna domini, bull, 234
Coleridge, 340
Coligny, 122
Collegia philobiblica, 199
Collegia pietatis, 199
Collegiate system, 247
Collegiants, 219
Collegium caritativum, 268
Collenbusch, 291
Collins, 278
Cöln, von, 359
Cologne, 92, 98, 173
Columbus, 170
Comenius, John Amos, 255
Communists, 415
Compactates, Basel, 63
Compromise, 121
Conception, immaculate, 378
Concord, Wittenberg, 82
—— Form of, 138
Condé, 122
—— Louisa de, 380
Confessio Augustana, (Augsburg), 74
—— Belgica, 121
—— Gallicana, 122
—— Hafnica, 117
—— Helvetica, I., 83
—— " II., 113
—— Hungarica, 126
—— Marchica, 183
—— Saxonica, 103
—— Scotica, 121
—— Sigismundi, 183
—— Tetrapolitana, 75
—— of Würtemburg, 103
Conference of Eisenach, 316, 319
—— Evangelical, 316
—— of Reichenbach, 317
Confederation, 314
Confutation of the Augsburg Conf., 75
Congregatio de auxil. 167
—— de propag. fidei, 187
Congregationalists, 120, 348
Conscientiarii, 226
Consensus Genev. et Tigurin, 113
—— Sendomir, 124
—— repetitus, 198
Consistories, 141
Constance, 107
Contarini, 89, 128
Contraremonstrants, 211

Converts to Romanism, 177, 231, 380
Convocation, London, 120
Cop, Nicholas, 111
Copenhagen, diet of, 117
Copernicus, 299
Coquerel, 344
Cornelius a Lapide, 193
—— the painter, 305
Corpus Cath. et Evang., 109
—— doctr. Pruthen., 184
Corvinus, 142
Cossart, 194
Costa, 342
Coster, 168
Coudrin, 386
Cour, Didier de la, 186
Courland, 118
Covenant, 184
Cowper, 292
Cramer, 289
Cranach, Louis, 142
Cranmer, 119
Crasselius, 248
Credner, K. A., 358, 371
Crell, J., 160
—— Nicholas, 139
Creuger, 300
Critici, sacra, 214
Cromwell, 184
Cruciger, 102
Crüger, Crusius William, 359
Crusius, Martin, 129
—— Chr. Augustus, 281
Culling, Eardley, 314
Cunæus, 215
Cuvier, 298
Cyprian, Solomon Ernest, 245, 268
Czenger, council at, 126
Czersky, 383

Dach, Simon, 193, 205
Daillé, 212, 216
Daniel, 319
Dannecker, 305
Dannenmayer, 237
Dannhauer, 201
Dantzic, 124
Danz, 360
Darby, 412
Daub, 363
Daumer, 381
David, Christian, 252
David, Sultan, 171
Davy, 298
Deaconess Institute of Kaisersw., 322
Decius, Nicholas, 143
Decker, 145
Deism, 225, 278
Delitsch, 317, 374
Demetrius, Pseudo, 175
Denck, 158
Denecke, 202
Denicke, 205
Denmark, 116, 117, 342
Dentzinger, 390
Dernbach, Balth. v., 173
Descartes, 212, 223
Deseret, (Territory of), 413
Dessau Conference, 52
Dessler, 248
Deutinger, 390
Deutschmann, 241
De Valenti, 299, 322
Devay, 126
De Wette, 358
Deyling, 245
Diaz, 95
Diderot, 236
Didier de la Cour, 186
Didymus, Gabriel, 42
Dieckhoff, 317, 373
Diepenbrock, 302
Dieringer, 390
Diestel, 408
Diesterweg, 304
Dietenberger, 168
Dietrich, 145
—— Veit, 142
Dinter, 304
Dippel, 272
Disputation at Baden, 65
—— Basel, 63
—— Berne, 65
—— Leipsic, 35
—— Zurich, 62
Dissenters, 120
Dober, Leonard, 247, 260, 266
Döderlein of Jena, 284
Dodwell, 216
Döllinger, 300, 391
Domenichius (the painter), 169
Dominicans, 49, 188
Dominus ac red., 233
Döring, 302
Dorner, 368
Dornum, Ulric v., 56
Dorpat, 374
Dort, Synod of, 211
Drechsler, 374
Dreckmeyer, Henry, 182
Dresden Miss. Society, 324
Drese, Adam, 207, 249
Drey, 390
Droste-Hülshof, 302
—— -Vischering, 387, 401
Drummond, 409
Drusius, 214
Dubois, 232
Duchoborzens, 239
Dumpler, 315
Dunin, Archbishop, 402
Dürer, A., 142
Düsseldorf school of painting, 305
Düsselthal, 304
Duvergier, 191

East India Missions, 170, 230, 251, 266, 325
Ebel, 408
Ebeling, 208
Eber, Paul, 102, 142
Eberhard, 280, 283
Eberlin, of Günzb., 49
Ebrard, 318, 338, 367
Eck, 34, 35, 38, 65, 75, 89, 168.
Eccart, 145
Edelmann, 278
Edward VI., 119
Egede, Hans, 252
Egidius, Juan, 127
Egypt, 171
Eichhorn, J. G., 283
—— preacher, 333
Eichsfeld, 173
Eisenach Conference, 316
Eisenmeyer, 215
Eliä, Paul, 119
Elizabeth of Brandenburg, 58
—— of Calenberg, 87
Eller, Elias, 274
Eliot, John, 217
Eltester, 371
Elvenich, 387, 388
Elzevir, 214
Emancipation bill, 396

Emilie, Julianna, 248
Emmerich, Catharine, 381
Ems Punctuation, 234
Emser, Jerome, 40, 168
Encyclopedists, 236
Enfantin, 415
Engelbrechtsen, 118
England, 119, 338, 396
English ladies, the, 187
Engstfeld, 302
Ennemoser, 299
Enzina, 127
Episcopal system, 246
Episcopius, 210
Erasmus, 38, 46
Erbkam, 329
Erich of Calenberg, 96
Ernesti, 281
Ernestine Bible, 209
Ernest the Pious, 209
Ernest of Lüneberg, 52
Esch, John, 58
Eschatology, 244
Espinasse, 345
Esthonia, 118
Estius, 168
Euler, 284
Evangelical Alliance, 313
—— for Germany, 314
—— Church diet, 314
—— Church party, England, 339
Evangelist schools, 322
Ewald, H., 350, 371
—— Miss. among the Jews, 325
Eyth, 304

Faber, John, 65, 75
—— Peter, 163
Fagius, 119
Familists, 156
Fanatics in Germany, 270
Farel, 64, 109–10
Fathers of the oratory of Jesus, 186
Febronius, 137
Fecht, 241
Federal theology, 213
Feine, 252
Fénélon, 190
Ferdinand I., 50, 51, 82, 89, 125, 126, 172
—— II., 173, 177
Ferdinand IV. (I.) of Naples, 377
Ferrara, Renata de, 127
Feuerbach, 296, 364
Feuillants, 166
Fichte, 286, 295
Fink, Solomon, 182
Finkenstein, 408
Finnland, 117
Firmian, Count, Archb., 230
Fischart, 147
Fischer, 297
Fisher, Bishop, 119
Flacius, M., 132, 136, 146
Flatt, J. Fr. v., 360
Flechier, 194
Flemming, Paul, 205
Flemingians, 218
Fletcher, 267
Fleury, 193, 232
Fliedner, 232, 322
Florencourt, F. v., 381
Flysteden, 58
Forbes, Bishop, 341
Formula Concordiæ, 138
—— Consens. Helv., 212
Förster, 146
Fouqué, M. de la, 300
Fourier, 416
Fox, George, 219
France, 122, 178, 233, 344, 395
Francis I. II. of France, 82
Francis of Paris, 232
Franciscans, 49
Franck, John, 206
—— Sebastian, 156
Francke, Aug. Hermann, 199, 244, 250, 279
—— Henry, 251
Frankfort suspension, 85
Fransoni, 393
Frederick I. of Prussia, 215
—— II., 234, 279, 280
—— III., 280, 310
—— William IV., 311, 327, 402
—— II., III., IV. of the Palatinate, 89, 95, 151, 152
—— I. of Denmark, 117
Frederick Augustus the Strong, 180
—— the Magnanimous, 78
—— the Wise, 35
—— William of Brandenb., 183
Free Congregations, 308
—— Church of Scotland, 341
—— Ch. of Vaud, 334
Freemasons, 277
Freethinkers, 225, 279
Freiligrath, 301
Freilinghausen, 248, 249, 250
French Convention, 235, 236
—— Directory, 235
—— Evangel. Soc., 322
—— National Ass., 235
—— Reformed Ch., 344
—— Revolution, 235
Fresne, du, 194
Freundsberg, 71
Freyburg, 64
Friedenstein, convention at, 52
Friends (Quakers), 220
—— of Light, 308
Fries, 295, 342, 356
Friesland, 124
Frith, 119
Fritsch, Ahasuerus, 203
Fritsche, K. Fr. A., 358
—— O. F., 360
Froment, Anthony, 110
Fröreisen, 257
Fry, Elizabeth, 322
Fulda, 173
Funk, John, 134

Gabler, Th. A., 283
—— Andrew, 364
Gabriel, Didymus, 42
Gætano de Thiène, 165
Galenists, 218
Galenus de Hæn, 218
Gall, St., 64, 65, 66
Galle, 117
Gallican Church, liberty of, 185
Gallitzin, 289
Garve, Christ., 280
—— K. B., 302
Gass, 371

Gassner, 236
Gebhard of Cologne, 109, 174
Geffken, 320
Geibel, 302
Geier, 200
Geissel, 388
Gellert, 287, 290
General Synod, Prussian, 327
—— Baptists, 219
Geneva, Consensus of, 110, 112, 113
—— Evang. Society of, 345
—— Reformed Church, 334
Gentilis, Val., 159
George of Anhalt, 79
—— of Brandbg., 58, 74
—— of Saxony, 36, 57, 85
Gerhard, John, 200, 203
Gerhardt, Paul, 183, 206
Gerike, John, 183
—— Paul, 125
Gerlach, Ludwig, 307, 376
—— Otto, v., 323
—— Stephen, 129
St. Germain, Peace of, 122
German Philosophy, 286
—— Catholic Church, 384
Gervinus, 371
Gesenius, Justin, 205
Gfrörer, 300, 381
Gichtel, John, 204, 221
Gieseler, 360, 371
Giessen, 182, 332
Gil (Egidius), Juan, 127
Gildermeister, 383
Glapio, 39
Glarus, 64
Glassius, 200
Glaubrecht, O., 303
Gobat, 325
Göbel, 318
Gobet, 236
Godeau, 193
Gomarus, 210
Goodwin, 215
Gorham, 340
Görres, Guido, 300, 302
—— Joseph, 382
Göschel, 296, 298, 316, 363, 364, 375
Göschen, 299
Gossner, 324, 326, 381
Goethe, 287, 300
Gotter, A., 248
Gotteskasten, 312
Gotthelf, Jeremiah, 303
—— Gottingen, 56
Götze, 285
Grabau, pastor, 351
Granvella, 89
Gras, Louisa le, 186
Gratias, Ort, 35
Graumann, 143
Grebel, Conrad, 65
Greece, 403, 404
Greeks, United, 174, 404
Greenland, 252, 324
Gregory XIII., 123, 162, 174
—— XV., 185, 188
—— XVI., 378
—— Christian, 264
Grimm, William, 360
Griesbach, 282
Gröninger, 342
Groot, Hofstede de, 342
Gropper, 89, 92
Grotius, 200, 215
Gruber, E. L., 271
Grubenhagen, 53
Grumbach, A. v., 50
Gruntvig, pastor, 342
Grüneisen, 319, 320
Grynæus, Simon, 82
Guantalla, Countess de, 166
Guericke, 308, 316, 372
Guido, Reni, 169
Guise, 121, 122
Guizot, 344
Günther, Anthony, 388
—— Cyriacus, 207
Günzburg, Eberlin of, 49
Gustavus Adolphus slain, 177
—— —— Society, 312
Güterslok, 304
Gützlaff, 326
Gutzkow, 353
Guyon, Mad., 190, 270
Gymnasia, 304

Haag, 334
Haas, Joseph, 406
Hadrian II., 49
Hagenau, 88, 89
Hagenbach, C. R., 367
Hahn, Aug., 307, 361
—— Michael, 290
—— Missionary, 325
Hahnenfeld, G. v., 408
Hahn-Hahn, Ida, 380
Hakspan, 200
Haldane, 275
Haldanites, 275
—— Orphan House, 250
—— University of, 190, 191
Haller, Berthold, 64, 65
—— Albert, 284, 298
—— Lewis, 298, 380
Halt, 284
Hamann, 288
Hamburg, 56, 137
Hamilton, Patrick, 120
Hammerschmidt, 208
Hanau, 332
Händel, 250
Hänlein, 283
Hanover, 330
Hardenberg, 137, 152
Harless, 317, 330, 337, 373
Harms, Claus, 317, 372
Harnack, Theodosius, 317, 373
Hase, Charles, 307, 356, 371
Hasenkamp, 291
Hasenpflug, 332
Hassler, Leo, 145
Hattemisten, 276
Hauber, 320
Haug, 271
Hauge, Niels, 292, 343
Hausmann, Nicholas, 79
Hävernick, 363
Haydn, 305
Haynau, 336
Heart of Jesus, worship of, 229
Hebel, 288, 303
Heber, Bishop, 326
Hedinger, 271
Hedio, Caspar, 63
Heermann, J., 205
Hefele, 391
Hegel, 296, 298
Hezelians, Young, 297
Heidanus, 216

Heidegger, 212, 216
Heidelberg Catechism, 151, 152
Heideloff, 304
Heim, J., 64
Heine, Henry, 301, 415
Heinrichs, 283
Held, H., 205
—— Vice-Chancellor, 84
Helding, Michael, 100
Helmbold, 144
Helmstädt, 198
Helsen, 383
Helvetic Confession, I., 83
Helvetius, 236
Hengstenberg, 307, 315, 323, 329, 360
Henhöfer, 381
Henke, 283
Henkel, 332
Henry VIII. of England, 46, 60, 119
—— III. (of Anjou) of France, 124, 125
—— IV. of France, 123, 124
—— of Brunswick, 52, 92, 95
—— of Ketterback, 49
—— of Saxony, 86
Henschen, 194
Hensel, Louisa, 302
Heppe (of Marburg), 318, 369
Herbart (of Königsberg), 297
Herberger, 144, 203
Herbert, Edward, 225
Herbst, 186
Herder, 285
Hermann, Nicholas, 144
—— of Wied, Elector, 80, 92
Hermannsberg, 325
Hermes, 387
Hermits of the Min. Br., 166
Herrnschmidt, 248
Herwegh, 301
Hess, John Jacob, 285
Hessen, 182, 285, 332, 399
Hessels, 167
Hesshus, 151, 152
Hetairia, the Greek, 402
Hetzer, 65, 158
Heubner, 360
Heusenstaur, Sebastian of, 95
Heyling, Peter (Missionary), 209
Hezel, J. W. F. (of Dorpat), 282
Hicks, Elias, 220
High-Churchmen, 339
Hildesheim, 174
Hilgenfeld, 365, 366
Hille, J. G., 249
Hiller, 249
Himioben, 385
Hintze, Jacob, 208
Hippel, 289
Hirschberger Bible, 251
Hirscher, 382, 387
Hitzig, 359, 374
Hobbes, 225
Hochmann, 270
Hoe v. Hoenegg, 183
Hofacker, 275
Hoffman, Melchior, 118
—— in Riesen, 333
—— Fr., 388
Hofmann, 317, 374
Hofmeister, 64
Höfling, 317, 373
Hofstede de Groot, 342
Hohenlope, 381
Holbach, 236
Holbein, 142
Holland s. Netherlands.
Holleaz, 245
Hollenberg, 366
Holstensius, 194
Holy League, 83
Homburg, 55
—— Christ., 206
Home Missions, 320, 322
—— Congress for, 321
Honter, Jacob, 126
Hontheim, 234
Hoogstraten, 14
Hooper, John, 411
Hoornbeck, 215, 216
Höpfner, 183
Horch, G., 276
Horneius, 201
Hospital, L', 122
Hottinger, 214
Houbigant, 238
Huber, Samuel, 140
Hübmeier, 64, 65
Huetius, 193
Hufnagel, 283
Hug, L., 387
Huguenots, 122
Hüglin, 58
Hugo, Victor, 302
Hülsemann, 180, 196
Hulsius, 216
Humanists, 35, 127
Humboldt, Alex. v., 299
Hume, 278
Hundeshagen, 367
Hunnius, Algid., 140
—— Nicholas, 201
—— Ulric. 193
Hurter, 299, 300, 380
Huschke, 317
Husites, Bohemian, 36, 125
Huther, 370
Hutten, Ulric v., 35, 36, 37, 64
Hutter, L., 183, 200
Hymnology, 142, 289
Hyperius, 150, 182, 225
Hypocrites (sect of), 408

Iceland, 118
Illgen, 360
Illuminati, 236, 91
Illumination, 235, 277
Immaculate Conception, 378
Impostores, tres, 159
Independent, 120, 348
Index Prohibitarum, 162
Indulgences, 32
Infants, Asylum for, 332
Infralapsarians, 210
Ingolstadt, 173
Innocent X. XI. XII. 185
Inspired, the, 271
Interim, 100, 101
Ireland, 128, 339, 396
Irving, Edward, 409
Isabella of Spain, 393–4
—— Zapoyla, 126
Isenbiehl, 237
Isenburg, 325
Israelites, New, 406
Italy, 127–8, 345, 392
Itinerants, French, 322
Ittig, 201

Jablonsky, 256
Jacob III. of Baden, 180

Jacobi, Fr. H., 288
Jacoby, 350
Jacobson, 299
Jahn, Gustavus, 302, 303
—— John, 238
James I. II. of England, 156, 179, 184, 238
Jänike, 324
Janow, Matthias of, 86
Jansen, Cornelius, 191
Jansenists, 191, 231
Japan, 326
Jarcke, 380
Jay, Le, 192
Jean, Paul, 288
Jedinowerzen, 221
Jena, University of, 133, 198, 332
Jeremiah II., Patriarch, 129
Jerusalem, F. W., 283
—— Evang., see of, 325
—— New, Church, 407
Jesuits, 163, 172, 379
—— Order abolished, 233
—— restored, 377
Jews in England, 340
Joachim I. of Brandb., 58
—— II., 90, 100
John III. of Portugal, 228
—— V., of Port., 90, 100
—— George of Anhalt-Dessau, 152
—— Casimir, 152
—— de Dio, 166
—— Elector, 78
—— Ernest, 152
—— Frederick of Saxony, 78
—— of the Cross, 166
—— of Leyden, 157
—— Presbyter, 77
—— Sigismund, 182
Jonas of Berlin, 371
—— Justus, 40, 72, 74, 76, 142
Jones, David, 325
Jörg, E., 299, 382
Joris, D., 156, 157
Joseph I. of Austria, 228, 379
—— II. of Aust. 234, 238
Juda, Leo, 63, 83, 150
Juliana of Rudolst., 248
Julian de Medici, 50
Jüliers-Cleve-Berg, 178
Julius III., 162
Jumpers, 275
Jung-Stilling, 288
Junius, Francis, 150
Jus circa sacra, 228
Jüterbock, 34
Juvenile asylums, 321

KADAN, PEACE OF, 78
Kahnis, 317, 373
Kaiserswerth, 322
Karg Controversy, 138
Käser, 58
Kaulbach, 305
Keerl, 323
Keil, 375
Keith, G., 219
Keller, 399
Kellner, 311
Kempen, Stephen, 49
Kepler, 298
Kerner, Justin, 310
Kessler, 43, 64
Kettelar, Baron v., 399
Kettenbach, 49
Kettler, Gotth., 118
Keymann, 206
Keyser, Jacob, 67
Kirschenhardhof, 333
Klebitz, 137, 151
Klee, 390
Kleuze, 304
Kleuker, 284
Kliefoth, 317, 319, 320, 373
Klopstock, 287, 289
Kluge, 323
Knack, G., 302
Knapp, Alb., 195, 302, 319
—— G. Chr., 284
Kneeling Order, 336
Knipperdolling, 81
Knobel, 359, 371
Knöpken, 118
Know-Nothings, 348
Knox, 121
Knutzen, 226
Kocher, 320
Kodde, 219
Kohlbrügge, 319
Kohler, Gabr., 273
Kolb, Fr., 64
Kolping 386
König, 201
Königsberg, 198
Koppe, 283
Köppen, Albert, 284, 417
Kornthal, 332
Kortholt, 201
Kottwitz, 360
Krabbe, O., 317, 373
Krafft, 336
Krapf, 325
Krause, 371
Krauth, 350
Krechting, 81
Kreuser, 385
Krüdener, 309, 334
Krummacher, Fr. Ad., 318
—— Fr. W., 314, 318
—— G. D., 318
Kugelmann, 145
Kuhlmann, 221
Kuhn, 390

LABADIE, 220
Labbie, 193
Labrador, 324
La Combe, 190
Ladenberg, 328
Ladies, English, 187
Lainez, 122, 163
Lamartine, 302
Lambert of Avignon, 49 55, 62
Lamennais, 382
Lämmer, Hugo, 381
Lammists, 218
Lampe, Fred. Ad., 269
Lamy, 193
Lancelot, 201
Langbecker, 183
Lange, John P., 302, 367
—— Joachim, 244, 248
Lankisch, 200
Lapland, 148, 324
Lardner, 278
Läsare, 342
Lasco, John à, 119, 124
Latitudinarians, 211
Latter-day Saints, 412
Laufen, 78
Laurentii, 207
Lavater, 285, 288
Layritz, 319, 320
Lazarists, 186
Lazaro, St., 229

Leade, Jane, 220
League, Holy, 83, 123
Lee, A., 276
Legacy bill, 269, 395
Lehmus, 248
Lehr, Fr., 248
Leibnitz, 181, 223
Leipsic Interim, 135
—— Gen. Convoc., 383
—— Relig. Confer., 183
Leland, J., 269, 278
Lemgo, 80, 182
Lenau, Nicholas, 302
Lengerke, 360
Leo X., 32, 38, 39
—— XII., 377
—— Henry, 300
Leopold I., 181
—— of Tuscany, 235
Lepp, 300
Less, 284
Lessing, Ephr., 282
—— Charles Fr., 287, 305
Lestrange, Henry de, 380
Letters of Majesty, 125
Lewis V. of Hessen, 182
—— of Hungary, 126
—— VI. of the Palat., 152
Leydecker, 216
Leyden, John of, 157
Leyser, Polyc., 146, 183
Liberia, 325
Libertinism, 376
Liebig, 299
Liebner, 368
Light, Friends of, 308
Lightfoot, 214
Liguarians, 229, 379
Lilienthal, 284
Lindanus, William, 168
Lindberg, 342
Lippe, the principality, 182, 332
Lisco, 323
Liturgy, Prussian, 320
—— early Lutheran, 142
Livonia, 118, 177, 263, 346
Lobwasser, 149
Loci Communes, 43
Locke, 223, 278
Löffler, 283
Löhe, W., 317, 322, 337, 350, 373
Lohnmüller, 118
Lola Montes, 337
Long, Le, 238
Löscher, 241, 244, 248, 256
Louis XIII. of France, 178
—— XIV., 178, 185, 188, 232, 235
—— XV., XVI., 231
Louisa Henr. of Orange, 184, 217
Low Church party, 339
Löwenstern, 205
Loyola, 163, 185
Lübben, 184
Lübeck, 56
Lübker, 300
Lucaris, 176
Lücke, 367
Ludämilie Elisab., 206
Lüde, 273
Ludwig, 333
Luft, Hans, 60
Lüneberg, 54
Luther, 32, etc., 54, 143, etc.
Lutheran theology, 224
Lutherans, sep. Prussian, 116–17
Luthardt, 374
Lütkens, provost, 268
Lutterbeck, 388
Lucerne, 64
Lyons, 38
—— Union Society, 386

Mabillon, 194
Madagascar, 325
Madai, 346
Magdeburg, 53, 56
—— centuries, 147
Magnus of Mecklenb., 87
Maier, A., 391
Maintenon, 190
Maistre, J. de, 382
Major, G., 95, 135
Majorist Controversy, 135
Makowsky, 215
Malacani, 239
Malachi's, St., prophecy, 162
Maldonatus, John, 162
Malvenda, 89, 95
Mandeville, 278
Mansi, 238
Mantua, Council of, 83
Manuel, Nicholas, 64, 147
Manz, Fel., 65
Marburg Colloquy, 72
—— University of, 55
Marca, P. de, 194
Marck, J., 159
Maresius, 212, 215
Marezoll, 283
Margaret of Parma, 121
—— of the Saal, 88
Marheineke, 296, 364
Mariana, John, 165, 168
Marloratus, 150
Marot, Clement, 149
Marsay, 271
Marsden, 326
Martham, 215
Martene, 194
Martensen, 369
Martianay, 238
Martin, St., 238
Martin institut., 322
Martinuzzi, 126
Martyr, Peter, 150
Marx, 42
Mary of England, 119
—— Stuart, 121, 184
Masch, of Halle, 238
Massacre, the Irish, 179
—— of Stockholm, 115
—— of Thorn, 230
Massilon, 194
Matthias, Emp., 177
Mathys, 80, 81
Mathesus, 142, 144
Matthew, father, 396
Maulbroun formula, 139
Maurice of Hessen, 182, 217
—— of Orange, 121
—— of Saxony, 90, 97
Maurines, 186
Mauritius, 325
Maximilian II., Emp., 125, 126, 172
—— I. of Bavaria, 174
—— king, 337
Mayence, 38, 173
Mayer, Frederick, 241
Maynooth Bill, 396
Measures, new, 349
Mechitarists, 228
Mecklenburg, 87, 331
—— Schwerin, 402

Megerle, 194
Meissen, 91
Mejer, 299, 373
Mekhitar, 228
Melanchthon, 36, 72, 134, 136, etc.
Melanchthonian Church, 318
Melanchthon and Calvinism, 318
Mellisander (Brienemann), 144
Mendelsohn, 280
—— Barthold, 305
Mendez, 175
Menken, 291
Menno, Simon, 157
Mennonites, 157, 218
Menochins, 193
Mentjer, J., 249
—— Balth., 197
Menzel, Adam, 300
Mercerus, 150
Mercy, Brothers of, 186
—— Sisters of, 186
Merlean, Eleanor v., 270
Merle, d'Aubigne, 314
Merseburg, 50
Mesmer, 299
Messner, 366
Methodists, 267, 349
Mettrie (La), 236
Meyer, Fr. v., 299, 302
—— H. A. W., 370
—— Sebast., 64
Meyffart, 205
Michaelis, J. D., 281
—— J. H., 245
Michelians, 237
Michl, 237
Miguel, Don, 394
Miltiz, 37
Milton, 217
Minorites, 166
Missionary Institute of Hermansb., 324
—— Societies, 292, 323, 324, 384
Missions, Amer. Board of, 324
—— heathen, 187
—— Priests of, 186
Missouri Synod (Lutheran), 330, 350
Moderate Party, 338
Mogila, Peter, 176
Möhler, 390
Mokacz, battle of, 126
Molanus, 181
Moleschatt, 299
Molina, 167
Molinos, 189
Molitor, 388
Mollenhök, 81
Moller, M., 144
Momiers, 334
Momma, 215
Monads, 224
Moniteur, the, 345
Monod, 344
Montalte, L. de, 191
Montalto, Cardinal, 162
Montanus, Arias, 168
Montesquieu, 236
Montaubon, 150
Montpelier, 150
Moravians, 253, 256, etc., 323
More, Sir Thomas, 119
Morelschiki, the, 222
Morinus, 192
Mörlin, 134
Mormons, 412
Morrison, 326
Morrone, 89, 107
Mortara, 381
Morus, 284
Moser, J. J., 249, 251
Mosheim, 238, 245
Moulin, P. du, 212
Movers, 387
Möves, 302
Mozart, 305
Mucker, 408
Mühlberg, 91
Mühlenberg, 349
Mühlhausen, 45
Mühlheisen, 64
Mühler, 299
Müller, Adam, 380
—— H., 203
—— John v., 288
—— Julius, 368
—— Missionary, 326
Münchmeyer, 317
Mundt, Th., 415
Munich school of painters, 305
Münscher, 359
Munster, city of, 80, 81, 157, 174
—— Sebastian, 150
Münzer, 42, 44, 45, 65
Muratori, 238
Murner, the, 47, 65, 141
Musæus, John, 201
—— Simon, 152
Musculus, Andr., 138
—— Wolfg., 140
Music, 169, 239, 290, 305
Myconius (Mecum), 49
—— Oswald, 83
Mysos, Demetr., 129
Mysticism, German, 189, 202, 203

Nagelsbach, 300
Nantes, Edict of, 124, 178
Napoleon I., 231, 344, 376–7
—— III., 395
Nassau, 334
Nast, 351
Natalis, Alex., 193
Nathusius, Mary, 303
National Assem., French, 376
—— Convention, 235–6
Natives, 348
Natorp, 320
Naturalization, 225
Naumburg see, 91
Nauvoo, 412
Neander, Aug., 354, 360
—— Joachim, 217
Nebraska Bill, 348
Neobulus, 88
Neri, 166, 194
Netherlands, 126, 341, 396
—— Anabaptists, 218
Neuenberg, 67
Neumann, C., 269
Neumann, Caspar, 269
Neumark, G., 206
Neumeister, 241, 248
Nevin, J. W., 351
New Israelites, 406
—— Jerus. Church, 374
—— Zealand, 324
Newmann, 339, 340
Newton, 298
Nicole, 193
Nicolai Book-store, 280
—— Henry, 156
—— Philip, 144, 143

Nicolai, St., Church, 183
Nidda, 89
Niedner, 388
Niemeyer, 283, 304
Nikon, patriarch, 221
Nimpstch, 59
Nismes, Edict of, 178
Nitsch, G., 251, 328
Nitschmann, D., 256, 261
Nitzsch, 320, 326, 368
Noailles, 231, 232, 390
Nobili, 170
Nobreya, Eman., 171
Non-conformists, 184
Non-intrusionists, 341
North America, 347, 396
Norway, 118, 252, 291, 343
Nösselt, 284
Note-books (music), 320
Novalis, 301
Nuremberg, 56
—— Diet, 49, 50
—— League, 88, 90
—— Relig. Peace, 77, 82

Oates, Titus, 179–80
Oberlin, 288
Ochino, 119, 128, 166
O'Connell, 396
Odense, Diet of, 117
Œcolampadius, 64, 65, 72, 150
Œrebro, 116
Œrstedt, 299
Œrtel, Wm., 303
Œtengerl, 274
Oischinger, 390
Oldenbarnveld, 211
Oldenburg, 331
Olevian, Caspar, 151
Olevitanus, Rob., 110
Olshausen, 362, 408
Oncken (of Hamburg), 405
Opitz, 205
Oratories, 194
Oratory, Fathers of, 166, 186
—— Priests of the, 165
Organs, 145
Orlamünde, 43–4
Osiander, 52, 92, 134, 197
Osiandrian controversy, 134
Otterbein, 351
Ottheinrich, 92
Overbeck, 305
Owen, Robert, 407, 415
Oxford, 339

Pabst, J. H., 388, 389
Pachelbel, 209
Pack, O., 57, 70
Paderborn, 80, 168
Paëz, 175
Pagi, Anthony, 193
Pagninus Sanctus, 167
Painting, 305
Pajon, 212
Palatinate, the, 91, 151, 177–8
Palestrina, 167
Papebroch, 194
Paracelsus, 156
Paraguay, 188, 230
Parallel formulary, 328
Paris polyglott, 192
Parma, 233
Parker, Theodore, 406
Particular Baptists, 219
Pascal, 191, 193, 233
Passau, treaty of, 105
Passavant, 299
Paul III., 83, 162
—— V., 167, 185
—— Jean, 288
Paula, Vincent de, 186
Paulus, Dr., 358
Pax dissident., 125
Pearson, 214
Peasants' war, 65
Peith, 389
Pellicanus, 150
Penn, William, 220
Peretti, Felix (Sixtus V.), 162
Perkins (of Cambridge), 216
Perrone, 388
Pestalozzi, 289, 303
Pestavius, 193
Peter, Marg, 406
—— I. of Russia, 239
Petersen, J. W., 270
Peterson Brothers, 115
Petri, Adam, 317, 331
—— Olaus, 116
Petrowitsch, 239
Peucer, 137, 153
Peyrerius, 216
Pfaff, M., 245, 247, 268
—— Bible, the, 251
Pfefferkorn, 248
Pfeffinger, 136
Pfeiffer, Augustus, 200
Pfeil, L. v., 249
Pfenninger, 285
Pflugk, Julius v., 89, 91, 95, 100
Philadelphia Society, 226
Philip II. of Spain, 121, 127
—— of Anhalt, 79
—— of Hessen, 52, 78, 87, 88, 90, 182
Philippi, 317, 373, 374
Philippists, 132
Philipps, 299, 380
Philology, oriental, 214
Piarists, 186
Pick, Israel, 412
Picpus association, Paris, 386
Pideritz, 80
Piedmont, 178, 345
Pietism, 244
Pietistic controversy, 199, 241
Pilgrim Fathers, 348
Pin, du, 194
Pirstinger, 47, 168
Pischon, 371
Pistoja, Synod of, 229
Pitzipios of Scio, 404
Pius IV., 162
—— VI., 234, 235, 239
—— VII. VIII. IX., 377 378
—— Societie, 384
Place, La (Placæus), 212
Planck, 284, 360
Plater, Th., 64, 65
Platner, 280
Platon, 239
Plettenberg, 118
Plütschau, 251
Plymouth Brethren (Darbyites), 412
Pocci, 302
Pococke, 214
Podiebrad, 56, 270
Poiret, P., 190, 220
Poissy, Rel. Conf. at, 122
Pole, Matth., 214
Poliander, 144
Polozk, Synod of, 403

Polus, Reginald, 128
Polyglott Bibles, 168, 191, 214
Pomare, 326
Pombal, 233
Pomerania, 79
Pontian v. Hatten, 276
Pordage, 220
Porst, J., 251
Port Royal, 191
Portugal, 233, 394
Pöschl, 406
Possevin, 116, 174
Pott, Gebr., 271
—— Jul., 283
Præceptor Germ., 36
Prætorius, Jacob, 146
—— Jerome, 145
—— Stephen, 203
Pratt, Orson, 413
Prayer-meetings, 323
Pregeziani, 291
Presbyterians, 120, 348
Prierias, 34
Priestly, 406
Probabilism, 165
Professi, 164
Professio fid. Trid., 167
Prokopowicz, 239
Proli, 407
Propaganda, 188
Protestants, 71
Protestant Friends, 308
Proudhon, 416
Province of the Upper Rhine, 399
Prussia, 56, 327, 401
Prussian General Synod, 327
Publication Society of Caleo, 322
Puchta, 299
Pufendorf, Samuel, 247
Purists, 200
Puritans, 120, 218
Pusey, 340
Puseyites, 339

Quakers, 218, 219
Quedlinburg, 80
Quenstedt, 201
Quesnel, 231
Quietists, 189

Radama, R., 325
Rahtmann, 203
Racov Catechism, 160
Rambach, J. J., 248, 251
Ranavalona, 325
Rancé, 186
Rapp, G., 407
Rapperschwyl, 68
Raskolniken, 221
Rationalism, 277, 307, 357
Raumer, 298, 304, 319
Ravaillac, 124
Readers, 343
Rechenberg, 201
Recke, Volmarstein, Count, 321
Redemptorists (Liquarians), 229, 379
Redwitz, O., 302
Reformed Ch. Societies, 324
Refugiés, 178
Regensburg Colloq., 89, 95
—— Confeder., 57
—— Convent., 51
—— Diet, 77, 89
—— Interim, 90
—— Reformation of, 92
Regulations, Prussian, 304
ReichenbachConference, 317
Reichlin-Meldegg, 387
Reimarus, 282
Reinbeck, 246
Reinhard, Martin, 117
—— Fr. Volkm., 284, 366
Reinke, 391
Reland, 269
Remonstrants, 211
Renata of Ferrara, 111, 127
Renatus, Chr., 265
Repeal association, 396
Reservations, eccles. 108
Restitution, Edict of, 177
Reuchlin, 36
Reumann, 206
Reuss, Edw., 370
—— G., 249
Reussner, 144
Reuter, 366
Revivals, 347
Reybaud, 415
Rhaw, G., 145
Rhegius, Urb., 50
Reinthal, 68
Rheinthaler, 322
Rheinwald, 357, 366
Rheitmayer, 391
Rhynsburger, 219
Ricci, Lor., 233
—— Matth., 170
—— Scipio, 235
Richelieu, 178
Richter, Chr. Fr., 248–9
—— Fr., 364
—— Gregory, 204
—— in Barmen, 323
—— Ludw. A., 299
Ridley, 119
Rieger, 251
Riffel, 300
Riga, 118
Rigdon, Sidney, 413
Ring, Melchior, 116
Ringwald, 144
Ringeis, 299, 398
Rinkart, 205
Rio de Janeiro, 151
Rist, J., 205
Ritter, Erasmus, 64, 66
—— Charles, 300
Ritschl, 365
Robespierre, 236
Rock, Saddler, 271
Rodigast, 205
Rodriguez, Christopher, 171
—— Simon, 163
Rogasden, 304
Röhr, 308, 330, 357
Röll, Al., 212
Roman Cath. theol., 237
Romance literature, 300
Romano, F. S., 127
Ronge, John, 383
Ronsdorf sect, 274
Roos, M. Fr., 285
Rosamund of Asseb., 270
Rosenbach, 271
Roseukranz, Charles, 364
Rosenkreuger, 203
Rosenmüller, John, 208
—— J. G., 283
—— F. K., 360
Rosenroth, Knorr v., 206, 249
Rossi, de, 238
Rostock, 56
Rotach, league of, 72

Rothe, J. A., 249, 255
—— Charles, 411
—— Richard, 369
Rothenmoor, 317
Rothweil, 64
Rottmann, 80, 81
Röublin, William, 63
Rough House, Hamburg, 322
Rousseau, 236
Royko, 237
Rückert, Fr., 302, 371
Rudelbach, 317, 329, 372
Rudolf II., Emperor, 125, 126, 173, 177
Ruge, Arnold, 296
Ruinart, 194
Rumpf, 335
Rupp, 308, 312
Russel, Lord John, 340
Russia, 346; 403
Russian sects, 221

Sabbatarians, 219
Sach, F. A., 283
Sachs, Hans, 143, 147
Saghed, 175
Sagittarius, 201
Sailer, M., 237, 380, 381
Saints, Latter-day, 412
Sales, Fr. v., 106, 189, 191
Salesianesses, 186
Salle, J. B. de la, 187
Saller, 301
Salmasius, 216
Salmeron, Alphonso, 163
Salzburg, 230
Salzmann, 280
Sanchez, Thomas, 165
Sanctis, Dr. de, 346
Sand, George, 302, 356
Sandwich Islands, 326
Sardinia, 346, 393
Sarpi, P., 185, 194
Sartorius, 372
Saurin, 269
Savigny, 299
Saxony, Allenberg, 330
—— Elector of, 54, 329
Schade, Ch., 241
Schaff, Ph., 351
Schäffer, 350
Schaffhausen, 64–67
Schall, Adam, 188
Scha ler, 364
Schalling, 144
Scharnabeck Diet, 56
Schärtlin, 97
Schefer, Leop., 301
Scheffler, 189
Schegg, 391
Scheibel, 189, 336, 372
Scheidemann, 145
Schein, 207
Schelling, 287, 297
Schelwig, 240
Schenck, 302
Schenkel, 367
—— Daniel, 334
Schenkendorf, 301
Scherlock, 278
Scherzer, 201
Scheurl, 299
Schiebler, K. W., 204
Schiller, 287
Schinkel, 304
Schirmer, 206
Schlachtorp, 80
Schlatter, Michael, 349
Schlegel, F., 301, 380
—— J. Ad., 289
Schleiermacher, 274, 298, 353, 367
Schleswig, 56, 343
Schlichtling, 160
Schlottmann, 311
Schmid, Leop., 388, 399
Schmidt, Chr., 360
—— Christopher, 303
—— Erasmus, 200
—— Lorenzo, 279
—— Sebastian, 200
Schmieder, 323
Schmolcke, 249, 251
Schmucker, 350
Schneckenburger, 367
Schneesing, 143
Schneider, Th., 366
Schnepf, 69, 78
Schnorr, 305
Scholastics, 164
Schönherr, 408
School-Brethren, Christian, 187
—— Sisters, poor, 380
Schöp, 208
Schröckh, 285
Schröder, J. H., 248
Schubert, G. H. v., 289, 298, 303
Schuderoff, 283
Schulteus, 269
Schulz of Gielsdorf, 280
—— David, 359
—— Stephen, 252
Schulze, 283
Schurmann, 220
Schütz, H., 208
—— Jacob, 207
Schwabach Artt., 72
—— convent, 72
Schwarz, Chr. Fr., 233
—— Charles, 330
Schwenkfeld, 155
Schwerin, 328
Scotland, 120
—— Established Church, 341
—— Free Ch., 341
Scriver, 203
Scultetus, Martin, 56
Sebastian of Heusenst., 95
Seckendorf, 201
Sects, 218
Seculars, 164
Sedan, 150
Segned, 175
Seidel, 302
Seiler, 285
Selden, 215
Selle, 208
Selnecker, 138, 144, 146
Semler, 281
Sendonier consens., 124
—— Synod of, 124
Senfl, L., 145
Sengler, 390
Sepp, 302
Serrarius, Nich., 168
Servetus, 159
Seventh-day Baptists, 219
Severius, Wolfg., 173
Shaftesbury, 278, 314
Shakers, 275
Sherlock, 278
Sibour, 304
Siccardi, 393
Sickingen, 36, 43, 63
Sierra Leone, 324
Sigismund of Brandb., 182
—— I. of Poland, 116, 124
—— Aug., 124
—— Aug. III., 125

Silesia, 54, 177, 228
Simon, Richard, 192–3
—— VI., VII., of Lippe, 182
Simon, St., 415
Simons, Menno, 157
Simson, 360
Sintenis, 308
Sirmond, 194
Sixtina editio, 192
Sixtus V., 162, 192
—— of Siena, 168
Skopsi, 222
Slave-trade, 171,324,348
Smalcald Articles, 83, 84
—— League of, 81
—— War, 96
Smets, 302
Smith, Joseph, 412
Socialism, 415
Socinians, 160, 184
Socinus, 160
Soest Reformat., 80
Sohr, P., 208
Sollicitudo Omnium, 379
Sollure, 68
Solothurn, 67
Somnambulism, 299
Sonderbund war, 403
Southcote, 406
Sozzini, 158
Spain, 126, 223, 345, 393
Spalatin, 74, 142
Spalding, 283
Spangenberg, 262
Spanheim, 212, 216
Spee, Fr., 195
Spencer, 215
Spener, 198, 203
Spengler, Laz., 56, 142
Speratus, 143
Spiegel, Archb., 401
Spiera, Fr., 128
Spinola, 198
Spinoza, 222
Spires, 53, 88, 94
Spirit rappings, 299
Spiritualism, 348
Spitta, 302
Spittler, 283
Springer sect, 406
Stach, 252
Stackhouse, 269
Stahl, 299, 376
Stancarus, 134
Stapfer, 269
Staphylus, 134, 172.
Starck, Benj., 245
Starke, Christopher, 251
Staroobradzi, 221
Starowerzi, 221
Staudenmayer, 390
Stäudlin, 284, 360, 391
Staufen, Argul., 50
Staupitz, 33
Stegmann, 205
Steiger, 363
Stein, Freih. v., 307
Steinbart, 280, 283
Steinbühler, 237
Steinmetz, Abbot, 251, 257
Stephan, Martin, 329
Stephanists, 329
Steudel, 360
Stier, 319, 323, 363
Stilling, 288
Stip, 319
Stirner, 416
Stobäeus, 145
Stöber, 303
Stockfleth, 209, 324
Stolz, Alban., 303
Stöhr, Seb., 65
Stollberg, L. v., 231
—— Amette v., 87
Storch, Nich., 42
Storr, 284, 360
Strassburg, 344, 345
Strauch, 198
Strauss, 296, 335, 364, 375
—— Victor, 302
Strigel, Victor, 146
Stuart, Mary, 121, 184
—— Moses, 348
Stübner, 42
Sture, Sten, 115
Sturm, Jul., 302
Sue, Eugene, 302
Sumists, 218
Supernaturalists, 360
Supralapsarians, 210
Swabian league, 78
Sweden, 115
Swedenborg, 270, 274
Switzerland, 63–68, 212
Sydow, 376
Syncretism, 198
Synergists, 135
Synod, Holy directing, 239
Table-moving, 299
Tafel, 275
Tahiti, 326
Tamul New Test., 251
Tasso, 169
Tauber, Casper, 58
Tausen, Hans, 117
Taute, 297
Teachers' Bible, 323
Teetotallers, 396
Tegetmeier, 118
Teller, Abr., 280, 283
—— Rom., 251
Tellier, Le, 231
Templers, New, 407
Tennhardt, 270
Territorial system, 246
Tersteegen, 269
Test-act, 179, 184
Tetzel, 32
Theatines, 165
Theiner, Augustine, 379
Thenius, Otto, 360
Theophilanthropists, 236
Theophylact of Moscow, 239
Theosophy, 203
Theresa, 166
Thibaut, 299, 320
Thiersch, 375
Thilo, 205
Tholuck, 360
Thomas Institute, 345
Thomasius, Christian, 200, 244, 247
—— Gottfr., 317, 373
Thomassinus, 193
Thorn, declaration of, 125, 180
—— Lampert, 58, 198
—— massacre of, 230
—— religious colloquy, 180
Thorwaldsen, 305
Thurgovia, 67, 68
Tiedge, 307
Tieftruck, 283
Tieck, 300
Tienti, 326
Tigurine consensus, 118
Till, Solomon, 216
Tillemont, 193
Tillotson, 211
Tmann, 152
Tindal, Matth., 278
Tindale, William, 119

Tippleskirch, 408
Tirinus, 193
Tischendorf, 370
Titian, 169
Tithe-bill, 396
Title-bill, 397
Tittman, 360
Tobler, 283
Toggenburg, 67
Toland, 278
Toleration-act, England, 184
—— patent, 328
Toletus, 165
Töllner, 281
Torelli, Louisa, 166
Torgau articles, 74
—— Book, 138
—— League, 52–3
Tournon, 188
Tract societies, 322
Transylvania, 126
Trappists, 186, 379, 380
Tremellius, 150
Trent, Council of, 94, 164
Trepton Diet, 79
Treves, 173
Tridentinæ prof. fid., 167
Trolle, Gustavus, 115
Tschirner, 360
Tübingen, 79
—— Jahrbücher, 365
Tuch, 359
Tucher, 320
Tuchfeldt, 270
Tunkers, 275
Turretin, Alphonso, 269
—— Fr., 212, 216
Tuscany, 346
—— Leopold of, 235
Twesten, 368
Tyndale, 119

Ubiquitism, 137
Uhland, 301
Uhlich, 308
Ulenberg, 192, 193
Ulmann, 334, 366, 368
Ulrich of Dornum, 56
—— Würtemb., 78
Ulrici, 297
Ultramontism, 344, 376, 381
Umbreit, 366, 368, 370, 376
Uniformity, act of, 120
Unigenitus, 231
Union, Form of, 138
—— N. German, 322
—— Protestant, 310
—— schemes, 176, 183
United Brethren, 351
—— Greeks, 174, 403–4
Unitarians, 158, etc., 405, etc.
Unitas Fratrum, 253, etc.
Univers, the, of Paris, 345
Upsala, Disputat. of, 116
Urban VIII., 175, 185
Urlsperger, John, 292
Ursinus, Zacharias, 151, 268
Ursulines, 166
Usher, 215
Utah, 413
Utrecht, Church of, 232

Vadian, 64, 66
Valais, 64
Valdez, 126, 128
Valenti, de, 299
Valer, Rodr., 126
Valette, la, 233
Valsanite, 380
Vanne, St., Congreg. of, 186
Variata, C. A., 133
Vasa, Gustavus, 114, 148
Vasquez, 165
Vassar, 193
Vaud, 334
Vega, Lope de, 195
Veeze, J. v., 85
Veith, 305, 389,
Veltline massacre, 177
Venice, 185
Venturini, 282
Vergerius, 83, 128
Vermillio, 119
Vernet, 305
Versailles, Edict of, 231
Verschooren, 305
Veuillot, 304, 382
Veyth (the painter), 305
—— J. Eman, 389
—— Hermann v., 400
Vicari, 384
Victor, Eman., 393
Vienna compact, 82
—— congress, 327
Vienna council, 377
—— peace of, 126
Vienne, 385
Villegagnon, 150
Vilmar, 317, 332, 373
Vincent de Paula, 186
Vinet, 335
Viret, Peter, 110
Virves, 126
Visitation, eccl. rules for, 122
—— Order of, 186
Vitringa, 214, 215
Voes, H., 58
Vœtius, 213, 215
Vogt, Charles, 299
Voigt, J., 300
Volck, 257
Voltaire, 231, 236
Von Horn, 303
Vos, Mir., 276
Voss, 288
Vulgate, 92, 167
Vulpius, 145

Wackernagel, 319
Wagner, Andr., 299
—— Rud., 299
Walch, Fr., 285
—— J. G., 245, 257
Waldeck, Fr. v., 80
Waldensians, 345
Waldshut, 65
Walter, Ferd., 299
Walther, F. W., 350
—— Hans, 145
—— Michael, 200
Walton, Br., 214
Wandsbecker, Bote, 288
Warburton, 278
Ward, Mary, 187
Wartburg, 40–1
Wasserschleben, 299
Waterlandians, 218
Wegelin, 205
Wegleiter, Christopher, 207
Wegscheider, 358
Weigel, 156
Weishaupt, 236
Weismann, 245, 268
Weiss, M., 264
Weisse (in Leipsic), 297 371
—— Michael, 144
Weissel, 205

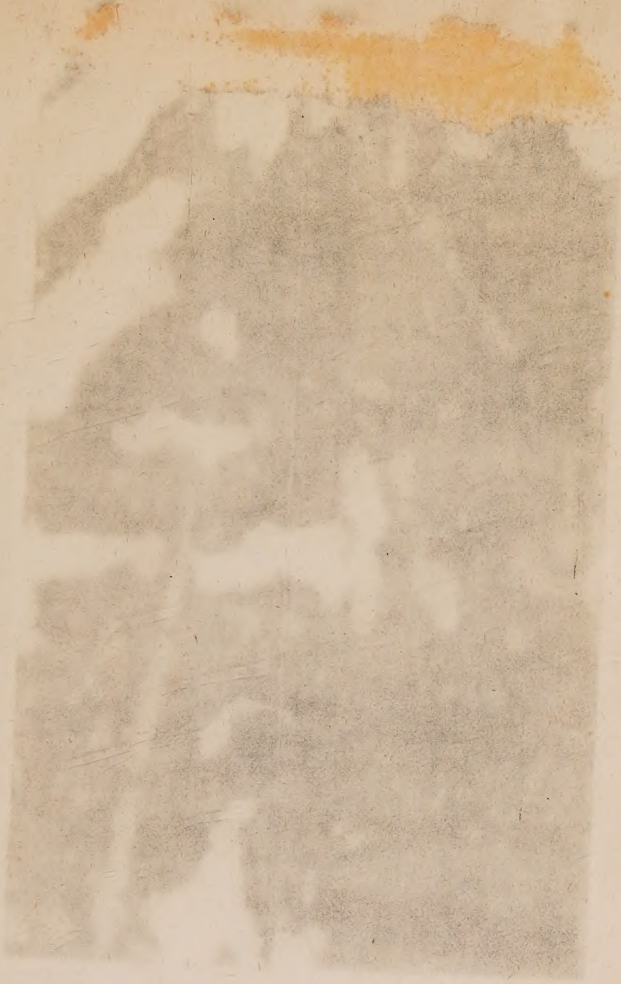
Weitling, 416
Weller, Jacob, 198
—— Jerome, 142
Welte, 391
Wendelin, 215
Werner, Charles, 390
—— Zach., 301
Wertheimer, 279
Wesley, 267, 349
Wessenberg, 382, 387
Westen, Thomas v., 209
Westeräs, Diet of, 116
Westphal, Joach., 137
Westphalia, Peace of, 177
—— Ref., 79
Wet Quakers, 220
Wette, de, 358
Wetstein, 269
Wetterau, 256, 270, 271
Whitefield, 267
Wichern, 321
Wieland, 287
Wieseler, 370
Wigand, 132, 136
Wilberforce, 324
Wild, 303
Wildenhahn, 183, 203, 303
Wildenspuch (village), 406
William of Bavaria, 93, 96, 101
—— of Brandenburg, 118
—— of Hessen, 182
—— I. of Orange, 121, 184
—— III. of Orange, 180, 184
—— Prince, regent of Prussia, 328
William II. of Saxe Weimar, 206
Williams, 326
Willich, M., 183
Willmeyer, H. A., 370
Wilson, 292
Wimpina, 34
Winckelmann, 231, 304
Winckler, J. J., 248
Winebrennarians, 351
Winer, 358
Winkler, 58
Winter, 273
Winterfeld, 290, 320
Wion, 163
Wirth, 297
Wiseman, 397
Wislicenus, 308
Wissowatius, 160
Wittmann, Mich., 380
Witschel, 307
Witsius, 216
Wittenbach, 269
Wittenberg Concord, 82
—— Fanaticism, 42
—— Reformat., 94
—— University, 33, 183
Wittgenstein, 271
Wittig, 216
Wizel, 172
Wladislas IV. of Poland, 180
Wolf, Christ. v., 245
—— J. Chr., 245, 273
Wolff, 237
Wolfenbüttel Fragm. 282
Wolfgang of Anhalt, 79
Wöllner, 280
Wolmar, Melch., 110
Woltersdorf, 248
Wolzogen, 160
Woolston, 278
Wordsworth, 303
Worms, Diet of, 39, 40, 94
—— Edict of, 40
—— Relig. colloquy, 88
Wullenweber, 117
Würtemberg, 78, 289, 332
Würzburg Conf., 384
Wurzen, 91
Wyttenbach, 269

Xavier, 163, 170

Young, Brigham, 413
—— Germany, 301

Zaccaria, Mary, 166
Zapoyla, 126
Zealand, New, 326
Zeisberger, 266
Zeller, Ed., 335, 365
—— in Beuggen, 322
Zenner, 145
Ziegenbalg, 251
Zillerthal, 336
Zimmermann, Ch., 312, 357
—— E., 357
Zinzendorf, 256, 272, 273, 278
Zionites, 273
Zollikofer, 283
Zolticon, 65
Zschocke, 303, 307
Zurich, 61, 62, 65
Zütphen, H. v., 58
Zweibrücken, 338
Zurick, John, 149
Zwickan Prophets, 42, 65
Zwingli, 60, 65, 68 87, 137
Zwirner, 305

THE END.



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